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MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

THE REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE reader will be pleased at finding that in so many of the following pages Dr. Chalmers becomes his own biographer. I have done little more than select, arrange, and weave into a continuous narrative those materials which his family already possessed, or which friends and correspondents have kindly presented. In doing so, I was relieved of one difficulty, frequently the greatest with which a relative who undertakes a biography has to contend: there has been no conflict between what was due to truth, and what was due to affection or to relationship. The nearer that Dr. Chalmers was approached, and the more that was seen of him in the retired and most familiar scenes of life, the deeper was the love and veneration which he awakened; the more minute, exact, and faithful in all respects the narrative of his life can be rendered, it will only excite the more affectionate admiration, while more fully accomplishing the still higher object of making his life subservient, in representation, to the high Christian ends to which it was consecrated in act.

I have to offer my most grateful acknowledgments to DR. IRVING, PROFESSOR DUNCAN, DR. WATSON, MR. BRUCE, PRINCIPAL CUNNINGHAM, and all those friends who, by supplying

materials or advice, have aided me in a work which, however imperfectly executed, may, it is hoped, confer some benefit on the Church and on the world.

I cannot refrain, also, from seizing the present opportunity of saying how gratifying it has been to Dr. Chalmers's Trustees that the Copyright of all his Writings, as well as of these Memoirs, should have become the property of one who, beyond the commercial interest which he must necessarily take in them, cherishes so hallowed a remembrance of their Author, and is animated by so strong a desire that those great Christian principles, which it is their chief object to inculcate and recommend, should have power and prevail.

W. H.

MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHPLACE—GENEALOGY—CHILDHOOD—COLLEGE LIFE—LICENCE.

Two hundred years ago the small borough towns which stud the south-east coast of the county of Fife were flourishing seaports,—their numerous dyeworks and maltsteeps and saltpans giving token of a busy internal industry, while they carried on a large and profitable trade with Holland, France, and Spain. Anstruther, one of these towns, had not reached its highest point of prosperity when James Melville was its minister; and yet he tells us, that when, in 1588, a public collection was made for the French Refugee Protestants, 500 merks—one-twentieth part of what the whole of Scotland contributed—was raised in Anstruther and the three small landward parishes which at that time were annexed to it.* The union, first of the two crowns, and afterwards of the two kingdoms, opened up the intercourse with France to Scotland's wealthier neighbour, and cut off that coasting contraband trade, as well as that exporting of malt and salt to England, in which Anstruther and the other Fifeshire seaports were extensively engaged. Under the many depressing influences to which, during the course of last century, they were subjected, their commercial prosperity waned away almost to extinction. They were, however, destined, during that very period, to win a far higher distinction than they lost; for to

* See Autobiography and Diary of James Melville, p. 265.

three of them, and these lying within a few miles of each other along the coast, belongs the honour of having given birth to three of the most distinguished of Scotsmen; Kirkcaldy having been the birthplace of Dr. Adam Smith, Largo of Sir John Leslie, and Anstruther of the subject of this Memoir.

With the county of Fife Dr. Chalmers's family had for some generations been connected. His great-grandfather, Mr. James Chalmers, son of John Chalmers, laird of Pitmedden, was ordained as minister of the parish of Elie in the year 1701. In the following year he married Agnes Merchiston, daughter of the Episcopal clergyman of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, who had been ejected from his living at the period of the Revolution. Undistinguished by any superiority of talent, the simple kindliness of Mr. Chalmers's disposition endeared him to his parishioners, and there still lingers in the neighbourhood a remembrance of the familiar and affectionate intercourse which was carried on between minister and people. What the minister himself wanted in energy was amply made up by the vigorous activity of his wife. Brought up in the school of adversity, she had learned the lesson of a most thrifty economy. The estate of Radernie, purchased by her savings out of a slender income, which had to bear the burden of twelve children's education, still remains in the possession of one of her descendants, while in the after history of more than one member of her family, the care with which she had watched over their infancy and education brought forth its pleasant fruits. Her eldest daughter married Mr. Thomas Kay, minister of Kilrenny, a parish immediately adjoining to Anstruther. With the family at Kilrenny Manse, the family of Dr. Chalmers's father continued to maintain the closest intimacy. It was to Mrs. Kay's son-in-law, Dr. Adamson of St. Andrews, that Dr. Chalmers was himself indebted for his presentation to the living of Kilmany.

Mr. Chalmers's eldest son, the Rev. John Chalmers, D.D., succeeded his father as minister at Elie, but was afterwards translated to the parish of Kilconquhar. He inherited his mother's talent, and in his day was distinguished both as an eloquent preacher and an able and zealous advocate of that policy which then predominated within the Church of Scotland. Mr. Chalmers's second son, Mr. James Chalmers, having married Barbara Anderson of Easter Anstruther, settled in that town as a dyer, shipowner, and general merchant. He was succeeded in a prosperous business by his second son, Mr. John Chalmers, who, in 1771, married Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of a wine-merchant at

Crail. They had a very numerous family—nine sons and five daughters—of whom one only died in childhood. The following table is extracted from Mr. Chalmers's family record :—

JOHN CHALMERS and ELIZABETH HALL were married on the 20th August 1771. Children by said marriage :—

	Born.	Baptized.		Born.	Baptized.
1. James,	June 11, 1772,	June 14.	8. David,	May 31, 1783,	June 1.
2. Lucy,	Nov. 9, 1773,	Nov. 14.	9. John,	May 19, 1785,	May 22.
3. Barbara,	June 21, 1775,	June 25.	10. Helen,	Aug. 31, 1786,	Sept. 3.
4. George,	April 1, 1777,	April 6.	11. Jean,	June 29, 1788,	same day.
5. William,	Aug. 31, 1778,	Sept. 6.	12. Patrick,	June 16, 1790,	June 20.
6. Thomas,	Mar. 17, 1780,	Mar. 19.	13. Charles,	Jan. 16, 1792,	Jan. 22.
7. Isabel,	Dec. 13, 1781,	Dec. 16.	14. Alexander,	April 9, 1794,	April 13.

Dr. Chalmers, the sixth child and fourth son in this crowded household, was born at Anstruther on Friday the 17th March 1780. His father announced the birth to his brother-in-law, Mr. Hall, then resident in London, in the following terms :—

"ANSTRUTHER, *March* 21, 1780.

"DEAR BROTHER,—I daresay this will await you in London, and I am happy that by it I can convey to you the agreeable intelligence of my dear Elizabeth being safely delivered of a fine boy on the morning of Friday the 17th. The little fellow is named Tom—I wish him as good a man as his name-father.* I can write with more spirit this day than I could have done for two days past. On Friday and Saturday my poor wife seemed very easy and doing well, but having got some cold it was attended with a feverishness on Sabbath which alarmed us a good deal; but I desire to bless His great name in whose hand is the life of every creature, and of whose mercy we may sing every day, that the fever is quite gone, and though she did not sleep very well last night, I hope the Almighty will recover her to serve Him, and be helpful to bring up her own children to be His servants after we have served our generation according to His will; which will, may it be the rule of yours and mine, and all belonging to us, to live agreeably thereunto. . . . —I conclude with assuring you that I am, dear Brother, yours affectionately, JOHN CHALMERS."

When two years old Dr. Chalmers was committed to the care of a nurse, whose cruelty and deceitfulness haunted his memory through life. In his latest years, and with a feeling of indignation as fresh as if he were describing an event of yesterday, he used to tell how inhumanly she treated him, and how, when

* Mr. Thomas Ballardie—married to Mr. John Chalmers's sister.

his roused spirit could bear no more, and he was about to run and reveal his wrongs, she stopped him, and petted him, and poured over him a "perfect flood of affected tenderness," extorting from him a promise that he would not tell,—and then, safe behind the extorted promise, treated him worse than ever. The promise was never broken; yet never could he forget the injustice of its exaction, or the cruelties of its abuse. And it had another effect—the treatment to which he was thus exposed—besides that of testing his own truthfulness, and enkindling a strong feeling of indignation,—it sent him at that early age to school, to which he went of his own accord, when only three years of age; not drawn by his love of learning, but driven by the fear of domestic persecution. Neither of his parents had much time to devote to the personal instruction of their children. The young scholar was left to imbibe—as he would, or as he could—the instructions of the schoolroom. These were not of a kind either to engender early habits of industry, or to quicken an early thirst for knowledge. The parish schoolmaster, Mr. Bryce, had a fair enough reputation as a Latin scholar, but his days as an effective teacher were over when Dr. Chalmers became his pupil. His sight, which afterwards he totally lost, was beginning to fail. Not so, however, his thirst for flogging, which grew with the decline, and survived the loss of vision. Eager in the pursuit, the sightless tyrant used to creep stealthily along behind a row of his little victims, listening for each indication given by word or motion of punishable offence, and ready, soon as ever the centre of emanation was settled, to inflict the avenging blow. But the quicksighted urchins were too cunning for him, and soon fell upon a plan to defraud him of his prey. In the row opposite to that behind which the master took his furtive walk, one of the boys was set to watch, and whenever, by sudden stop or uplifted arm, any token of the intention to strike appeared, a preconcerted sign given quickly to the intended victim enabled him to slip at once but noiselessly out of his place, so that, to Mr. Bryce's enraged discomfiture, and to the no small amusement of his scholars, his best-aimed blows fell not unfrequently upon the hard unflinching desk. Though he continued for many years afterwards to preside, Mr. Bryce had furnished himself with an assistant, Mr. Daniel Ramsay, afterwards parochial schoolmaster at Corstorphine, to whose care all the younger children were in the first instance consigned. The assistant was as easy as his superior was harsh. As teachers, they were about equally ineffi-

cient. Mr. Ramsay sought distinction in his profession by becoming the author of a treatise on "Mixed Schools." His work won for him but little reputation, and an unfortunate act, in which perhaps there was more imprudence than guilt, lost him his situation, and plunged him in poverty. For many years Dr. Chalmers contributed regularly for his support. His latter days were spent in Gillespie's Hospital, where he died about four years ago. The Rev. Dr. Steven, who visited him frequently while upon his deathbed, in a letter with which I have been favoured, says,—"On one occasion he spoke to me in a very feeling manner indeed of Dr. Chalmers, and the impression made upon my mind was such that I have not yet forgotten the words which he employed. 'No man,' exclaimed he, 'knows the amount of kindness which I have received from my old pupil. He has often done me good both as respects my soul and my body—many a pithy sentence he uttered when he threw himself in my way—many a pound-note has the Doctor given me, and he always did the thing as if he were afraid that any person should see him. May God reward him!' The feeble old man was quite overpowered, and wept like a child when he gave utterance to these words."*

By those of his school-fellows, few now in number, who survive, Dr. Chalmers is remembered as one of the idlest, strongest, merriest, and most generous-hearted boys in Anstruther school. Little time or attention would have been required from him to prepare his daily lessons, so as to meet the ordinary demands of the schoolroom; for when he did set himself to learn, not one of all his school-fellows could do it at once so quickly and so well. When the time came, however, for saying them, the lessons were often found scarcely half-learned—sometimes not learned at all. The punishment inflicted in such cases was to send the culprit into the coal-hole, to remain there in solitude till the neglected duty was discharged. If many of the boys could boast over Thomas Chalmers that they were seldomer in the place of punishment—none could say that they got more

* There had been a dash of eccentricity about Ramsay. Some years ago, when the whole powers of the empire lodged for a short time in the single hand of the Duke of Wellington, he wrote to his Grace in the true dominie spirit, but with almost as much wisdom as wit—that he could tell him how to do the most difficult thing he had in hand, namely, to cure the ills of Ireland: he should just take, he told him, "the taws in the tae hand, and the Testament in the tither." Engrossed as he was, the Duke sent an acknowledgment signed by himself, and for some time it was difficult to say which of the two Daniel Ramsay was proudest of—having taught Dr. Chalmers, and so laid, as he was always accustomed to boast, the foundation of his fame—or having instructed the Duke of Wellington as to the best way of governing Ireland, and having got an answer from the Duke himself.

quickly out of it. Joyous, vigorous, and humorous, he took his part in all the games of the play-ground—ever ready to lead or to follow, when school-boy expeditions were planned and executed; and wherever for fun or for frolic any little group of the merry-hearted was gathered, his full, rich laugh might be heard rising amid their shouts of glee. But he was altogether unmischievous in his mirth. He could not bear that either falsehood or blasphemy should mingle with it. His own greater strength he always used to defend the weak or the injured, who looked to him as their natural protector; and whenever in its heated overflow play passed into passion, he hastened from the ungenial region, rushing once into a neighbouring house, when a whole storm of mussel-shells was flying to and fro, which the angry little hands that flung them meant to do all the mischief that they could; and exclaiming, as he sheltered himself in his retreat, "I'm no for powder and ball," a saying which the good old woman, beside whose ingle he found a refuge, was wont, in these later years, to quote in his favour when less friendly neighbours were charging him with being a man of strife, too fond of war.

The ability to read, very soon acquired by him, was speedily turned to other than school purposes. Among the books earliest read, the two which took the strongest hold upon his thoughts, filling and swelling out his childish imagination, were Gaudentia di Lucca and the Pilgrim's Progress. He has himself told us of other impressions made at the same period. Writing more than fifty years afterwards, he says:—"I feel quite sure that the use of the sacred dialogues as a school-book, and the pictures of Scripture scenes which interested my boyhood, still cleave to me, and impart a peculiar tinge and charm to the same representations when brought within my notice."* Even before he could himself read its stories, or understand thoroughly any of its pictured scenes, some of the sayings of the Bible had fallen upon an ear which felt, even in infancy, the charm which dwells in the cadence of choice and tender words. He was but three years old, when one evening, after it had grown dark, missed and sought for, he was found alone in the nursery, pacing up and down, excited and absorbed, repeating to himself as he walked to and fro the words of David—"O my son Absalom! O Absalom, my son, my son!"

Though both parents were decidedly pious—his father, all

* Horæ Quot., vol. I. p. 20.

through life, particularly and pre-eminently so—yet it does not appear that the Bible had made upon him any deeper impression than that which the beauty of its language and the pathos of its narratives were so well fitted to imprint upon so susceptible a mind and heart. Almost as soon, however, as he could form or announce a purpose, he declared that he would be a minister. He saw and heard too much of ministers not to have early suggested to him the idea of becoming one; and as soon as it was suggested, it was embraced. The sister of one of his schoolfellows at Anstruther still remembers breaking in upon her brother and him, in a room to which they had retired together, and finding the future great pulpit orator (then a very little boy) standing upon a chair and preaching most vigorously to his single auditor below. He had not only resolved to be a minister—he had fixed upon his first text—"Let brotherly love continue." Altogether, though the school did little for him, and his parents' wishes and prayers as to his spiritual estate were as yet ungranted, that free, fresh, unconstrained, social, and happy boyhood spent by him at Anstruther was not without its fruits; nor can we tell how much, in the building up of his natural character during these earlier years, was due to the silent impress of parental example, or to that insensible education, more important and influential by far than the education of the schoolroom, daily carried on by the general spirit and order of a well regulated and very cheerful home.

In November 1791, whilst not yet twelve years of age, accompanied by his elder brother William, he enrolled himself as a student in the United College of St. Andrews. He had but one contemporary there who had entered college at an earlier age, John Lord Campbell, and the two youngest students became each, in future life, the most distinguished in his separate sphere. However it may have been in Lord Campbell's case, in Dr. Chalmers extreme youth was not compensated by any prematureness or superiority of preparation. A letter written to his eldest brother, James, during the summer which succeeded his first session at college, is still preserved—the earliest extant specimen of his writing. It abounds in errors both in orthography and grammar, and abundantly proves that the work of learning to write his own tongue with ordinary correctness had still to be begun. His knowledge of the Latin language was equally defective—unfitting him during his first two sessions to profit as he might otherwise have done from the prelections of

that distinguished philosophical grammarian, Dr. John Hunter, who was then the chief ornament of St. Andrews University. "My first acquaintance with Dr. Chalmers," writes the Rev. Mr. Miller,* "was in November 1791, when we entered the University of St. Andrews together. He was at that time very young, and volatile, and boyish, and idle in his habits, and like the rest of us in those days, but ill prepared by previous education for reaping the full benefit of a college course. I think that during the first two sessions a great part of his time must have been occupied (as mine was) in boyish amusements, such as golf, football, and particularly handball, in which latter he was remarkably expert, owing to his being left-handed. I remember that he made no distinguished progress in his education during these two sessions. The next year, being the third of our philosophical course, he and I lived together in the same room, and commenced in earnest the study of mathematics, under the late Dr. James Brown, who was at that time assistant to Professor Vilant. Our only companion in doing all the exercises of the class was William Mitchell, a farmer's son from Duniface, who was licensed as a preacher, but died not long after. During our mathematical studies, we had occasion almost every night to be a short time in Dr. Brown's room, for the purpose of correcting our class-notes and exercises before being extended in our books, and there we met with the late Sir John Leslie and Mr. James Mylne, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, both of whom were considered in those days (like Dr. Brown) as marked men—ultra Whigs, keen Reformers, and what would now be called Radicals. . . . I have no doubt that Dr. Chalmers at that time gave signs of his more matured character in the earnestness and perseverance with which he prosecuted his favourite study. His character during all my acquaintance with him was that of the strictest integrity and warmest affection. He was enthusiastic and persevering in everything that he undertook—giving his whole mind to it, and often pursuing some favourite, or even, as we thought, some foolish idea, whilst we were talking around him, and perhaps laughing at his abstraction, or breaking in upon his cogitations, and pronouncing him the next thing to mad; and then he would good-naturedly join in the merriment with his common, affectionate expression, 'Very well, my good lad.' I could mention very many instances of his particular attachment to myself, and of his affec-

* In MS. letter, dated Monikie, July 6, 1847.

tionate recollections of our early associations, which proved no small cause of amusement to both when we met in after years."

His third session at college, that of 1793-94, was Dr. Chalmers's intellectual birth-time. That intelligence which never afterwards knew a season of slumbering inactivity then awoke. That extreme ardour of impulse, and that strong force of will which had shown themselves from infancy took now a new direction, urging on and upholding him in his mathematical studies. It was better perhaps that a mind so excitable as his had not had an earlier intellectual development—that untaxed and unexhausted in childhood it should have been suffered (growing all the while in strength) to wait till a science, for which it had so strong a natural affinity, took hold of it, upon which its opening energies put themselves forth so spontaneously, so ardently, so undividedly, and so perseveringly. Dr. Chalmers was singularly fortunate in the person who at that time discharged the duties of the mathematical professorship at St. Andrews. As he has himself told us in his preface to Mr. Coutts's Sermons, "The professor, Mr. Vilant, had long been a retired invalid, and his classes were taught for many years by a series of assistants, several of whom became afterwards more or less known in the world. The first was Mr. Glennie, author of a work on Projectiles. He was followed by West, who spent the greater part of his life as Rector in one of the parishes of Jamaica, and whose Treatise on Geometry has long been admired, both for its structure as a whole, and for the exceeding beauty of many of its demonstrations. He was succeeded by Dr. James Brown, for some time Professor of Natural Philosophy in Glasgow, a person of singularly varied accomplishments, and gifted with such powers of conversation as to have drawn forth the testimony from Dugald Stewart that he never met with any one who expressed himself with greater elegance, and at the same time with greater precision, on mathematical and metaphysical subjects." Sir James Ivory, Sir John Leslie, and Dr. James Brown, all studied together at St. Andrews, and were all pupils of Mr. West; and though Dr. Brown has not left behind him a reputation equal to that of his two pre-eminent class-fellows, this would seem to have been due to a constitutional infirmity, which constrained him, after a single year's trial, to relinquish the Chair of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow, and to retire into private life, rather than to any natural inferiority of talent. In common with all who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions, or were admitted to

the privilege of his friendship, Dr. Chalmers retained throughout his after-life the liveliest gratitude and affection towards him. Another of his pupils, Mr. Duncan, the present Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, had, in 1833, dedicated to Dr. Brown his "Elements of Plane Geometry." Dr. Brown, while praising the volume in a letter to Dr. Chalmers, had taken exception to the introduction of his own name. He received the following reply:—"I agree in all you say on the subject of Mr. Duncan's work, with the single exception of your remark upon its dedication, than which he could have done nothing more rightly and appropriately. It is the common feeling of us both, that whatever of the academic spirit, or of the purely academic enthusiasm either of us may possess, we are far more indebted for it to you than to all our other teachers put together. Of all my living instructors, I have ever reckoned first yourself, then Professor Robison of Edinburgh, and lastly, Dr. Hunter of St. Andrews, as far the most influential both in the formation of my taste and intellectual habits." Nor was this the temporary effusion of feeling evoked by having the object of it in presence. Three years afterwards, Dr. Brown was removed by death: and in writing to his widow on that occasion, the sentiment is reiterated—"I cannot adequately express the deep emotion which I felt on receiving the melancholy intelligence of Dr. Brown's death—one of my most respected and earliest friends, and of whom I have often said, that of all the professors and instructors with whom I have ever had to do, he is the one who most powerfully impressed me, and to the ascendency of whose mind over me, I owe more in the formation of my tastes and habits, and in the guidance and government of my literary life, than to that of all the other academic men whose classes I ever attended. But in addition to his public lessons, I had the privilege of being admitted to a long intimacy with your departed husband, and enjoying the benefit, as well as the charm, of his most rich and eloquent conversation." When such a teacher met with such a pupil, and had as the subject of his instructions such a science as mathematics, it was not wonderful that more than ordinary interest should be excited, and more than ordinary proficiency realized. Dr. Chalmers became excited and absorbed. Pure geometry had especial attractions for him. With the higher powers of the modern analysis he became afterwards familiarly acquainted; but he never lost his relish for the demonstrations of geometry, nor did he ever cease to think that from the close-

ness and consecutiveness of its successive steps, geometry furnished one of the very best instruments of intellectual training.

Other subjects, however, besides those of his favourite science, were pressed upon his notice, not so much by the prelections of the class-room, as by the conversation of Dr. Brown and his accomplished friends. Ethics and politics engaged much of their attention. Yielding to the impulses thus imparted, Dr. Chalmers, at the close of his philosophical studies, became deeply engaged with the study of Godwin's Political Justice, a work for which he entertained at that time a profound, and as he afterwards felt and acknowledged, a misplaced admiration. His father was a strict, unbending Tory, as well as a strict, and as he in his childhood fancied, a severe religionist. By the men among whom he was now thrown, and to whom he owed the first kindlings of his intellectual sympathies, Calvinism and Toryism were not only repudiated but despised. "St. Andrews" (we have his own testimony for it) "was at this time overrun with Moderatism, under the chilling influences of which we inhaled not a distaste only but a positive contempt for all that is properly and peculiarly gospel, insomuch that our confidence was nearly as entire in the sufficiency of natural theology as in the sufficiency of natural science."* It was not unnatural that, recoiling from the uncompromising and unelastic political principles with which he had been familiar at Anstruther, and unfortified by a strong individual faith in the Christian salvation, he should have felt the power of that charm which the high talent of Leslie and Brown and Milne threw around the religious and political principles which they so sincerely and enthusiastically espoused; that his youthful spirit should have kindled into generous emotion at the glowing prospects which they cherished as to the future progress of our species, springing out of political emancipation; and that he should have admitted the idea that the religion of his early home was a religion of confinement and intolerance—unworthy of entertainment by a mind enlightened and enlarged by liberal studies. From the political deviation into which he was thus temporarily seduced, he soon retreated: from the religious, it needed many years and other than human influences to recall him.

In November 1795, he was enrolled as a student of Divinity. Theology, however, occupied but little of his thoughts. During the preceding autumn he had learned enough of the French

* Preface to Mr. Coutts's Sermons.

language to enable him to read fluently and intelligently the authorship in that tongue upon the higher branches of mathematics. His favourite study he prosecuted with undiminished ardour. Not even the powerful spell of one of the ablest of theological lecturers—to whose ability he afterwards rendered so full a tribute of praise—could win him away from his mathematical devoteeism. The present venerable minister of Kilsyth, the Rev. Mr. Burns, who entered the Divinity Hall along with him, writes as follows:—"He had got the idea strongly into his mind that the orthodoxy of the lecturer was formed in conformity to the Standards, rather than as the truth most surely believed. The professor had expressed the sentiment that Calvinism should not be too broadly brought forward in pulpit addresses, lest it should be repulsive. Chalmers said to me, 'If it be truth, why not be above board with it?' I think he added, 'You are a sincere Calvinist. There is none in St. Andrews that I know. Come down to Anstruther with me on a Saturday, and see my father and Mr. Hodges (a venerable elder with whom I was acquainted). They all agree with you.' I referred to a very able lecture which the Professor had delivered a day or two previously as a really masterly defence of one of the deepest points of Calvinistic doctrine, upon the scheme of Jonathan Edwards. I was surprised when he said, 'I was not paying attention to it, but thinking of something else,' probably following out some mathematical problem. 'Why,' I said, 'did you not attend to a disquisition so able?' 'Because,' he answered, 'I question the sincerity of the lecturer.' The exercise of mere intellectual power without heart seemed to have no power to suspend his favourite study. He most certainly passed through that year's curriculum without making entry on the theological field, and there can be no doubt that his system did not go beyond sublime ideas of the Divine Omnipresence, Omnipotence, Omniscience, and Goodness, and the grandeur, extent, and variety of His works, combined with some lively conceptions of the character, the teaching, and the example of the Author of Christianity."*

Though a disquisition by Dr. Hill on the scheme of Jonathan Edwards was thus listened to idly and in vain, very different was the treatment which towards the close of the same session the writings of that great metaphysician and divine received. Speaking of this period, Professor Duncan says, "He studied Edwards on Free Will with such ardour that he seemed to re-

* MS. Memoranda.

gard nothing else, could scarcely talk of anything else, and one was almost afraid of his mind losing its balance." Edwards's theory of Necessity fell in with the reasonings of his earlier favourite Godwin, and was speedily adopted; and it was no cold assent of the understanding merely which was given to it. Planting his foot upon the truth—demonstrated as it seemed to him so irresistibly by Edwards—that fixed unalterable links bind together the whole series of events in the spiritual as well as in the material universe, he rose to the sublime conception of the Godhead, as that eternal, all-pervading energy by which this vast and firmly knit succession was originated and sustained; and into a very rapture of admiration and delight his spirit was upborne. Looking back to this period, twenty-four years afterwards, he writes:—

"*February* 26, 1821.—O that He possessed me with a sense of His holiness and His love, as He at one time possessed me with a sense of His greatness and His power, and His pervading agency. I remember, when a student of divinity, and long ere I could relish evangelical sentiment, I spent nearly a twelvemonth in a sort of mental elysium, and the one idea which ministered to my soul all its rapture was the magnificence of the Godhead, and the universal subordination of all things to the one great purpose for which He evolved and was supporting creation. I should like to be so inspired over again, but with such a view of the Deity as coalesced and was in harmony with the doctrine of the New Testament."*

Alluding to this singular period in his mental history, he has told a member of his family that not a single hour elapsed in which the overpoweringly impressive imagination did not stand out bright before the inward eye; and that his custom was to wander early in the morning into the country, that, amid the quiet scenes of nature, he might luxuriate in the glorious conception.

The magnificent vision did, however, after some months, depart. What helped perhaps to dissipate the intellectual spell under which he had been held was a visit which, in the summer of 1796, he paid to his eldest brother, James, then resident in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. A fragment of the journal which he kept during this visit is still preserved. It is not the journal of a dreaming young philosophical enthusiast. We are struck with the entire absence of all those sentimental and ima-

* MS. Letter to Mrs. Chalmers.

ginative remarks in which such youthful journalists indulge as happen to be of a poetic temperament. It bears no mark upon it either of the scene or the occupations whence the writer had emerged. No one on reading it could believe that for months before the writer had been rapt up to the very highest heaven of abstract thought, and had been breathing the air which circulates round one of the loftiest summits of speculation. Left to his own unaided conjecture, the reader of this journal might rather have imagined the writer to be some honest burgher's son who, going to settle as a merchant in the south, was keeping his eyes quite open to all the new objects which met him by the way, and looking at them with a very shrewd and penetrating glance. That the St. Andrews student, soaring almost intoxicated with delight amid the heights of one of the loftiest of human speculations, nearly lost to his wondering companions' vision, should be also the minute and faithful chronicler of every shift the wind made in the Frith of Forth from Anstruther to Grangemouth, and of the exact number of locks in the Forth and Clyde canal, how many ascended from the one river and how many from the other, and of the precise number of steps in the stairs of Dumbarton Castle, and of the rates at which for many preceding years the population and the shipping and the dock-dues of Liverpool had increased, and of the relative proportion between the ploughed and the pasture lands in Cheshire, &c. &c.,—this was but one early illustration of the speculative and the practical, in him so strikingly blended and combined.

His third session at the University, which had witnessed his first well-sustained intellectual efforts, had witnessed also his earliest attempts in English composition. Here he had to begin at the very beginning. Letters written by him even after his second year at College, exhibit a glaring deficiency in the first and simplest elements of correct writing. And he had to become very much his own instructor; guiding himself by such models as the prelections of Dr. Hunter and Dr. Brown, and the writings of Godwin or other favourite authors presented. A few of his first efforts in this way have been preserved. They exhibit little that is remarkable in style. The earliest compositions of those who have afterwards become distinguished as poets or orators or eloquent writers, have generally displayed a profuse excess of the rhetorical or the imaginative, which it took time and labour to reduce to becoming proportions. In the College exercises of Dr. Chalmers, this order is reversed. The

earliest of them are the simplest and plainest, with scarce a gleam of fancy or sentiment ever rising to play over the page. They give token of a very vigorous youthful intellect, disciplining itself at once in exact thinking and correct perspicuous expression; never allowing itself to travel beyond the bounds of the analysis or argument which it is engaged in prosecuting, never wandering away to pluck a single flower out of the garden of the imagination, by which illustration or adornment might be supplied. Those who, as the result of their analysis, have concluded that in Dr. Chalmers's mental constitution the purely intellectual largely predominated—that fancy was comparatively feeble, and that imagination, potent as she was, was but a minister of other and higher powers, might find historic verification of their analysis in the earliest of his College compositions. But his progress here was marvellously rapid. Habits of accurate and easy composition, which in many instances it costs half a lifetime to acquire to the same degree, were acquired by him within two years. And the ordinary difficulties of expression once mastered, that burning fervour which glowed with such constant intensity within, got free and natural opportunity of outflow, and shaping spontaneously the language that was employed for the utterance of thought or sentiment, moulded it into forms of beauty and power.

It was then the practice at St. Andrews, that all the members of the University assembled daily in the public hall for morning and evening prayers, which were conducted by the theological students. The hall was open to the public, but in general the invitation was not largely accepted. In his first theological session it came by rotation to be Dr. Chalmers's turn to pray. His prayer, an amplification of the Lord's Prayer, clause by clause consecutively, was so originally and yet so eloquently worded, that universal wonder and very general admiration were excited by it. "I remember still," writes one who was himself an auditor,* "after the lapse of fifty-two years, the powerful impression made by his prayers in the Prayer Hall, to which the people of St. Andrews flocked when they knew that Chalmers was to pray. The wonderful flow of eloquent, vivid, ardent description of the attributes and works of God, and still more perhaps, the astonishing harrowing delineation of the miseries, the horrid cruelties, immoralities, and abominations inseparable from war, which always came in more or less in connexion with the bloody

* The Rev. Mr. Burns of Kilsyth, in MS. Memoranda.

warfare in which we were engaged with France, called forth the wonderment of the hearers. He was then only sixteen years of age, yet he showed a taste and capacity for composition of the most glowing and eloquent kind. Even then, his style was very much the same as at the period when he attracted so much notice, and made such powerful impression in the pulpit and by the press."

For the cultivation of his talent for composition he was largely indebted to debating societies formed among the students. During the session 1793-94, he had been admitted as a member of the Political Society, and, on his entering the Divinity Hall in November 1795, he was enrolled in the books of the Theological Society. No records of the Political Society have been preserved. "I have examined," says Professor Duncan, "the books of the Theological Society, and find that Dr. Chalmers, Lord Campbell, and myself, as also Mr. Walker of Carnwath, Mr. Miller of Monikie, Mr. Melville of Logie, and Mr. Shaw of Langholm, all entered that Society in the same year, viz., in the session 1795-96. This Society was composed entirely of divinity students, and met once a week in a room of the Divinity College, commonly called St. Mary's College. The subjects discussed were of course mostly of a theological nature, or nearly connected with theology. The business of the evening commenced with the delivery of a systematic discourse on some subject prescribed to the member in the preceding session, and then succeeded the debate on some subject which had been taken out by some member at the previous meeting, and on which, when he had declared the side he intended to take, another member was appointed to assist him, and other two members to impugn, or sustain the opposite side. A list of questions considered as most proper for discussion was made out at the beginning of the session by a committee appointed for the purpose. In session 1796-97, Dr. Chalmers was engaged on the affirmative side of the question, 'Is a Divine Revelation necessary?' when he read a speech which to this day Dr. Craik of Libberton remembers as having first impressed him with a high idea of Dr. Chalmers's talents. In 1796-97, he delivered a systematic discourse on predestination, which must have been prescribed to him in the previous session. This discourse is remarkable, as I remember that the subject of it occupied him intensely during that session. I remember also, that when he was Professor of Moral Philosophy here, nearly thirty years afterwards,

he was intensely occupied with the same subject, and spent some days in discussing it in his class. I have understood further, that it was among the last subjects which he discussed in the Free Church College.

"I find that in session 1798-9, Dr. Chalmers took out for the subject of debate, 'Is man a free agent?' and chose the negative side. He appears to have taken his regular turn in the debates, and after the first session of his attendance, to have often volunteered a speech in aid of the speaker who had been regularly appointed at the previous meeting. I remember that these volunteer speeches were generally delivered, not read, and were made in reply to previous speakers. The other principal speakers in this way were John Campbell, now Lord Campbell, and, during one session, the celebrated Mr. John Leyden. The session in which Leyden was a member was that of 1797-8. He was far superior to any other speaker in the Society. He had an unlimited command of words, and could speak for any length of time on almost any subject." *

The following passage, written during one of the sessions of attendance at the Divinity Hall, may be presented here as a specimen of Dr. Chalmers's College compositions:—"How different the languor and degeneracy of the present age from that ardour which animated the exertions of the primitive Christians in the cause of their religion! That religion had then all the impressive effect of novelty. The evidences which supported its divine origin were still open to observation. The miracles of Christianity proclaimed it to be a religion that was supported by the arm of Omnipotence. The violence of a persecuting hostility only served to inflame their attachment to the truth, and to arouse the intrepidity of their characters. Enthusiasm is a virtue rarely produced in a state of calm and unruffled repose. It flourishes in adversity. It kindles in the hour of danger,

* Let the reader compare this account with that given by Leyden's biographer, Mr. Morton, of his first appearance in the Literary Society—a society formed among the students attending the University of Edinburgh, which Leyden joined at an early period of his academic studies:—"Leyden's first attempts to speak in the society were very unsuccessful, and more than once procured him the mortification of being laughed at by his associates. But his perseverance was not to be overcome. The resolute and manly spirit which supported him on this and every similar occasion, may be understood from what he said to one of his friends, a person of great abilities and learning, who belonged to the same society, but who, from an excess of modesty, had never attempted to make a speech. 'I see what will happen,' said Leyden to him one day, after having in vain exhorted him to overcome his timidity, 'I shall, through constant practice, at last be able to harangue, whilst you, through dread of the ridicule of a few boys, will let slip the opportunity of learning this art, and will continue the same diffident man through life.'"—*Memoirs of Dr. John Leyden*, by the Rev. James Morton, pp. xi. xii.

and rises to deeds of renown. The terrors of persecution only serve to awaken the energy of its purposes. It swells in the pride of integrity, and, great in the purity of its cause, it can scatter defiance amid a host of enemies. The magnanimity of the primitive Christians is beyond example in history. It could withstand the ruin of interests, the desertion of friends, the triumphant joy of enemies, the storms of popular indignation, the fury of a vindictive priesthood, the torments of martyrdom. The faith of immortality emboldened their profession of the gospel, and armed them with contempt of death. The torrent of opposition they had to encounter in asserting the religion of Jesus, was far from repressing their activity in his service. They maintained his cause with sincerity—they propagated it with zeal—they devoted their time and their fortune to its diffusion. Amid all their discouragements they were sustained by the assurance of a heavenly crown. The love of their Redeemer consecrated their affections to his service, and enthroned in their hearts a pure and disinterested enthusiasm. Hence the rapid and successful extension of Christianity through the civilized world. The grace of God was with them. It blasted all the attempts of opposition. It invigorated the constancy of their purposes. It armed them with fortitude amid the terrors of persecution, and carried them triumphant through the proud career of victory and success."

In November 1842—more than forty years after the eulogy of enthusiasm contained in this passage was penned at St. Andrews—Dr. Chalmers met in solemn convocation with upwards of 400 of the Evangelical ministers of the Church of Scotland, assembled in Edinburgh to deliberate in prospect of the Disruption; and when, standing in the midst of them, the veteran leader of that noble band sought to stir up all around him to an enthusiasm equal to the great occasion which they were about to face, he took up the very words of 'this old College exercise, and no passage he ever wrote was uttered with more fervid energy or a more overwhelming effect.

During these winters of attendance at St. Andrews, the family at Anstruther had been rapidly increasing, till it had reached the goodly number of fourteen. Dr. Chalmers's seventh session was now drawing near its close. During the eighth, a three months' instead of a six months' residence at College might suffice. His time was thus about to fall almost wholly into his own hands. Instead of returning to Anstruther to be a burden

upon his father, and to live on there in idleness perhaps for years, till through the influence of his friends he obtained a living, Dr. Chalmers resolved to try at least to open for himself one of those channels through which ecclesiastical preferment was at that time not unusually reached. In May 1798, he left home to enter as private tutor* a family where he was destined to find an ungenial residence. He left this family about the end of the year, and reached St. Andrews in the beginning of January 1799. Soon after his return, he applied to the Presbytery of St. Andrews to be admitted to his examination preparatory to his obtaining a license as a preacher of the gospel. Some difficulties were raised against its being received. He had not completed his nineteenth year, whereas presbyteries were not wont to take students upon probationary trials till they had attained the age of twenty-one. It happily occurred that one of his friends in the Presbytery fell upon the old statute of the Church, which ordains, "that none be admitted to the ministry before they be twenty-five years of age, except such as for rare and singular qualities shall be judged by the General and Provincial Assembly to be meet and worthy thereof." Under cover of the last clause of this statute, and translating its more dignified phraseology into terms of commoner use, his friend pleaded for Mr. Chalmers's reception as "a lad o' pregnant pairts." The plea was admitted; and after the usual formalities, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel on the 31st July 1799. It was one of the tales of his earlier life which he was in the habit in later years of playfully repeating, that such a title had been so early given to him, and such a dispensation as to age had been granted.

* The day of his departure was one of mixed emotion. Having previously despatched his luggage, he was to travel on horseback to the ferry at Dundee. The whole family turned out to bid him farewell. Having taken as he thought his last tender look of them all, he turned to mount the horse which stood waiting for him at the door, but he mounted so that, when fairly on its back, his head was turned, not to the horse's head, but to the horse's tail. This was too much for all parties, and especially for him; so wheeling round as quickly as he could, amid pursuing peals of laughter, which he most heartily re-echoed, he left Anstruther in the rear.

CHAPTER II.

FAMILY HISTORY—FIRST SERMON—TWO SESSIONS AT EDINBURGH—PROFESSORS PLAYFAIR, HOPE, STEWART, AND ROBISON—ASSISTANTSHIP AT CAVERS—MATHEMATICAL ASSISTANTSHIP AT ST. ANDREWS—VISIT TO EDINBURGH.

No strong desire was shown to exercise the privilege thus conferred. Without even waiting to discharge the customary duty of preaching for one of the ministers within the bounds of the Presbytery which had licensed him, Mr. Chalmers set out on a second visit to England. This abrupt departure was due in part to the attractive prospect of a family reunion. It was possible that five—and nearly certain that four—brothers, who had not seen each other for years, would meet at Liverpool. James, the eldest brother, who was eight years older than Thomas, was now married and established there in business. George, the second brother, who was three years older than Thomas, had gone to sea in his seventeenth year, and had already visited both the East and West Indies. The unfortunate career and untimely fate of William, the third brother, threw one of the earliest and darkest shadows over the household at Anstruther. He was but a year and a half older than Thomas. Destined for one of the learned professions, he had been two sessions—those of 1791-2, 1792-3—at the University of St. Andrews. The two brothers, William and Thomas, lodged together, and helped each other to be idler than perhaps either of them would have been alone. In May 1793, William was apprenticed to Mr. Young, a writer to the signet in Edinburgh. Here he was as inattentive to the duties of the desk as at St. Andrews he had been to those of the classroom. Too often when a law-paper should have been completed, he was off to some boating excursion at Leith. Mr. Young was at last obliged to inform Mr. Chalmers of the conduct of his son; and the sad intelligence drew forth the following affectionate remonstrance: —

"ANSTRUTHER, *December* 30, 1793.

"MY DEAR WILLIAM,—I wrote you last week, and have none of yours now to reply to; but have had a letter to which I am

obliged to reply, and a very painful task it was to me to do so. I do not mean either to rail on or to abuse you; but desire, with soberness and affection, to expostulate with you. The letter I mention was from Mr. John Young, who regrets the necessity he was under of informing me of your inattention to your business; of your treating his entreaties and orders with neglect and contempt; of your absenting yourself whole days, even weeks, without any reason or apology; and that as he cannot trust to your attendance, he can only reckon you as a supernumerary hand; and as no application is given by you, it is not possible you can reap any benefit. Now, my dear Willie, the remedy is only with yourself; and I really think you may have resolution enough to accomplish it. The consideration of your friends, and your own interest, I should think reasons sufficiently strong to urge you to it. You are Mr. Young's legal apprentice. The penalty on your failure I am liable to pay. Every day you absent yourself, you are liable to serve two for it at the end of your apprenticeship. After all that has happened, I still hope you may do well. As you tender the authority and regard of a father, the affection of your mother—the peace and comfort of both parents, brothers, sisters, and relations—as you regard your future prosperity in life, and the authority of God, who commands obedience and respect to earthly masters, I beseech you, my dear son, to leave off levity and negligence, and to attend regularly on your master's business. Your whole time is his during your apprenticeship. Never absent yourself a day or any part of it, and make amends for your former neglect by a constant attendance. Be very careful to study your master's temper. Receive his orders with respect, and execute them with diligence. None come through life without difficulties. I have therefore to beseech you to have courage to bear what you may meet with. The day will come, I hope, that you will consider your present difficulties as having been a blessing. Though you may in some cases think yourself hardly used, it is your duty to submit. Great, very great are the advantages to a young man of being constantly employed. May God be with you and bless you; and if my counsel to you at this time has His blessing, it will give you and me grounds of thankfulness.—I am, your affectionate father,

JOHN CHALMERS."

His mother remonstrated in terms of still greater strength

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and almost equal tenderness, but in vain. No thought of time lost, and expenditure vainly incurred—of the blighting of his parents' hopes, and the inflicting upon them of new anxieties, could stop the career of one who after all was more volatile than vicious. Before the second year of his apprenticeship expired he had sailed for China. In the summer of 1799, the vessel in which he was midshipman was at Portsmouth, and he might have joined his brothers at Liverpool. But they were never to meet again. About twelve months afterwards, an Indiaman, The Queen, lying off Rio Janeiro, was crept round under cloud of night by a boat's crew, who, with deadliest design, at every port and opening they could reach, thrust in lighted matches, and retired. The ignited vessel burnt till she blew up—burying numbers in the deep, and amongst them the ill-fated William Chalmers. The sad intelligence reached Anstruther. At the customary hour, the family met for worship; Mr. Chalmers gave out the psalm; but as he read the verses, the thought of his lost child came over him—his voice faltered, stopped—he laid down the book, and burst into a flood of tears.

David, the fifth son, was three years younger than Thomas. At a very early age, following the example of two elder brothers, he had gone to sea. While only in his fourteenth year, his vessel was taken by the French in the West Indies, and he was thrown into a prison, whose own proper horrors were heightened by a slave's head being pitched occasionally over its walls, as if to terrify its inmates, by showing them what their masters could do. Miserably housed and miserably fed, he was seized with Yellow Fever, from which, however, he recovered. After twelve months' durance, he escaped, and reached Liverpool in the spring of 1799. To his brother William, Thomas had already been of essential service in teaching him navigation during the few weeks he spent at Anstruther before joining his vessel, and one inducement to the present visit was that he might now render the same kind of assistance to David.

He left Edinburgh in the beginning of August, and having spent about a fortnight on the journey, which was entirely performed on foot, he reached Liverpool on the 20th of that month.

"Liverpool, *Tuesday, August* 21.

"Dear Father,—I arrived at Walton yesternight about six o'clock. The latter part of my journey has been rather unpleasant, from the great quantity of rain that has fallen. I

have been highly gratified with the different scenes of landscape beauty at the lakes, though I think Mr. West is rather extravagant in his eulogiums. My brother and I intend to go on Saturday to Wigan, where I intend to make my first public exhibition in Mr. Dinwiddie's pulpit.—I am, dear Father, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The place of worship—a neat plain edifice, called Chapel Lane Chapel, or the Scotch Church—still stands in Wigan, in which, on Sabbath, the 25th August 1799, his first sermon was preached. On the following Sabbath he preached for the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick in Liverpool. Of these two first appearances in the pulpit, his brother James wrote the following account :—

"LIVERPOOL, *September* 3, 1799.

"DEAR FATHER,—We have been in the expectation of hearing from you in answer to our last, but we presume you have delayed writing in the expectation of hearing from us immediately after our Wigan journey. It is impossible for me to form an opinion of Thomas as yet; but the sermon he gave us in Liverpool, which was the same as we had in Wigan, was in general well liked. His mode of delivery is expressive, his language beautiful, and his arguments very forcible and strong. His sermon contained a due mixture both of the doctrinal and practical parts of religion, but I think it inclined rather more to the latter. The subject, however, required it. It is the opinion of those who pretend to be judges, that he will shine in the pulpit, but as yet he is rather awkward in his appearance. We, however, are at some pains in adjusting his dress, manner, &c., but he does not seem to pay any great regard to it himself. His mathematical studies seem to occupy more of his time than the religious. I refer you to the subjoined for other particulars (*if you can read them*),* and am, dear Father, yours most sincerely, JAMES CHALMERS."

In October, the four brothers had met, and David's navigation lessons had fairly commenced; but the lessons were stopped, and the brotherly intercourse abruptly terminated by a summons requiring Thomas's immediate presence in Edinburgh. A

* These particulars were in Thomas's handwriting, which even then was somewhat difficult to decipher. It became much worse afterwards—so much so, that his father is reported to have c refully deposited the unread letters in his desk, saying, that Thomas himself would read them to them when he came next to Anstruther.

situation had become vacant, which, if on the spot, he might perhaps procure. He obeyed, but was disappointed. He remained, however, in Edinburgh during the whole of the ensuing winter, prosecuting his mathematical studies under Professor Playfair. At the beginning of the session, he had hoped that by taking pupils he might keep himself from pressing upon his father's resources. The failure of this expectation, and the arrangement which followed, he thus communicated to his old college friend, Mr. William Berry Shaw, son of the minister of Abbotshall :—

"EDINBURGH, *November* 8, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been much disappointed in the article of pupils. A week sooner in Edinburgh would have answered my purpose. I am determined, however, to take up my residence here for the winter, and wait for any little thing that may offer in that way. I am at present in Hyndford Close, Canongate; but I remove in a few days, when you may direct to me at Chessels' Court, Canongate, to the care of Mr. Cowan. He is my mother's uncle, and has kindly offered me a room in his house. This, though highly advantageous in point of economy, is rather a restraint upon my freedom, especially in receiving and entertaining acquaintances.—I am, yours sincerely,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*P.S.*—What think you of the Clerical Review? There are three critics placed in every church in town who review the sermons of the ministers, and publish their observations on the Saturday following. The first number comes out next Saturday.—T. C."

In January 1800 he writes to his father :—"I feel quite happy in Mr. Cowan's family. His conduct is distinguished by all the regard of a parent. I have never preached since I came to Edinburgh, except once at Penicuick.* As to my class, I find my time so profitably employed that I would be sorry at any interruption for the winter. I hope, however, you do not think that I attach an excessive importance to this branch of knowledge. I have seen and I despise that illiberal ignorance which arrogates to one particular science an exclusive title to attention."

The kind of interruption which was dreaded was a call to ministerial employment! No such interruption disturbed his

* The first sermon preached in Scotland.

winter's progress. But one winter in Edinburgh was not enough. He had come to it hurriedly—with indefinite aim—without any special preparations. Repairing in haste to its academic inclosure, he had plucked but the fruits of one single plant, and it had whetted his appetite for others. He longed to profit by the eloquent prelections of Dugald Stewart and Dr. Robison. The opportunity besides was an inviting one, of making himself acquainted with a science new to him and most attractive. He had only been a few weeks in Edinburgh when a profound sensation was created by the death of Dr. Black—the illustrious Nestor, as Lavoisier called him, of the chemical revolution. The singular manner of that death *—the revival thereby of the memory of those brilliant discoveries which had signalized an earlier part of his career—the engagement by Dr. Robison to furnish an account of these discoveries, as well as to edit the lectures of his deceased friend—all combined to throw a heightened interest around the science of chemistry, which the fluent ease and graceful experimenting of Dr. Black's successor, Dr. Hope, did nothing, at least, to diminish. It was most fortunate that during the summer no obstacle was thrown in the way of his accomplishing his desire. In July, we find him writing thus to Mr. Shaw :—

"Anstruther, *July* 9, 1800.

"Dear Sir,—I received yours of May 27, and regret my not having been at Edinburgh with so many of my St. Andrews acquaintances. I had a very pleasant excursion yesterday with Mr. Duncan and some others to the Bass and Island of May. I have preached twice in St. Andrews, and consider myself as having discharged my obligations to the ministers. There are applications pouring in from all quarters, but I find there is a necessity of resisting them. I have already exhausted all the different terms of expression which soften or give grace to a refusal, and I must now content myself with using peremptory and decided terms.

"Dr. Brown's speech † has excited much less criticism in St. Andrews than I expected. They are all very silent about it,

* "On the 26th of November 1799, he expired without any convulsion, shock, or stupor to announce or retard the approach of death. Being at table with his usual fare—some bread, a few prunes, and a measured quantity of milk diluted with water, and having the cup in his hand when the last stroke of the pulse was to be given, he set it down on his knees, which were joined together, and kept it steady with his hand in the manner of a person perfectly at his ease, and in this attitude he expired, without a drop being spilt or a feature in his countenance changed, as if an experiment had been required, to show to his friends the facility with which he departed."—*Ency. Brit.*, Art. *Black*.

† The Rev. Dr. Robert Arnot, Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews,

and I suppose feel galled by its superior excellence. It is read with great avidity in some places, though I think there is a lukewarmness among the people in this country which disposes them to acquiesce with ease in any new measure. Dr. Arnot resides in Kingsbarns, and will, I believe, gain over the people by the popularity of his manners. I often go up to St. Andrews, where I reside for a week or a fortnight at a time. I find that the conversation of the few literati there has a sort of refreshing effect on my mind, and gives new vigour and alacrity to my exertions.—I am, yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

In November 1800, he returned to Edinburgh to pursue his studies during a second session. His attention to the chemical lectures was unremitting. The manuscript volumes in which the lectures delivered by Dr. Hope were extended, still remain to testify his diligence. In the course of the session, he gave in a paper to the professor, which, though wrong in its conclusions, may be taken as an ample enough voucher of the ingenuity of its author.

Dr. Brown had furnished him with an introduction to Mr. Stewart, who politely called and presented him with a ticket of admission to the class of Moral Philosophy. When more than half of the session was over, after full opportunity of judging had been given—at a time when the lecturer's fame was at its height, and when in the face of a nearly unanimous verdict in his favour few would have ventured to challenge his title to be reckoned the very prince of metaphysicians, Mr. Chalmers thus conveyed to Dr. Brown his impressions of the character of Mr. Stewart's prelections :—

"EDINBURGH, *February* 25, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,—I gave your respects to Mr. Stewart, and delivered to him all the essential information you sent me regarding Dr. Reid. I was very much pleased with the freedom and openness of his conversation. I attended his lectures regularly. I must confess I have been rather disappointed. I never heard a single discussion of Mr. Stewart's which made up one masterly and comprehensive whole. His lectures seem to be made up of detached hints and incomplete outlines, and he almost uniformly

having been presented to the parish of Kingsbarns, his settlement was objected to, and the case referred to the General Assembly of 1800, before which Dr. Brown, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, delivered a very able speech, which gave rise to a lengthened correspondence between him and Dr. George Hill, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Both the speech and the correspondence were published.

avoids every subject which involves any difficult discussion. I have acquired from him, however, a much clearer idea than I ever had of the distinctive character of Reid's philosophy. I think it tends to a useless multiplication of principles, and shrinks even from an appearance of simplicity. I don't know if this remark will meet your approbation; but I think that as the love of simplicity is a source of error, so we may proceed too far in our opposition to it; that our unreserved submission to experience may be prevented, both by a desire of generalizing and by a previous conviction of its hurtful effects.—I am, dear Sir, yours with sincerest esteem, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The Edinburgh professor of whom he at once entertained the profoundest admiration, and to whom he was most largely indebted, was Dr. Robison. In the earliest of his own preparations for the Moral Philosophy Chair at St. Andrews, and in the latest of his writings for the Chair of Theology in the New College of Edinburgh,* evidence appears of his familiar acquaintance with, and unqualified approbation of, that mode of mapping out the sciences, and drawing the boundary line between them, which this great master generalizer adopted. His thorough knowledge—his profound admiration of the Baconian method of investigation were derived from the same source, Dr. Robison's exposition of the distinctive characteristics of that method still remaining as one of the very ablest of which our language can boast. Nor would Butler have been so readily hailed, or done such full homage to, as the Bacon of Theology, had he not been at this period so thoroughly indoctrinated into the distinctive characteristics, and so thoroughly imbued with the true spirit of the inductive philosophy. Ever ready, however, as Dr. Chalmers was, in terms of largest gratitude, to acknowledge his obligations to Dr. Robison, few knew how weighty the debt was which he owed to that pre-eminent philosopher. The nature of that debt, the following letter, written only a year before his death, reveals:—

"EDINBURGH, *March* 1, 1846.

"DEAR SIR,—I should have replied sooner to yours of the 17th, but my occupations are very urgent, and even yet I can only afford a very brief reply.

"I sympathize with you all the more in the state of philosophical scepticism that you complain of, that I at one time ex-

* See Institutes of Theology, vol. i. pp. 29 and 80.

perienced it myself. The book to which I was most indebted for my deliverance was Beattie's Essay on Truth. I owe a great deal too to the introductory lectures of Professor Robison, whom I attended at the beginning of this century as a student of natural philosophy. The substance of these lectures is to be found in the latter half of the article Philosophy, and also in the article Physics in the supplementary volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Whether they have been engrossed into the main work in the last edition, I do not know.

"The single consideration which has had most effect on my own mind, I have tried to make palpable in vol. ii. of my Natural Theology, in page 169, though I enter upon the subject of that argument some pages before.

"Under all the difficulties and despondencies of such a state, I would still encourage you to prayer. Cry as you can. With real, moral earnestness, and a perseverance in this habit, light will at length arise out of darkness. Do not indulge these sceptical tendencies; but under the conviction of their being a great misfortune and evil, struggle against them to the uttermost. I can write no more at present. This is the last month of my college session, and I am very much engrossed and fatigued during the whole of it.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

To understand this letter, let us go back to that period in his philosophical course, when Dr. Chalmers became a student and admirer of the works of Godwin,* and let us trace the history from that time onward of the philosophical scepticism which was then first generated in his mind. Godwin himself used the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity as the basis of a refined but universal Pyrrhonism. Nor was it easy, as he represented it, for the doctrine to be accepted, and the results drawn from it to be refused. Whatever doubts Godwin had injected, Jonathan Edwards dispelled—showing him how, on the very same basis, the highest form of an adoring piety could be raised. Rejoicing in the discovery, he rose as high, perhaps, as the kind of faith he cherished could carry him; and, in his twelvemonth's ecstacy, tested its full power to regale and to satisfy the spirit. Still, however, his was a different kind of faith from that of Edwards. It was but a philosophical faith in the Godhead—a faith resting as its main if not only support, on enlarged and sublime con-

* See Institutes, vol. ii. p. 294.

ceptions of a universe throughout the whole of whose immutable successions a sovereign principle of fixed and unvarying order reigns. A faith soaring so high, and leaning only on such support, was liable to be shaken; and it was so shaken, when towards the close of his attendance at the Divinity Hall of St. Andrews, Mirabaud's* work on the "System of Nature, or the Laws of the Moral and Physical World," came into his hands. In his first course of theological lectures in Edinburgh, he characterized this work as one fitted, "by its gorgeous generalizations on nature and truth and the universe, to make tremendous impression on the unpractised reader."† That very kind of impression it had once made upon his own mind. To it, much more than to Godwin's Political Justice, he attributed his tendency to doubt as to the stability of the foundations on which all truth—moral and religious—rested. It first appeared in English in 1797, and I am inclined to believe that it was first read by Dr. Chalmers during the period when he was acting as a tutor. "After being very uncomfortable for some time in that situation," Mr. Miller tells us, "he left the family abruptly, and came to me at St. Andrews, in a state of great excitement and unhappiness, and lived with me during the rest of the session. His mind was at that time in a most interesting but unhappy condition. He was earnestly searching for the truth—saw some things very clearly and satisfactorily, but could not find his way to the understanding and belief of some of the most obvious doctrines of natural and revealed religion. Those who were not particularly acquainted with him, thought him going fast into a state of derangement. One very common expression in his public prayers, and which showed the state of his mind at that time —'Oh, give us some steady object for our mind to rest upon,' was uttered with all his characteristic earnestness and emphasis. I knew that he was exceedingly earnest in seeking the light of truth at that time in his private devotion, and was often on his knees at my bedside after I had gone to bed."‡

Instead of the great Being—the abstract though still personal

* The *Système de la Nature*, published under the assumed name of "M. Mirabaud, Secretaire Perpétuel et l'un des quarante de l'Académie Francaise," is sufficiently ascertained to have been the production of Baron d'Holbach.—Barbier, Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes, tom. iii. p. 291.—*Biographie Universelle*, tom. xx. p. 404.

† See Works, vol. i. p. 163. In a lecture delivered at a later period, he said—"On this subject I have nothing to quote from Mirabaud, whose work on the System of Nature I read when a very young man. Its magniloquence I then mistook for magnificence, and the gorgeousness of its generalizations on nature and the universe made a tremendous impression on me. I had the curiosity to read it again within these few months, and what in my earlier days had the effect of a sublime and a seducing eloquence, excites now a sensation of utter disgust."

‡ MS. Letter

Deity, into rapturous adoration of whom he had been for a time uplifted—Mirabaud placed before him an eternal universe of mere matter and motion, all the goodliest processes of which were but the necessary evolutions of the powers and properties wherewith all its parts had from eternity been endowed. Did the perplexed student point to this or that other wonderful instance of contrivance existing in this universe? Mirabaud informed him that these were but harmonies which naturally occurred, upon matter's original properties developing themselves according to motion's immutable laws. Did he turn to the spirit within him in proof of something different from and above the material universe? Mirabaud would have him to believe that this mind or spirit was the natural result of that wonderful and organized assemblage of material particles which constitutes the human body. Originally nothing—without any innate ideas—without any original qualities of its own—it had no distinct and independent existence, but was only what that material organization in its different forms and stages made it. Even granting of this mind that it had original beliefs, of which no natural history could be given, what reason was there to think that these beliefs had any actual counterparts in the reality of things? They were true to the mind which entertained them; but true only because of its individual constitution requiring it so to believe. Let another mind be differently constituted, might not its beliefs be different?—nay, might they not even be reversed? It was here that the lectures of Dr. Robison—it was here that the "single consideration" referred to in the letter quoted above—struck in with such appropriateness of application and with such beneficent effect. Take the faith we all have in the uniformity of nature's sequences—what explanation of its origin can be assigned? To what other common fountain-head of belief can it be traced? What natural history of it can be given? It is not due to experience; for before all experience it exists. It owes nothing to after training; for it is in the very fulness of its strength the first moment that it shows itself. And is it—can it be an illusion, having no support but that given it by the form and structure of the mind in which it dwells? That cannot be. The outward, the independent, the unvarying testimony of the external world responds to and confirms it. An adaptation like this, between what the mind believes and what the material universe through all her bounds exhibits, an adaptation so singular, yet so universal—the inward expectation met without a

single exception by the outward fulfilment—can it possibly be the product of the intrinsic properties of matter—the blind laws of motion? Too audibly to be unheard by any but the ear which wilfully closes itself, such adaptation speaks of a Divine and Intelligent Adapter. For the poor wanderer in that doleful region of universal doubt, who was seeking rest but finding none, Beattie and Robison opened up more than one pathway of escape. But this, as we have now attempted to describe it, this was the special door of egress by which the happy escape was in the first instance made. Nor, considering what service it rendered to himself, is it to be wondered at that he should be heard so often and so earnestly recommending it to others.*

While Mr. Chalmers was imbibing wholesome lessons from Dr. Robison, his friend Mr. Shaw was acting as assistant to the Rev. Mr. Elliot, minister of Cavers—a parish in Roxburghshire, lying along the southern banks of the Teviot, a few miles below Hawick. Having the prospect of removal by the promise of a presentation to the neighbouring parish of Roberton, Mr. Shaw thought of his college friend as his successor, and endeavoured to interest in his favour Mr. Douglas, the chief resident landholder in, and patron of, the parish of Cavers.

"It seems," says Mr. Chalmers in a letter to Mr. Shaw, dated at Edinburgh, June 1, 1801—"It seems that you had mentioned me to Mr. Douglas. He asked Leyden about me, who carried me to his house on Thursday last, where I dined. Not a single word, however, passed upon the subject, and I am quite uncertain as to his intentions. You must now see, my dear sir, the impropriety of my taking any step without the knowledge of Mr. Douglas; and that my business at present is to remain passive till something more transpire upon the subject. I have left my direction with Mr. Leyden, and wait for any proposals from Mr. Douglas that may occur."

This letter was grounded on a misapprehension. It had not been to Mr. Douglas, as patron of the parish, that Mr. Shaw had applied: the assistantship in this case did not involve the succession; it was by the minister that the appointment was to be made, and it was from him only that any proposal could emanate. Mr. Shaw suggested that Mr. Chalmers should come without delay and preach at Cavers, that by his becoming favourably known to the parishioners, Mr. Elliot might be in-

* See Works, vol. ii. pp. 160-172; iii. 47-61; vii. 203-233, and particularly p. 206.

duced to appoint him as his assistant. To this suggestion, conveyed by letter to Anstruther, he received the following reply :—

"ANSTRUTHER, *June* 13, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am very sorry that before receiving yours I had formed the plan of going up with my sister to England, and am afraid it will be absolutely impossible for me to appear at Cavers so soon as you mention. The situation is what I would like above all things, both for its independence and for the opportunities of professional improvement which it affords. You never told me, but I suppose your connexion with Elliot is not dissolved for some months. In that case, if there be no inconvenience in the delay of a few weeks, I may both accomplish my journey to Liverpool, and be present at Cavers in time to receive the assistantship.—Yours sincerely,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Fulfilling the intention expressed in this letter, Mr. Chalmers reached Liverpool on the 17th June. Two days after his arrival, he received and thus answered a second invitation to come immediately to Cavers :—

"LIVERPOOL, *June* 20, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 13th, transmitted from Anster yesterday, and am truly sorry that your plans have been so much deranged. There is one view of the matter that to me is peculiarly interesting, in as far as it involves Walker* or any other whom you may choose to apply to. I hope the affair is not too late, but that either one or other of us may succeed. What I now propose is to move northward the middle of next week, so as to be with you at Cavers on Saturday the 29th June, and, if convenient, preach for you the day after. There is no subject on which I feel more tender, and none in which I am more anxiously interested, than my own conduct in as far as it affects the interests and prosperity of others. I hope to God that Mr. Walker will not suffer from anything dilatory or undecided in my movements upon this occasion, and that if I be excluded, there will still be a possibility of his succeeding in the office. Next to my own success in this affair (and it is a situation which upon many accounts is very desirable), I sincerely wish that your good intentions with regard to Mr. Walker, or any other of your companions, may be fulfilled.—Yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

* The Rev. James Walker, afterwards minister of Carnwath.

The visit to Cavers was paid, the sermon was preached, and the result thus communicated to his father :—

"CAVERS, *July* 8, 1801.

"DEAR FATHER,—I left Liverpool on Wednesday the first of this month, reached this place on Friday, and preached on Sunday; when having proved acceptable to the people in general, there remains no obstacle to my settlement here as assistant to Mr. Elliot. Mr. Shaw's connexion with him is not dissolved till the end of September, so that I will have time to compose a sufficiency of sermons to render the business abundantly easy. The only remaining uncertainty is respecting the arrival of Mr. Shaw's presentation, in which there has been some little delay from the Duke of Buccleuch's bad health, but we expect it every day. I preached last Sunday upon Mark viii. 15, 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.'—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The month of July was devoted to Teviotdale. Delighted with the beauty of that exquisite neighbourhood, his heart quite won by the frank and intelligent cordiality of its families, he returned to Anstruther to have laid before him what he deemed to be new proofs of the selfishness and ingratitude of a family, which politically had been deeply indebted to his father.* More than once before, instances of their indifference had occurred. Beyond this, he believed that they were now practising on his father's simplicity of character, abusing his gentle patience, and calculating upon a charity which was long ere it failed in believing, or hoping, or enduring. The burning indignation which such conduct excited, breaks out in the following letter addressed to Mr. Shaw shortly after his return from Cavers to Anstruther:—"I feel a strong tendency to depression in this stagnant place, and cannot help observing the astonishing contrast between this and Teviotdale. Less society—less business—less sentiment and information among the different orders. The country here bears about with it every symptom of decay—a languishing trade—an oppressed tenantry—a rapacious gentry. Excuse my croaking. I love to unburden myself of those unpleasant feelings which weigh down my spirit. With what eagerness, with what patriotic ardour would I take up arms in defence of my country—would I lend all my efforts to oppose a threatened

* His father was for many years Provost of Anstruther, one of five small neighbouring burghs which at that time returned a member to Parliament.

invasion, were I conscious of defending a righteous order of things. With what reluctance and disgust must I concur in what are called the exertions of patriotism, when I observe none interested but a set of insolent oppressors, who display their loyalty, not by rewarding its friends, but by persecuting its enemies—not by encouraging the pure virtue of public spirit, but by crushing all attempts at even an innocent freedom of observation and thought. Ah! my dear sir, if you felt that burden of indignation which oppresses my feelings when I behold the triumph of successful villany—the contempt which attends the simplicity of virtue—the base ingratitude of those who have availed themselves of the influence and exertions of unsuspicious friends. I swear at this moment I feel a sentiment of superiority which I would not forego for all the luxurious pleasures, all the flattering distinctions of wealth. I heave with a sacred aspiration of contempt for the unprincipled deceit—the mean hypocrisy of our dignified superiors. But I go too far. The great whom I have had the misfortune to be connected with are not only a disgrace to rank, but a disgrace to humanity. They are by no means a fair specimen; and I must still consider it as my duty to resist the inroads of foreign enemies. It would be well, however, for the great to reflect on their critical and dependent situation—to abolish that putrid system of interest which threatens to extinguish all the ardours of generous and patriotic sentiment—to adopt a more just and liberal conduct to inferiors. I tremble for my country, and see nothing to save us but individual reformation through the different orders of society. This the experience of human affairs can by no means warrant us to expect. Our profession also has the misfortune to labour, and too deservedly, under general contempt. I hope to God we shall rise above the vices and defects to which that profession is exposed.—Yours sincerely,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

While Mr. Chalmers was waiting at Anstruther till the period of Mr. Shaw's removal, Dr. Wilson, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Andrews, died. It was not improbable that a vacancy might thus be created in one of the parishes which were in the gift of the United College. Mr. Chalmers announced himself as a candidate for any such vacancy. He was the more readily induced to do so from its having been very much the practice in the distribution of College patronage that each pro-

fessor in his turn, if he had any near relation for whom the preferment might be claimed, should virtually have the living in his gift—a privilege which upon this occasion fell into the hands of Dr. Adamson, Professor of Civil History. It might happen, however, as it did, that a year or more might elapse ere anything was settled. Mr. Chalmers resolved to accept, in the mean time, the situation which Mr. Shaw's kindness had opened to him. That kindness was increased by the offer made and accepted, that, instead of the manse at Cavers being occupied solitarily by Mr. Chalmers, he should live with Mr. Shaw in his manse at Roberton, which was only about seven miles distant from Cavers Church, to which he could ride over and return each Sabbath day. The offer so kindly made, was thus frankly accepted :—

"St. Andrews, *October* 24, 1801.

"My dear Sir,—I received yours, transmitted to me from Anster, and am much pleased with the very kind proposal you have made me. Though it had never occurred to me before, yet I think it, in the present circumstances, the most eligible which can be adopted. The obstacles which I suspect, are the dispositions of the parish and of Mr. Elliot—the one objecting to a non-resident preacher, the other to an assistant, who thus exposes himself to the displeasure of his parish. I would thank you to do all in your power to soften any prejudice which either the one or the other may conceive against such a measure. I insist, however, in case of my living at Roberton, that I share with you in every expense of our household establishment.

"I don't know if you have heard of the arrangements that have taken place in the New College—Dr. Trotter to get the Church History Chair, and Mr. Cook of Kilmany the Hebrew. I have been as vigorous in my application for the church as possible, but cannot state with any certainty what will be the issue.

"Be assured, my dear sir, I feel a sincere impression of your kindness and of your anxiety for my accommodation and comfort. I cannot soon forget the solicitude you discovered for my success in Cavers, the many efforts you have made on my behalf, and the unwearied assiduity with which you have all along promoted my interests. My future situation in life may be widely different from what we have hitherto proposed; but I hope I shall ever recollect your conduct with that candour which regards only the pure and disinterested intention, and not the event—so often the sport of blind and unmeaning ac-

cident. I cannot help expressing a sentiment of friendship, which I hope neither absence nor length of time will ever efface.—Yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*P.S.*—My respectful compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Usher, and my sincerest wishes for the happiness of all who inhabit that mansion of hospitality and peace."

Having secured a majority of votes among the professors at St. Andrews in favour of his presentation to Kilmany, Mr. Chalmers joined Mr. Shaw at Roberton.

"ROBERTON, *January* 13, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—The people in this country are kind and hospitable in the extreme. You cannot conceive the kindness both Mr. Shaw and myself have experienced from the farmers around, in sending us peats, hay, straw, &c. Parochial examinations are quite common in this country. I begin that duty on Monday fortnight, and, as the parish is extensive, it will take me upwards of a fortnight to accomplish it. The mode is to divide the parish into a number of small districts, in each of which you are accommodated with lodgings, &c., in one or other of the farmers' houses. I am now quite free from sore throat, and the people in Cavers have not lost a Sunday since my arrival. They are quite satisfied with my non-residence.—I am, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ROBERTON, *February* 19, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—I have accomplished the examination of the parish, which, from its extent and population, occupied a complete fortnight. I was in tolerable luck for weather, and the people kind and hospitable in the extreme. You will be pleased to hear that I am on the best terms with several respectable clergymen in the neighbourhood, who have been very kind and attentive to me.—Yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Dr. Charters of Wilton, Dr. Hardie of Ashkirk, Mr. Arkle of Hawick, and Mr. Paton of Ettrick, all lived within an easy riding-distance of the manse at Roberton. With all of them Mr. Chalmers became intimate; while to Dr. Charters he became bound by the tie of a very sincere admiration of his character and talents, as well as a lively gratitude for the kindness shown to him at this early period of his life.

As the winter months rolled on, a new object of interest arose. Dr. Brown having been appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, the charge of the mathematical classes at St. Andrews had been committed successively to Mr. Coutts and Mr. Duncan. The latter had been recently appointed to the Rectorship of the Academy of Dundee, and the Mathematical Assistantship was once more to be vacant. It was a situation too congenial to Mr. Chalmers's taste for him not to desire it. Had his aims been purely professional, the certainty of the appointment to Kilmany might have satisfied him; nay, if anything like the same feeling of ministerial responsibility which he afterwards entertained had been then experienced, he would never have thought of undertaking an office requiring such very laborious preparations, and that on the eve of his entrance on the Christian ministry. But, as yet unvisited with those profounder sentiments as to the objects and responsibilities of that ministry, science still swayed it over theology. His thirst for literary distinction was intense. To fill the mathematical chair in one of our universities was the high object of his ambition. To this the assistantship at St. Andrews might prove a stepping-stone. It would give him at least the opportunity so ardently longed for—of proving and exhibiting his capabilities for such an office. In spite, therefore, of the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, he resolved to make a vigorous effort to obtain the appointment. Informed that his presence at St. Andrews was desirable, he left Roberton in the end of April, to return in a few weeks, not only with the assurance reiterated and confirmed of his receiving the presentation to Kilmany, but with the mathematical assistantship secured. It might not be till Whitsuntide of the following year that he would be ordained as a minister; in November he would enter upon the duties of the mathematical class. Inflamed by the literary ardour which the prospect now before him had kindled, he returned to Teviotdale, resolved to devote the summer months to strenuous study. It aided the carrying out of this intention, that the manse at Roberton required repairs, and that he took temporary lodgings at Hawick. His time was thus more entirely at his command, and that time was so well employed that when November came, his preparations for the session were nearly completed.

"HAWICK, *June* 8, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—I have at length removed my quarters to

this town, and find that my separation from Mr. Shaw is attended with the best possible effects, in enabling me to pay undisturbed attention to my mathematical preparations. Independently of emolument, of prospects, or of any interested considerations whatever, the offer I have accepted is highly eligible, as it constrains me to exertion, as it increases the force of attention, as it refreshes the memory on subjects of great utility and importance, and as it renews habits of industry. I am obliged to keep myself a good deal aloof from intercourse with the people in town, though they seem disposed to pay me every attention, such as inviting me to their public entertainment on the King's birthday, &c. I have intimated to Mr. Elliot my intention of leaving Cavers on the first of September. I expect him in the course of a fortnight, as our sacrament is to take place on the fourth Sunday of the month. I go up to Ettrick on Friday, and preach in that parish on the Saturday and Monday. On the intervening Sabbath I preach at Eskdalemuir.—I am, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"HAWICK, *July* 23, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—I have been much resorted to of late for my assistance on sacramental occasions. This, in so thinly peopled a country, necessarily subjects me to long journeys, which I find, however, to be a pleasant and healthy relief from the labours of study. I don't think I will ever allow myself to be so carried away with the attractions of science as not to intermingle a sufficient degree of exercise and amusement.—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

During the three months spent in Hawick, he lodged in the house of Mr. Kedie, a baker in that town; two of whose daughters, very young at the time, and just learning to read and write, were in the habit of waiting on him. To the whole of the family, and particularly to his two little waiting-maids, he formed an attachment which, to the very close of his life, was ever and anon giving touching illustrations of its liveliness and strength.*

At the beginning of September, Mr. Chalmers left Hawick, that his preparations for the session might be completed at St. Andrews. Early in October, Mr. Cook resigned the living of

* See Correspondence of Dr. Chalmers, pp. 49-59.

Kilmany; and on the 2d of November, the Principal and professors cordially and unanimously agreed to elect Mr. Chalmers his successor. His parish being secured, and his preparations completed, he threw himself into the duties of the mathematical classes with all the fervour of an overflowing enthusiasm. He was ready to guide his students steadily and consecutively along a strictly scientific course; but as they trod that path, he would have all their bosoms to glow with the same philosophic ardours which inflamed his own; for to him the demonstrations of geometry were not mere abstractions to be curiously but unmovedly gazed at by the cold eye of speculation. A beauty and a glory hung over them which kindled the most glowing emotions in his breast. To his eye, his favourite science did not sit aloof and alone, in the pride of her peculiar methods disdaining communion with those of her fellows who tread the humbler walks of experience and induction. Links of sympathy bound her to them all—while to more than one of them she became the surest ally and closest friend. And all that his beloved science was to himself, he would have her to become to the youths in the class-room around him. Every obstacle that might hinder approach or attachment, he sought to set aside; every side-light which might render her more attractive to youthful eyes, he threw upon her; every generous sentiment which could animate to a devoted following, he invoked and stimulated. "Under his extraordinary management," so writes one of his pupils,* "the study of mathematics was felt to be hardly less a play of the fancy than a labour of the intellect—the lessons of the day being continually interspersed with applications and illustrations of the most lively nature, so that he secured in a singular manner the confidence and attachment of his pupils."

He felt at the very outset that there was an initial obstacle to contend with—in the imagination that there was a certain mysterious difficulty about mathematical investigations, which only a few intellects, and these singularly constituted, could overcome. And it was thus that in one of his earliest lectures he set himself to remove it:—

"The most elevated doctrines of geometry lie open to the inquiries of any ordinary mind which can command its faculty of attention; for in the process of a mathematical discussion there is nothing desultory—there occurs no transition which it requires

* The Rev. Dr. Duff, now minister of Kenmore.

any uncommon power or rapidity of inference to follow—no interval which it requires the gigantic stride of a superior genius to cross. Are there any among you, gentlemen, who labour under the discouraging impression that nature has unfitted you for an effectual prosecution of this science—that she forbids the attempt as hopeless and unavailing? I lament the impression as unfortunate—as an impression than which none is more likely to palsy your exertions and to blast every expectation of success. But what is more, it is an impression which is false. You suspect the liberality of nature when you ought to suspect your own habits of application and industry. You impeach nature as being niggardly in her endowments, when you ought to impeach your own feeble and irresolute efforts—the listless indolence of a disposition that will not be aroused to activity at the generous call of ambition, or fired to exertion by all the allurements and honours of philosophy as she waves you to the sacred temple of renown, and bids you contemplate the fame of the illustrious dead who trod the lofty walks of discovery, and whose remembrance will never die." *

The very opening of the text-book was suggestive. Euclid's Elements, and the French Revolution, they lie seemingly remote enough from one another. It was thus, however, that the fire of genius forged the connecting link :—

"These Elements of Euclid, gentlemen, have raised for their author a deathless monument of fame. For two thousand years they have maintained their superiority in the schools, and been received as the most appropriate introduction to geometry. It is one of the few books which elevate our respect for the genius of antiquity. It has survived the wreck of ages. It had its days of adversity and disgrace in the dark period of ignorance and superstition, when everything valuable in the literature of antiquity was buried in the dust and solitude of cloisters, and the still voice of truth was drowned in the jargon of a loud and disputatious theology. But it has been destined to reappear in all its ancient splendour. We ascribe not indeed so high a character to it because of its antiquity; but why be carried away by the rashness of innovation? why pour an indiscriminate contempt on systems and opinions because they are old? Truth is confined to no age and to no country. Its voice has been

* Extracted from MS. Lectures.

heard in the Temple of Egypt, as well as in the European University. It has darted its light athwart the gloom of antiquity, as well as given a new splendour to the illumination of modern times. We have witnessed the feuds of political innovation—the cruelty and murder which have marked the progress of its destructive career. Let us also tremble at the heedless spirit of reform which the confidence of a misguided enthusiasm may attempt in the principles and investigations of philosophy. What would have been the present degradation of science had the spirit of each generation been that of contempt for the labours and investigations of its ancestry? Science would exist in a state of perpetual infancy. Its abortive tendencies to improvement would expire with the short-lived labours of individuals, and the extinction of every new race would again involve the world in the gloom of ignorance. Let us tremble to think that it would require the production of a new miracle to restore the forgotten discoveries of Newton."

Mr. Chalmers could not mention Newton's name without laying down some tribute at his feet. Years afterwards, when in the full splendour of his fame, we shall find him in Newton's own University of Cambridge, surrounded by her assembled literati, pouring out, in glowing panegyric, one of the finest passages his pen ever produced. But even now, in the small classroom of St. Andrews, with twenty or thirty mere youths around him, it was thus that his passionate admiration burst forth :—

"Mathematics have been condemned as contracting the best affections of the heart—chilling the ardours of its benevolence—blasting its heavenward aspirations. Dr. Johnson, who possessed the power of genius without its liberality, and who appears to have cherished an immovable contempt for mathematics, has directed all the powers of his ridicule against the ludicrous peculiarities which he is pleased to ascribe to mathematicians. He conceives a fire raging in a neighbourhood, and spreading destruction among many families; while all the noise and consternation is unable to disturb the immovable composure of a mathematician, who sits engrossed with his diagrams, deaf to all the sounds of alarm and of distress. His servants rush into his room, and tell him that the fire is spreading all around the neighbourhood. He observes simply, that it is very natural, for fire

always acts in a circle,—and resumes his speculations.* You may be afraid to encounter a study which begets such insensibility. Let me tell you that your apprehensions are groundless, that it is not the effect of this study to divest you of all that is human, or to congeal the fervours of a benevolent or a devout heart. I appeal to the example of our illustrious countryman. Amid the splendours of his discoveries, and the proud elevation of his fame, Newton rejoiced in all the endearments of friendship. In the spirit of a mild and gentle benevolence, he maintained an inviolable serenity. It is said of him that he had the modesty of a child. In the society of his friends, the consciousness of his superiority seemed to desert him. His eye beamed with inexpressible benignity; he indulged in all the luxury of affection, and could descend to the sportful effusions of familiar intercourse. His fame went abroad through the world; but he would not confide his happiness to the treacherous breath of applause. He founded it on a more secure foundation. He felt it in the affectionate homage of those friends to whom his worth had endeared him. He felt it in the consciousness of an unblemished life—in the over-powering impressions of an adoring piety. Newton, we invoke thy genius! May it preside over our labours, and animate to the arduous ascent of philosophy. May it revive the drooping interests of science, and awaken the flame of enthusiasm in the hearts of a degenerate people. May it teach us that science without virtue is an empty parade, and that that philosophy deserves to be extinguished which glances contempt on the sacred majesty of religion."

Spring came with its inviting call to idleness. But at the same time there came a call to strenuous effort, louder and more imperious than at any preceding period of the session; for now the last and most arduous ascent was to be made. The judicious and genial-hearted arbiter thus adjusted the rival claims:—

"In the subject that we are now to prosecute, I call for your patient and uninterrupted attention. The course is far advanced. The cheerfulness of the season presents new allurements to indolence, and withdraws the mind from the fatigues of painful and solitary reflection. It is difficult to resist the animating gaiety of nature. It is difficult, amid the charms of

* See *Rambler*, No. xxiv. June 9, 1750.

this her best season, to acquiesce in the restraints of discipline, or to brook the harassing confinement of study. God forbid that I should interrupt the harmless amusements or blast the innocent gaiety of youth. Let the morning of life be consecrated to enjoyment. May cheerfulness gladden your early years, and may your hearts retain the uncorrupted simplicity of virtue. May you long be preserved from the cares of advancing manhood, and never may your enjoyments be darkened by the horrors of remorse. May you live a life of pleasure, but a pleasure which is the reward of innocence. May you ever resist the enticements of that pleasure which would hurry you along the infatuated career of dissipation—which would lure you to destruction—which would condemn you to a life of infamy, and to a deathbed of horror and despair. I have too ardent and sincere an affection for youth to look with an eye of severity on their amusements, or to throw a damp over the sportive gaiety of their dispositions. Let me never interfere with their enjoyments, but to convince them that a life of unlimited indolence will entail upon them all the miseries of langour and disgust; to convince them of the necessity of exertion; that industry invigorates the faculties and preserves them from decay; that activity sustains the energy of character; that the preparations of youth decide the respectability of manhood, and enrich the mind with the fairest treasures of cultivation and science and morality.

"Let the supreme importance, then, of the subject that is now to occupy us, animate and sustain your exertions. I again repeat my call to industry and to perseverance. It is uttered with solemnity; let it be heard with impression. It will indeed be mortifying if that career, which you have hitherto maintained with honour and applause, shall at last terminate in indolence and disgrace. You will excuse, therefore, my ardour in urging the efforts of a patient and persevering attention. They will conduct you in triumph to the termination of your studies—they will elevate your respect for science. You will look back with joyous exultation on the many hours you have devoted to the peaceful and improving labours of philosophy, and bless the day when you first attempted the proud career of victory and honour."

Into no generous breast could such sparks fall without enkindling a flame. It was a wholly new style of address to issue

from the Chair claimed by the calmest of the Sciences. It broke in upon the common order; it might appear to jealous eyes even to infringe upon the dignity of an academic address. It was not unnatural that the old professor should be somewhat startled by the reports of such appeals; and his doubtfulness about them might be increased on finding that, taking the precedent of former years as his guide, the students were not as far advanced as they had formerly been at the same period of the session. So strong in Mr. Chalmers was the appetite for the full intellectual sympathies of those whom he taught, that he could not move forward till every effort was made to carry the whole class along with him. His employer did not enter into, perhaps was incapable of sympathizing with, the spirit of such a procedure. The very excitement and delight which were awakened among the students may have been displeasing to him. Doubts were expressed—jealousies arose—interferences took place—checks were attempted to be imposed. Such treatment could ill be brooked by one so keenly alive to everything which he considered ungenerous or unjust. Nor was Mr. Chalmers at any pains to conceal what he felt. In closing the session, he thus addressed his students:—

"In reviewing my labours as your mathematical instructor, I will not assert that I have been infallible, but I will assert that I have been anxious and sincere; that oppressed as I was by the want of time, I have improved it to the best of my judgment, and filled it up with the labours of an active and unremitting industry; that I have discharged my duty with integrity to my employer, and—let malignity frown when I say it—I have consecrated my best exertions to his service. Supported as I am by these reflections, you will not think that I profess too much when I profess contempt for the suggestions of an envious and unprincipled criticism—when I profess that sense of independence to which I feel myself entitled by the testimony of an approving conscience. You will not think that I say too much when I say that I have studied your interests with anxiety, if not with success. I have been anxious to maintain the purity of science, and to exercise that inviolable discipline which can alone protect the industrious from noisy interruption, and from the infection of irregular example. Let me now dismiss the authority of a master, and address you in the language of sincere and affectionate friendship. May you

ever be preserved from the deceitful allurements of vice. May you walk the proud career of integrity and honour; and while I live, I have a heart to feel and a voice to plead for your interests."

But it was not enough to unburden himself in his own classroom and in presence of his students; he was determined to say all, and more than he had said there, in a still more conspicuous place. It was the practice at that time in St. Andrews to have a public examination of all the classes at the end of each session, and in presence of all the professors. The scene in the Public Hall at the close of the session 1802-3, says one who witnessed it,* "was a singular one. When Dr. Rotheram, Professor of Natural Philosophy, had finished the examination of his class, Mr. Chalmers, whose classes were next in course, stepped forward to the table, and broke out into a severe invective against Professor Vilant, for having given testimonials to students without consulting him, their teacher. The speech was long and sarcastic. It was amusing to see the Academic Board; old Mr. Cook, irritated and vexed; Mr. Hill, puffy and fidgetty; Dr. Playfair, getting up twice or thrice and tugging the speaker by the arm; Dr. Hunter, with unvarying countenance, his eyes sedately fastened on the floor; Dr. Rotheram, laughing and in anger by turns.† At length Dr. Hill interfered, and with some difficulty silenced Mr. Chalmers, who proceeded with the examination as coolly as if nothing had passed."

Mr. Chalmers had already intimated to his father that he meant to devote to a visit to Edinburgh the short interval which would occur between the breaking up of the classes at St. Andrews and his settlement in Kilmany. His father disliked the proposition. He knew how engrossed his son had been throughout the winter with mathematics. He looked forward with anxiety to the commencement of his ministry. He feared that science had the hold which he wished so much that the gospel of God's redeeming grace should have; and thinking that the short season which now remained ere the sacred duties of an ambassador of Christ were entered on might be more fitly and profitably employed, he ventured to remonstrate with his son—suggesting that as they had seen so little of him during the

* The Rev. Dr. Duff.

† Mr. Cook was Professor of Moral Philosophy; Mr. Hill of Greek; Dr. Playfair was Principal of the College; Dr. Hunter, Professor of Humanity; and Dr. Hill, Professor of Divinity and Chairman of the Board.

winter, he might give this interval to Anstruther, where he could find seclusion and repose. He received the following reply :—

"St. Andrews, *April* 28, 1803.

"Dear Father,—I am astonished that the measure proposed in my last should appear in the slightest degree objectionable. I hope that my principles as to the important subject alluded to are already established, and that they do not require any extraordinary exercises of reflection at present. I have had sufficient time for reflection, and I do not see how the relaxation of a few days should have any effect in overthrowing those calm and decided sentiments which I have already formed. I confess I like not those views of religion which suppose that the business, or even the innocent amusements of the world, have a dangerous tendency to unsettle the mind for serious and elevating exercises. It is my decided opinion that the charge of a congregation is of the first importance; and that if the sense of the duties which it imposes is not previously established in the mind by the exercises of a mature and well-digested reflection, it is vain to think that the extraordinary effort of a few days will very essentially contribute to preparation or to improvement.

"There is one thing of which you must be sensible—the difficulty that one man lies under in explaining his motives and justifying his measures to another, whose pursuits and views are totally different. It is impossible, for instance, without entering into a long dissertation about the labours of superintending three classes—the comparative difficulty of the subjects that are introduced into each—the time necessary for arranging materials —for examining old exercises and framing new ones, &c. &c.; it is impossible to convince my friends that I cannot have a spare moment from my employments either to visit or converse with them. All my resource is, that they take my word for it; and if they refuse their belief, I must just submit to the imputation of indifference, however unjust I feel it. I must just submit to it, because from the very circumstances of my situation, it is out of my power to make myself intelligible.

"The same is the case with regard to the object of my journey to Edinburgh. It is impossible to explain to you how impressions of a man's character and talent are propagated in the literary public. In my present circumstances, I find it necessary to be in Edinburgh, to spend a day at least with the Edinburgh

professors, and to counteract the artifices to which I feel myself exposed, from the attempts of an envious and unprincipled malignity.

"I beg you will not distress yourself by any suspicions as to my indifference to the parochial duties. From the infinite variety of men's dispositions, there must be different methods of expressing the feelings of their hearts; and they will employ different instruments for improving the purity of their purposes. I feel that the solitude of a few days would be to me a painful and unmeaning solemnity. Accuse me of indifference when you have observed me deficient in any of the essential duties—when you have observed me shrinking from any of those labours which the cares of a parish impose.—Yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

How easily might the argument of this letter have been retorted. Might not the very difficulty of explaining motives and justifying conduct complained of by the son, have been as pertinently pleaded by the father? The truth was, that on the greatest and most affecting of all subjects, the ground of a common understanding did not as yet exist between them. The father's suggestion had been set aside. It but remained for him in faith and with prayer to await the time (and he lived to see it, and was glad) when he should not only become intelligible, but secure the completest and profoundest sympathy.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST SUMMER AT KILMANY—A WINTER OF CONFLICT AND TRIUMPH AT ST. ANDREWS.

In looking from Dundee across the Frith of Tay, a low range of hills is seen to run from east to west along the Fifeshire coast. Immediately behind this ridge lies a sequestered valley, shut in upon the south by a second range of hills, running also nearly parallel to the coast-line. Of this well-watered and fertile valley, the parish of Kilmany forms a part. Its church and village stand at an equal distance—about five miles—from Cupar, the nearest market-town on the south; and on the north, from Newport, the principal ferry to Dundee. Of limited extent, its greatest length being not more than six, its greatest width not more than four miles, and with a purely agricultural population, numbering about 150 families, this parish presented a comparatively easy and very attractive sphere of ministerial labour. And there now came to it as its minister, one upon whose fresh and nature-loving spirit its sloping hills and peaceful valleys and rustic homesteads made the deepest and liveliest impression—an impression deeper indeed and livelier and more lasting than any other of the localities to which, in the course of his varied life, he became attached.

Mr. Chalmers was ordained by the Presbytery of Cupar as minister of the parish of Kilmany, on the 12th day of May, 1803. The manse was ill-placed, and old enough to warn its occupant not to be too lavish of his attentions, lest he might cut off his hope of getting a new one built upon another and better site. It had, however, to be made habitable—fit to receive Mr. Chalmers and two of his sisters who came to live with him. The arrangements of the in-door and out-door economy, in all of which he took the liveliest interest, the needful preparations for the pulpit, the visitation and examination of his parish, in the course of which, to use his own favourite phrase, moving "with his affections flying before him," he made himself acquainted with every family, and familiar at every fireside

—winning back from every household such rich responses of genuine gratitude, as such genuine good-will was so well fitted to draw forth—these with a week given to Edinburgh, and a week to Angus, and a week to the meeting of the Synod, filled up the summer months. His visit to Angus was made that he might be present at the ordination, in the parish of Fern, of a college acquaintance, the Rev. David Harris :—

"I rode with him," says the Rev. Mr. Burns, "most part of the way to Brechin. I remember this circumstance. The church at Fern, at that time, was, like most parish churches in the country, very mean, and the pews most inconveniently huddled together. No preparation had been made for the convenient assembling of the members of Presbytery round the brother to be ordained. Mr. Chalmers was not in a situation at all convenient for joining in the imposition of hands, and in fact did not join in the act. He seemed, however, to feel a good deal after the service was over on account of this unintentional neglect. He asked me repeatedly if it was not a great oversight he had fallen into—that he wished he had got his hands put on along with the brethren ; but added, 'he supposed it was of no great consequence,' yet wished he had got nearer, so as to have placed his hand upon his friend's head. His kindness of heart thus appeared in his regret at what he felt as an apparent want of attention, and a neglect of the duty of the day."

Mr. Chalmers had calculated on retaining the mathematical assistantship. His ordination at Kilmany might not of itself have prevented this : for six out of the eleven years during which his own teacher, Dr. Brown, had occupied that position, he was minister of the parish of Denino ; and Kilmany, being only about nine miles distant, was not so remote from St. Andrews as to render a similar arrangement impracticable. At the close of the session, however—and after such a close who can wonder at it?—his employer gave him to understand that his services would not again be required. This summary dismissal not only tore him away from an occupation which he loved, and confined him to one in which he felt as yet but little interest, it seemed also to close up the avenue along which his brightest hopes had been moving. Inefficiency as a teacher had been alleged as the ground of it ; and if that allegation were received, his prospects of academic distinction would be blasted. And was

it thus that all his most cherished hopes were to be defeated? Was that hand, which had shut so sharply against him the way of return even for another winter to the mathematical classroom of St. Andrews, to be permitted to do him the still weightier injury of closing every door to university preferment? Not without a vigorous effort to repair this injury—to right this wrong! To clear his impeached reputation from the reproach which had been thrown upon it, he resolved to open next winter in St. Andrews mathematical classes of his own—rivals to those of the University. All opposition which might arise elsewhere he was fully prepared to brave; but there was one quarter in which, by early and kindly application, he fain would soften it down.

"KILMANY, *October* 18, 1803.

"DEAR FATHER,—You may perhaps by this time have heard of my intention to open mathematical classes next winter. I believe the measure will be opposed by a certain party of the St. Andrews professors; but I am sure they will not be able to ruin the success of my intended proceedings, except by having recourse to dishonourable practices. These artifices I shall be obliged to expose for my own vindication; but my chief anxiety is to reconcile you to the idea of not confining my whole attention to my ministerial employment. The fact is that no minister finds that necessary. Even at present I am able to devote as much time and as much attention to other subjects, as I will be under the necessity of doing next winter, and after all I discharge my duties, I hope, in a satisfactory manner. With regard to non-residence, that is only to last for six months. I have never been called to any incidental duty through the week but once, and I have the assurance of my two neighbours that they will attend to every ministerial office that may be necessary. Your apprehensions, with regard to the dissatisfaction of the parishioners, are, I can assure you, quite groundless. I feel the footing on which I stand with them, and am certain that no serious or permanent offence will ever be excited. . . . —Yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

St. Andrews lies so much out of the line of the great rolling current of public life, that in general it enjoys a very unbroken rest. The genius of the place is repose—a repose, however, which, startled from its slumbers by the step of this bold invader from Kilmany, was now for a season effectually put to flight.

The professors met in hurried consultation—the students were agitated and divided—the hearts of many siding with the youthful devotee, who came to redeem his injured scientific honour. The general public, dependent either for actual subsistence or for all social fellowship upon the colleges, looked with wonder at the sight of an open and declared rivalry establishing itself within the very shadow of the University. A brief and broken journal of this memorable winter is still preserved, exhibiting in its pages the tossings of the stormy waters :—

"*Thursday, Oct.* 27.—Came to St. Andrews. Called on Mr. Duff, and am told by him that Dr. Hunter mentioned that a paper was to be read at the first meeting of all the classes—stating that four winters' attendance, and attendance upon *all* the University classes, was necessary for admission into the Divinity College. Have pretty decided suspicions that this is an interference with the authority of the Church. Called on Mrs. M——. She expresses her fears that the attendance of her son on my class would hurt him with the professors; but at the same time says, that if all were left to themselves, I would experience a numerous support.

"*Friday, Oct.* 28.—Called on Mr. Cook, jun. (Professor of Hebrew)—an explanation with him amounting to a dismissal. Mr. Grierson (a tutor*) says he is not warranted to send his pupil to my classes; but, circumstances being equal, knows what he would do.

"*Tuesday, Nov.* 1.—Delivered an Introductory Lecture."

Referring to his present position as compared with that which he occupied at the beginning of the preceding session, he said—"True, I am different from what I was, but the difference is only in external circumstances. I feel not that my energies have expired, though I no longer tread that consecrated ground where the Muses have fixed their residence. I feel not that science has deserted me, though I breathe not the air which ventilates the halls of St. Salvator. . . . I have only to lift my eyes and behold the students of a former session. With them I was wont to indulge in all the intimacies of friendship. A summer spent in the labours of my profession has not effaced them from my memory. I will say more; it has not effaced them from my affections. I bless the remembrance of that day

* James Grierson, M.D., afterwards minister of Cockpen.

when they first attempted the high career of science. It was to me a day of triumph. It is from that day I date the first rising of my literary ambition—an ambition which can only expire with the decay of my intellectual faculties. My appearance in this place may be ascribed to the worst of passions; some may be disposed to ascribe it to the violence of a revengeful temper—some to stigmatize me as a firebrand of turbulence and mischief. These motives I disclaim. I disclaim them with the pride of an indignant heart which feels its integrity. My only motive is, to restore that academical reputation which I conceive to have been violated by the aspersions of envy. It is this which has driven me from the peaceful silence of the country—which has forced me to exchange my domestic retirement for the whirl of contention."

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 2.—I have heard no particular animadversions by the professors, but a lively apprehension on the part of the students of their displeasure. Mr. A. called, and regretted deeply the necessity under which he lay of attending T., from the fear of being stopped next winter. This the subject of an interesting description. Heard that the students are afraid of injustice in the Library from their attendance upon me. Mr. D. risks the loss of a bursary, so must be the object of my particular attention.

"*Monday, Nov.* 7.—Mr. V. sent for Mr. Kid on Saturday—prevailed on him to give his word of honour not to attend my class. T. sent for Mr. D.—rated him for soliciting students to attend me, and threatened to carry him before the University Meeting for his conduct. I have certain information of Dr. R. giving the impression that I broke faith with him.*

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 9.—Wrote yesterday to Dr. R., respecting an impression he had given to my prejudice. No answer to-day.

"*Thursday, Nov.* 10.—Received an evasive answer from Dr. R. My reply sent back in an insulting manner, without an answer, though opened, and with a message that he wished no more lines from me.

"*Friday, Nov.* 11.—Went to Dr. R. on the street between ten and eleven, A.M., and said to him that I was sorry, from the proceedings of last night, to be under the necessity of pro-

* What Dr. R. alleged was, that Mr. Chalmers had promised to him, when he gave him his vote for Kilmany, that he would not teach a second session in St. Andrews.

nouncing him the author of a false and impudent calumny. Called W. V. to witness, and repeated before him the same words. W. V. said that I ought to be prosecuted. Dr. R. left me in great agitation, saying, '*I will* prosecute him.'

"*Monday, Nov.* 14.—Heard James Hunter say that Dr. R. met him at twelve on Friday much agitated. He said that I had called him a notorious liar, both to himself and in W. V.'s hearing. Hear of advice having been sent for to Edinburgh on the subject of me and Dr. R., in consequence of his having consulted the Society.

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 16.—Heard Mr. Duff say that Dr. Hunter was sure that Dr. R. must have given me his vote before he understood I was to be Vilant's assistant.

"*Sunday, Nov.* 20.—Supped with Dr. Adamson. An awkwardness, which I think will wear off from him in time.

"*Monday, Nov.* 21.—Mr. J. Hunter has changed his hour from five to two; upon which I change my practical class from two to five.

"*Tuesday, Nov.* 22.—Mrs. Barron expressed to Dr. Brown her disapprobation of the violent opposition I experienced. She was frank to-day when I met her.

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 23.—Understand that Dr. R.'s account of our quarrel is almost universally believed in town, and has a strong effect to my prejudice.

"*Thursday, Nov.* 24.—Hear from Dr. Brown that the Barrons discover a strong tendency to reconciliation.

"*Saturday, Nov.* 26.—Left Mr. Gillespie of Mountquhannie and Dr. Greenlaw with the best impressions of the St. Andrews business. The former I found under prejudices.

"*Tuesday, Dec.* 6.—Announced this day my intention of teaching chemistry, and have got eight enrolments in consequence.

"*Wednesday, Dec.* 7.—Met Dr. Hunter, who was more than usually civil.

"*Friday, Dec.* 9.—T. keen-set against the chemistry class—says that I must be insufficient, because chemistry is the work of a lifetime.

"*Wednesday, Dec.* 14.—Drank tea in Mrs. Vilant's. Heard there that a great number of people are highly disposed to favour my intentions of teaching chemistry.

"*Friday, Dec.* 18.—Heard Dr. Brown say that the Playfairs are very silent and reserved on the subject of my chemistry, and disposed to doubt my habits of experimenting.

"*Monday, Dec.* 19.—Delivered my introductory Chemical Lecture to a full and respectable audience.

"*January* 24, 1804.—A considerable noise and conversation in town to-day on the subject of my numerous and splendid audience, and interesting discussion yesternight in the chemistry.

"*January* 30.—Dr. Brown tells me that the Hunters discover strong symptoms of reconciliation. The Doctor expresses surprise that I ever should have suspected him of opposition.

"*February* 6.—Dr. Brown tells me that all over the town the impression is most decidedly in favour of me and of my chemistry."

He had three classes of mathematics, as well as this class of chemistry to prepare for and conduct; he had besides the pulpit of Kilmany to supply, going out generally to the manse every Saturday, and returning early every Monday; yet he wrote to his father as if he had now got into and was breathing the proper element of his being:—"*March* 14.—My hands are full of business. I am living just now the life I seem to be formed for—a life of constant and unremitting activity. Deprive me of employment, and you condemn me to a life of misery and disgust."

The impression could scarcely be otherwise than favourable to his chemistry.* The following extract, as we shall find here-

* His lectures, many of which still exist, were fully written out: his experiments were carefully selected and prepared, while with the strictly scientific, which formed the main staple of his instructions, there mingled occasionally such passages as the following:—

"The invention of the new nomenclature must be regarded as a most brilliant era in the history of this science. For this capital improvement the world is principally indebted to the genius of Lavoisier, a gentleman of France, who with a fortune sufficient to secure to him all the gratifications of luxury, all the splendours of a princely establishment, gave his time and his enthusiasm to the science of chemistry. But his chemistry did not rob him of his virtue, nor did it repress the ardours of an enlightened patriotism. He bore a distinguished part in the first scenes of the French Revolution, but afterwards withdrew from the management of public affairs, disgusted by the sanguinary and unprincipled excesses of Robespierre. He wrote to a friend in the country, that he had now withdrawn for ever from public employment, and meant to devote the remainder of his days to the sciences. But the malignity of the tyrant pursued him to his retreat, and hurried him to the scaffold whilst pursuing a magnificent train of chemical experiments. Thus ended the days of Lavoisier, and every friend of philosophy wept his fall.

* * * * * * *

"Science is often disgraced by the affectations of pedantry, and a pedantic chemist is to me the most insufferable of all animals—a being who rests his pretensions to glory on a row of mineralogical specimens on the shelf of his chimney, and who conceives himself surrounded with the dignity of a philosopher, because he sits enthroned amid a formidable array of crucibles and melting pots—a being who has renounced the simplicity of his mother-tongue, and clothes the most familiar occurrences in the cabalistic phraseology of chemistry

after, has a higher interest attached to it than any which mere eloquence could bestow. After an enumeration of the earths, allusion was made to the then infant science of Geology :—

"It is the object of geology to lay before you the present arrangement of those materials of which the earth is composed, to conjecture the various changes which may have taken place on the surface of the globe, and to pursue the history of its physical revolutions. This you may say is a daring enterprise; but what enterprise too daring for the intrepidity of philosophical speculation?—who can presume to restrain the flight of human curiosity?—who can control the proud and aspiring energies of the mind?—who can stop the ambitious excursions of philosophy? I know nothing more calculated to illustrate the triumphs of the human mind than to contrast its gigantic efforts in the walks of speculation with the extreme helplessness and imbecility of our physical constitution. Man is the being of yesterday; he is a flower which every blast of heaven can wither into decay; the breath of his life is a thin vapour which every wind can dissipate into nothing; his inheritance is the

—a being who will theorize at dinner on the analysis of a pudding, while his admiring hearers are far better employed in eating it.

"It is supposed by some that philosophy lets herself down when she employs her attention upon the servile and degrading offices of cookery. We can bear to hear of the philosophy of the mind, of the philosophy of mechanics, of the philosophy of agriculture, of the philosophy of medicine; but it was reserved for this age of wonders to hear a series of grave and didactic lectures on the philosophy of the kitchen. Let it be remembered, however, that philosophy is never more usefully and never more honourably directed than when multiplying the stores of human comfort and subsistence—than when enlightening the humblest departments of industry—than when she leaves the school of declamation and descends to the walks of business, to the dark and dismal receptacles of misery, to the hospitals of disease, to the putrid houses of our great cities, where poverty sits in lonely and ragged wretchedness, agonized with pain, faint with hunger, and shivering in a frail and unsheltered tenement. Count Rumford deserves the gratitude of mankind; though it must be observed of his philosophy that it is often weak and ostentatious, and gives an air of ridiculous solemnity to the most trivial and insignificant discussions—a solemnity that has drawn upon it the severe and successful irony of Dr. Wolcott. The Doctor, in a note to one of his poems addressed to Count Rumford, amuses his reader with a literal extract from one of the Count's economical performances, only reserving to himself the liberty of giving a title to this said extract, which is, "Count Rumford's method of laying siege to a hasty pudding."—The Count directs that the hasty pudding 'be spread out equally on a plate,' that 'while hot, an excavation is to be made in the middle of it with a spoon, into which excavation a piece of butter as large as a nutmeg is to be put, and upon it a spoonful of brown sugar, or more commonly molasses. The butter being soon melted by the heat of the pudding, mixes with the sugar or molasses, and forms a sauce, which being confined in the excavation made for it, occupies the middle of the plate.' A small portion of the pudding is then to be lifted in a spoon from the circumference of the dish, and dipped into the excavation; and the Count does not fail to give us the very necessary information, that each spoonful is to be carried from the plate to the mouth: 'care being had in taking it up to begin at the outside, or near the brim of the plate, and to approach the centre by regular advances, in order not to demolish too soon the excavation which forms the reservoir of the sauce.' 'Admirable display,' says Peter Pindar, 'of military tactics. Nobler generalship could not have been exhibited by Marlborough or Turenne, or even by the great Bonaparte himself.'"—See *A Poetical Epistle to Benjamin Count Rumford—Works of Peter Pindar*, vol. v. p. 129. London, 1812.

gloom of a silent grave, where he will sleep with the dust of his fathers. He is the poor victim of passion and of infirmity; from the feeble cry of infancy to the strength and independence of manhood, a thousand ills pursue him—a thousand anxieties torment his repose. He at one time labours under the hardships of poverty; at another, pines away in the infirmity of disease; at another, weeps the treachery of violated friendship; and at another, mourns the awful desolations which death makes among friends and among families. Yet, amid this wild war of accident and misfortune he has displayed the triumph of his energies; he has given his few peaceful moments to the labours of philosophy; he has sent abroad his penetrating eye and caught the finest tokens of magnificence, simplicity, and order; he has enriched science with a thousand truths, and adorned the walks of literature with a thousand delicacies. There is a prejudice against the speculations of the geologist which I am anxious to remove. It has been said that they nurture infidel propensities. By referring the origin of the globe to a higher antiquity than is assigned to it by the writings of Moses, it has been said that geology undermines our faith in the inspiration of the Bible, and in all the animating prospects of immortality which it unfolds. This is a false alarm. *The writings of Moses do not fix the antiquity of the globe. If they fix anything at all, it is only the antiquity of the species.* It is not the interest of Christianity to repress liberty of discussion. It has nothing to fear from the attacks of infidelity. It should rather defy her approach, and stand to receive her in the proudest of attitudes—the attitude of confidence in its own strength, and animated by the remembrance of the triumphs which it has already gained in the battles of controversy. God knows we have little to fear on the side of infidelity. It is not here that we are to seek for the point of alarm. What Christianity has most to fear from, is from the encroachments of an insidious and undermining fanaticism—from its false friends—from those men who disgrace the cause by their bigotry or their enthusiasm—from those who have brought religion into contempt by throwing over it the deformity of an illiberal and contracted superstition."

No hostile influences could quench the admiration which kindled around such a lectureship. The tide of opposition was already fast subsiding—it was now turned into a tide of applause, bearing the lecturer on its swelling bosom high above all

the difficulties of his position. Even from the beginning there had been much in that position to win favour in the eyes of the independent and the generous-hearted. The impetuous manliness—the open-hearted honesty—the unwavering purpose—the indomitable energy displayed—these went far to redeem it from the charge of impropriety and imprudence; whilst in the very act of a single unbefriended youth braving the gathered enmity of a university that he might wipe away a stain from his injured literary honour, there was a scientific chivalry, kindling in many a breast a glow of approving sympathy, which no frown of official authority could extinguish. Even the stern gravity of office was at length relaxed; for although there was something of rude violence in the onset made by this invader of all university decorum, yet much of the true academic spirit broke out at every stage of the assault. It was not that he loved his *alma mater* less—it was that he loved her all too well, that he was heard now thundering so impetuously at her gates. And although strong personal feeling was at times expressed, such a genial humanity breathed about him who uttered it, that the very professor upon whom his stroke at first seemed to fall the heaviest, was one of the first to extend to him the forgiving hand of friendship.

But while all was growing bright before him at St. Andrews, all grew dark behind him at Kilmany. Some of the ministers of his Presbytery resolved to bring his conduct before that court, with the view either to impose a check or inflict a censure. In anticipation of being summoned before them, and in the belief that he would be summarily required to dismiss his classes, he wrote the following explanation and defence:—

"My intention to reside in St. Andrews originated in a motive which I contend is justifiable. Is it unjustifiable to extend your literary reputation, or to restore it when you conceive that that reputation is violated? Can this be denounced as a criminal ambition? It originated in a desire to acquit myself to the public as a mathematical teacher, with a view to justify my claims to academical preferment. Can this be branded as an unprincipled enormity? It originated in attachment to my pupils, and in a wish to conduct them to the termination of those studies which they had so successfully begun. Can this be alleged as the evidence of a hardened indifference to the feelings or considerations of morality? Few of you are perhaps

acquainted with the peculiarities of my situation as assistant teacher in the mathematical classes of St. Andrews University. I felt my business to be agreeable; I rejoiced in the education of youth as the most important and delightful exercise of a man's powers; but before one-half of the session had elapsed, I felt myself surrounded with all the cares and perplexities of opposition. Unfortunate misunderstandings arose, which it is neither for you to hear nor for me at present to explain. I shall only say that I was deserted both by my employer and the University, and my career as the mathematical assistant was at last closed by the ignominy of a dismissal from my employment. I was now disposed of. I was consigned to the obscurity of the country. I was compelled to retire in disgrace, and leave the field to my exulting enemies. They had gained their object—a name expunged from the list of competition—no further disturbance from interlopers—no literary upstart to emulate their delicious repose, or to outstrip them in public esteem—no ambitious intruder to dispel our golden dreams of preferment, or to riot along with us in the rich harvest of benefices. I have few friends—no patronage to help me forward in the career of an honourable ambition. All that I had to trust in was my academic reputation and the confidence of an enlightened public. But where is the enlightened public to which a slandered mathematician may appeal? There is no more such an enlightened public in St. Andrews than there is in the interior of Africa. But I had one consolation: I was supported by the respectful attachment of my students. But even to their progress, my appeal was far from being effectual. I had only taught them one session; I had only initiated them into the elements of the science. I was proud enough to think that I had succeeded in inspiring a taste and an ardour for mathematical learning. I was proud enough to think that if they persevered as they had begun, they would be to me the most honourable of all testimonies. At the end of last winter, I had no formed mathematicians to whom I could appeal, as the argument of a successful or conscientious teacher. The credit of my more advanced students was divided between me and my predecessor; the credit of the students whom I initiated, between me and him who had succeeded me. What could I do? Was I to leave my reputation to the candour of the University, or to the testimony of him who had disgraced me? I confess I felt no such confidence. I foresaw an end to all my hopes of literary distinction. I had nothing to expect from the spirit of

a grasping monopoly. I must either have resigned myself to the silence of despair, or attempted the testimony of an independent public.

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"I am not able to guess at the precise object of the gentleman in the public appearance he has just made. Does he mean that I should desert my classes, and renounce the interests of those whose friendship has consoled my feelings in the hour of perplexity? Does he mean that I should surrender those few who remained with me in my worst days, and rallied to support me amid the storms of persecuting violence? I will say it, in my cause they have evinced a spirit of the most exalted virtue. They have withstood the allurements of interest. They have defied the threats of persecution. They have spurned at the cold and withering suggestions of prudence. They have sacrificed all at the shrine of friendship; and though surrounded with the most corrupting atmosphere to which the manly and independent virtues were exposed, they have maintained the purity of an untainted honour, and the fidelity of an inviolable attachment. And are these the men whom the gentleman would force me to desert? Is this the painful humiliation he would impose upon me? Shall I leave them to the ridicule and triumph of those whom their attachment to me has rendered their enemies? He talks of the religious interests of my parish. I know nothing from which religion has suffered so severely as from the disgrace of its teachers. Compel me to retire from my classes, and you give a blow to the religious interests of my parish which all the punctualities of discipline will never restore. You render me the laughing-stock of the country; you cover me with infamy; you render me the object of public contempt and public execration. Compel me to retire, and I shall be fallen indeed. I would feel myself blighted in the eyes of all my acquaintances. I would never more lift up my face in society. I would bury myself in the oblivion of shame and solitude. I would hide me from the world. I would be overpowered by the feeling of my own disgrace. The torments of self-reflection would pursue me; they would haunt my dreams; they would lay me on a bed of torture; they would condemn me to a life of restless and never-ceasing anxiety. Death would be to me the most welcome of all messengers. It would cut short the remainder of my ignominious days. It would lay me in the grave's peaceful retreat. It would withdraw me from the

agitations of a life that has been persecuted by the injustice of enemies, and still more distracted by the treachery of violated friendship."

The subject was not brought before the Presbytery so soon as he had expected. On the evening of the day on which this speech was delivered, the following hurried note was despatched to Dr. Brown at St. Andrews :—

"CUPAR, *May* 8, 1804.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You will be surprised to hear that the long threatened discussion was at last introduced into the Presbytery this day. It met with the fate it deserved—was quashed and reprobated. The discussions were all in public. A numerous audience attended, and our argumentation lasted two hours. —Yours, with much esteem, THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER IV.

CHEMICAL LECTURES REPEATED AT ST. ANDREWS—PRESBYTERIAL INTERFERENCE—CANDIDATE FOR THE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY CHAIR AT ST. ANDREWS, AND FOR THE MATHEMATICAL CHAIR AT EDINBURGH—FIRST PUBLICATION—CHEMICAL LECTURES AT KILMANY AND CUPAR—DOUBLE COMMISSION IN THE VOLUNTEERS—INCIDENT AT KIRKCALDY—HIS FATHER'S CHARACTER—HIS BROTHER GEORGE'S DEATH.

His chemical lectures had been so highly relished, that Mr. Chalmers readily consented to repeat them during the next winter session at St. Andrews. A summer's interval of leisure would enable him to render them more complete and more attractive. Their delivery would not call him away from Kilmany for more than two or three days in each week; and as he had relinquished the intention of re-opening mathematical classes, it was his hope that no further Presbyterial interference would be attempted. But he was disappointed.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Cupar, held on the 4th September 1804, "Dr. Martin begged the Presbytery to insert in their minutes that, in his opinion, Mr. Chalmers giving lectures in chemistry is improper, and ought to be discontinued. To this request the Presbytery acceded. On which Mr. Chalmers* begged it to be inserted in the minutes, that after the punctual discharge of his professional duties, his time was his own; and he conceived that no man or no court had a right to control him in the distribution of it."* It was only in the morning of the very day on which the Presbytery met that Mr. Chalmers got intelligence of Dr. Martin's intention. He retired for the brief interval of time which remained, and then started for Cupar, with the following hurriedly written sentences prepared in the way of defence:—

"Moderator,—In the olden times, ecclesiastical persecution doomed one of its victims to be heavily fined; it doomed another to imprisonment; another to the loss of his ears; and another to the horrors of execution. Now, I would fain hope that

* Extracted from the Minutes of Presbytery.

the gentleman's appearance arises rather from an error in judgment than from the workings of an unfair and arbitrary disposition. He may perhaps think, that what is perfectly lawful in professors and professors' sons, is great presumption and great vice in a poor literary pedlar, who trudges on to his literary station with a bundle of manuscripts and old wares from the country. Whatever rank, however, my brethren of the Presbytery may choose to assign to me, I must protest against the unequal distribution of punishment. They know it is not in their power to inflict execution. Such is the happy constitution of our country that my ears are completely protected from their violence. As to imprisonment, I shall resist them with all my might if they attempt to confine me within the boundaries of my parish; but as to fines, such is my confidence in the equity of our worthy comptroller, that I will pay down with cheerfulness whatever he shall think my delinquency deserves.

"I have thought that the fundamental error of this business consists in beginning the inquiry at the wrong end. The gentleman sees me indulging in an amusement that is certainly foreign to the nature of my profession, but not more so than the amusements of feasting, and playing, and music, and painting—indulgences which we all enjoy, and from which no absurd scruple of conscience ought to keep us. Suppose that any of my brethren is much given to the dilettante occupation of music, the Presbytery, I should presume, would never think of disturbing his enjoyment, unless he was so exclusively devoted to his favourite exercise as to desert his sermons—desert his examinations—desert his attention to the sick. You tolerate him in his indulgence, and why? because you find that the duties which belong to his ministerial office are punctually executed. Should not the same reason apply in equity to the case before us? I am indulging in a favourite amusement. You have no right to presume that I am therefore deserting the duties of my professional employment. Such presumption at least does not supersede the necessity of inquiry. Now, let the gentleman traverse the boundaries of my parish; let him begin with the houses of my wealthy proprietors, and descend to the lowest tenements of poverty and disease, I will defy him to find a single individual who can substantiate the charge of culpable negligence against me. I will defy him to find a single individual who will say that I have been outstripped by any of my predecessors in the regularity of my ministerial attentions, or

who will say that he has discovered anything in my conduct which betokened a contempt for religion or indifference to its sacred interests. What more will the gentleman require of me? Has he any right to control me in the distribution of my spare time? I maintain he has none. I spurn at the attempt as I would at the petty insolence of a tyrant; I reject it as the interference of an officious intermeddler. To the last sigh of my heart I will struggle for independence, and eye with proud disdain the man who presumes to invade it."

In November, the chemical lectures were resumed at St. Andrews. On the 10th of that month, Mr. Chalmers writes to his brother:—

"Dear James,—You allude to the quantity of business I have in hand. This is neither more nor less than teaching a class of chemistry in St. Andrews during the winter. It only withdraws me from my parish two days in the week. It affords a rational and dignified amusement, and it fills up that spare time which I would otherwise fret away in indolence and disgust. It did not altogether meet my father's approbation at first, influenced as he was by his scruples about clerical residence; but he must now be convinced that it trenches upon no essential duty, and that I expend as much effort upon the religious improvement of my people as any minister within the bounds of my Presbytery.—Yours affectionately,

Thomas Chalmers."

The offence taken at the proceedings of the foregoing winter could neither have been very deep nor very lasting. Dr. Rotheram, the Professor of Natural Philosophy, had died. His chair was in the gift of the College, and the election was to take place in December. Along with Mr. Duncan, now Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, then Rector of the Academy at Dundee, and with Mr. Leslie, who had just completed and published his researches on Heat, Mr. Chalmers proposed himself as a candidate. Overlooking the claims of all the three, the electors were divided between Dr. Macdonald, minister of Kemback, and Mr. Jackson, Rector of Ayr Academy, who finally —and after a lengthened litigation, terminated only in the House of Lords—obtained the chair.

After the occurrences of the former session, Mr. Chalmers's

hopes could not have been very sanguine. On the day of election, he writes to his father:—"*St. Andrews, Dec.* 1, 1804.—The meeting is not yet broken up, but I have every reason to think that Dr. Adamson's party have a decided tendency to Mr. Jackson. I confess I am not much affected by the disappointment, as my University prospects have upon the whole brightened up within the last fortnight, as my election would have involved me in the embarrassment of a law process, and above all, as my contempt for the low shuffling artifices of college politics supports and elevates my mind against the vexation of regret."

In January 1805, the University of Edinburgh was deprived of one of its brightest ornaments by the death of Dr. Robison. As University patrons, the Town-council offered his chair, that of Natural Philosophy, to Mr. Playfair, by whose acceptance of it the mathematical professorship became vacant. Mr. Chalmers presented himself to the notice of the patrons as aspiring to be Mr. Playfair's successor; but although his claims were in many quarters favourably entertained, and the reception given him when he waited personally on the electors was gratifying, two other candidates had, at the very commencement of the canvass, chiefly attracted and almost engrossed the public regards. The Rev. Mr. Macknight, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had acted as assistant to Dr. Robison, was at first willing to resign his ministerial charge upon his appointment to the professorship, but was afterwards induced by his clerical friends to advance his claim to the one office on the understood condition that he should retain the other. Professor Stewart, alarmed at the prospect of such a conjunction, addressed an urgent letter of remonstrance to the Lord Provost, which was followed by one of similar import from Professor Playfair. Of their fears as to Mr. Macknight's appointment they were soon relieved, his name having been withdrawn, and Mr. Leslie's pre-eminent claims having secured to him the appointment. In the prolonged and painful conflict which his election originated, Mr. Chalmers was not personally engaged, as, differing from both parties in the strife, he could have been the advocate of neither. Its initial stage, however, called forth his earliest publication.

In his letter to the Lord Provost, Mr. Playfair had not only alleged that there were very few Scottish clergymen eminent in Mathematics or Natural Philosophy, but that the vigorous and

successful pursuit of these sciences was incompatible with clerical duties and habits. This "cruel and illiberal insinuation" against "the whole order of Churchmen" was not to be suffered, without one effort at least being made to repel it.

"KILMANY, *Sept.* 3, 1805.

"DEAR JAMES,—The dull and unvaried course of a clergyman's life offers little new or interesting for a resident in London, though I have attempted to enliven my situation a little by other employments. Among other things, I have lately come forward as a candidate for literary fame in the lists of authorship. My performance is entitled 'Observations on a Passage in Mr. Playfair's Letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, relative to the Mathematical Pretensions of the Scottish Clergy.' I have been flattered by some literary judges into the idea that all that is necessary for the success of my pamphlet is that it be fairly introduced to the notice of the public. Among others, I have sent fifty copies to Longman and Rees, London. Will you find it convenient to call at their shop, and ascertain how the copies are likely to be disposed of? The sale has been beyond my expectation in this neighbourhood. If it takes in London, I may be expecting a demand for a second edition. This you will perhaps be able to ascertain.—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

His brother in London had already received other intimations of the canvass at Edinburgh, and its results.

"ANSTRUTHER, *Feb.* 28, 1805.

"DEAR JAMES,—I am rather concerned about Thomas. He is a candidate for being Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. He is very clever, and I have no doubt of his fitness for that situation; but then his youth, opposed to the greatest ability, experience, and interest in the country makes me doubt of his success, and disappointment rather crushes an aspiring young man. I should feel more comfortable were he to cultivate his present situation.—I am, yours affectionately,

JOHN CHALMERS."

"ANSTRUTHER, *Oct.* 18, 1805.

"DEAR JAMES,—As to Thomas's publication, it is acknowledged on all hands to be clever enough; but as to serving his

own ends, whatever these may be, I scarcely think he has taken the mode that now leads to preferment, for he flatters no man.—I am, yours affectionately, JOHN CHALMERS."

The truth was that the writer had no ends of his own to serve beyond unburdening himself of the indignation which Mr. Playfair's allegations had excited, and repelling what he regarded as an attempt to "wrest from his whole order what he knew to be the pride and consolation of several of its members—the hope of literary distinction." Some years afterwards, about the time of his removal to Glasgow, Mr. Chalmers did all that he could to suppress this earliest of his publications, and that chiefly on account of its low estimate of the duties and responsibilities of the Christian ministry. "The author of this pamphlet," he had said, "can assert, from what to him is the highest of all authority—the authority of his own experience, that after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage. . . .

"The author of the foregoing observations keeps back his name from the public as a thing of no consequence. With Mr. Playfair, whose mind seems so enlightened by well-founded associations, it will probably be enough to know that the author is a clergyman; a member of the stigmatized caste: one of those puny antagonists with whom it would be degrading to enter into the lists of controversy; one of those ill-fated beings whom the malignant touch of ordination has condemned to a life of ignorance and obscurity; a being who must bid adieu, it seems, to every flattering anticipation, and drivel out the remainder of his days in insignificance."

There were other means besides authorship of enlivening the dulness of ministerial life. The chemical lectureship had not yet exhausted its powers. It had been most favourably received at St. Andrews; why not repeat it elsewhere? Acting on the strong faith which he always cherished in the capabilities of the popular understanding, when properly approached and rightly spoken to, Mr. Chalmers delivered a course of chemical lectures to his parishioners at Kilmany.* Cupar, the county town, was

* Among other experiments, the powers of the bleaching liquids were exhibited. Soon after the exhibition two of the old wives of Kilmany had the following colloquy. "Our minister," said the one, "is meeting short o' a warreen, he was teaching his boys to clean

next favoured with a visit from the itinerant devotee. Nor was it a mere figure of speech which he had employed when he spoke of carrying with him his old wares from the country into the lecturing-place, as was unluckily evidenced in one of his visits at this time to Cupar; when, mounted with his chemical apparatus before him, one of the bottles which he was carrying unfortunately broke, and poured its burning contents down the horse's shoulder, leaving a discoloured belt to tell of the strange catastrophe.

Devoted though he was to those severer exercises of the intellect which are prosecuted in the solitude of the student's chamber, Mr. Chalmers was alive to all the great public movements of the stirring period at which he entered public life. The excesses of the French Revolution had quenched his earlier hopes, which had yielded to exciting alarms. The war with France, in which there had been a temporary respite during the few months which he had spent at Cavers, broke out afresh about the very time of his settlement in Kilmany, its ordinary terrors being heightened by the threat of invasion, which for a few years hung like a lowering thunder-cloud over the land. From the first moment of his starting on his meteor-like career, Bonaparte had been to Mr. Chalmers an object of the most intense interest. He recognised in him ere long the destroyer of his own country's liberties—the disturber of Europe's peace—the threatener of Britain's independence; and it was now believed that he was mustering his armies along the French coast, and looking across the channel to this country as his next theatre of war and conquest. Every instrument by which, in the prospect of such an emergency, the generous ardours of the people could be stirred up, was employed. The aid of the ministers of religion was invoked. From every pulpit of the land there came a voice, varied according to the spirit and character of its occupant. It was a thrillingly martial one which on this occasion issued from the pulpit of Kilmany, finding its climax in the exclamation—"May that day when Bonaparte ascends the throne of Britain be the

claes but (without) soap." "Aye, woman," was the reply, "I wish he wad teach me to mak parritch BUT meal."

They had been somewhat anticipated by Peter Pindar, who, in the Epistle referred to in a preceding note, thus apostrophizes Count Rumford:

"Say, canst thou make, whose brains have not their fellows,
Fire blow itself without a pair of bellows?
Soon shall we see a haunch, with equal wit,
Turn round and roast itself without a spit;
Fish without frying-pans come hot and hot,
And dumplings boil themselves without a pot."

last of my existence; may I be the first to ascend the scaffold he erects to extinguish the worth and spirit of the country: may my blood mingle with the blood of patriots; and may I die at the foot of that altar on which British independence is to be the victim."*

The preacher was quite ready to make good his words. Soon after the volunteers were organized, he enrolled himself in the St. Andrews corps, holding a double commission as chaplain and lieutenant. In 1805, he joined the corps at Kirkcaldy, where it was then on permanent duty. In the outskirts of that town, he recognised an old acquaintance, a member of the Secession Church, whose family was sunk in poverty and visited with fever. Anxious to contribute to their relief, Mr. Chalmers requested Mr. Fleming, the minister of Kirkcaldy, to give him the use of his pulpit, that he might preach a sermon, and make a collection on behalf of the sufferers. Knowing the applicant only as the author of the recently published pamphlet, and as one addicted more to lectures on chemistry than to purely professional effort, Mr. Fleming refused. The will, however, was too strong not to find for itself a way. Although Mr. Chalmers could not get a pulpit to preach, he could find a room to lecture in. A suitable apartment was forthwith engaged; a course of lectures on chemistry announced. Though the admission ticket was somewhat high in price, goodly audiences crowded nightly around the lecturer; and at the close, he had the exquisite satisfaction of handing over to a respectable but unfortunate family, what not only relieved them from present distress, but supported them for some time afterwards in comfort.

The old manse at Kilmany generally had in it as many of Mr. Chalmers's brothers and sisters as it could conveniently accommodate. He was now the only one of the family who could be helpful to his parents; and the obligations which lay upon him as such, it was his delight to discharge. He had for a time undertaken the entire charge of his brother Patrick, and when it was determined that he should not be sent to the University, he transferred his care to his brother Charles—not only personally superintending his education during the summer at Kilmany, but carrying him to St. Andrews during the college session; for though he had ceased lecturing, he still divided the year between Kilmany and St. Andrews—the dilapidated state of the manse furnishing sufficient reasons for a winter residence elsewhere.

* Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 49.

It was at the close of such a residence that he wrote thus to Anstruther :—

"St. Andrews, *May* 6, 1806.

"Dear Father,—I am happy to inform you that Charles has acquitted himself to the great satisfaction of his teachers. The plan of his studies through the summer, I have delivered to himself in writing. You must not speak of his expenses. I have never been accustomed to despise economy, but at the same time think that the whole value of money lies in its use. I can assure you that single and unencumbered as I am, I have a sufficient surplus for every expense I have undertaken. I have never indeed lived under my income, but I find that I am clearing away my embarrassments gradually; and as to accumulation, it is a thing I have never thought of, and for which, according to my present intentions in life, I foresee no necessity. —I am, yours affectionately, Thomas Chalmers."

James had recently been unfortunate in business; and having had a little experience of the risks and treacheries of mercantile life during a year (1802) fatal to many merchants in Liverpool, he left that town to settle permanently in London. In his first letter to Thomas from the metropolis, he had mentioned his having forsaken the Presbyterian for the Episcopal communion. He afterwards asked his brother to show this letter to his father. "You desired me," was Thomas's reply, "to show my father your first letter. I would not have done so for the world. Your apostasy from the Kirk would have horrified him, and he would have sighed over the degeneracy of that son who could renounce old mother Presbytery in the face of one of its ministers. But whatever I say, may the vengeance of heaven pursue me, if I feel contempt for that man who has passed through the world unstained by its corruptions—who has walked the manly career of independence and honour—who has escaped the infection of a degenerate age, and can boast a mind that has preserved its integrity amidst all the seductions of policy and interest. Such is the character of our good father. May the great Spirit bear up the weight of his old age, and blunt the arrow that gives it rest.—Yours affectionately,

Thomas Chalmers."

This picture was not drawn by the hand of an exaggerating affection. Its fault lies not in excess, but in defect; for had

the sketch been made by the same hand a few years later, other features should have appeared in it besides that of a pure and high-minded, unstained and incorruptible integrity. In that good father, depth of piety and tenderness of affection equalled the strength of his moral principle. In this year of 1806, at which we have now arrived, that piety was tested and that affection was severely tried. From his childhood, George had been a favourite in the family; he was so simple-hearted, so confiding, so generous, and so manly; and when he joined his vessel, he became as great a favourite with his master and messmates as he had been at home. When his apprenticeship had expired, he became mate; and while yet only twenty-three years of age, was promoted to the command of the merchant ship Barton, which sailed from Liverpool, carrying, in the time of war, letters of marque, and cruising generally for six weeks in the Channel and along the French coast, in the hope of capturing some of our enemies' vessels, before she made her destined voyage to the West Indies. In the course of these voyages, many hairbreadth escapes were made, and many a brave action was fought, unchronicled in our naval annals. "We sailed from Barbadoes," says George, describing one of them, "on the 17th May, a single ship, with twenty guns and fifty men; and on the 23d, fell in with a French privateer of ten guns, which ran on board our quarter and attempted to board us. Two days afterwards, we fell in with the Fairey schooner, a French privateer, of twenty guns and 150 men. She engaged us to leeward, within pistol-shot, for the space of an hour. We received her fire with calmness, and never returned a single shot, firing only our small arms till she came alongside us, and grappled us on our fore and main chains. Then we gave her our broadside. Our guns were all loaded with round and grape shot. They made an attempt to board us, but we picked them down faster than they cut our nettings; at last they were obliged to shear off with a great loss. I perceived numbers of dead men on their deck, and their scuppers ran with streams of blood."

Wearied with the fight, George lay down upon the deck and fell asleep—a sleep as fatal as any shot of the enemy could have been, lodging in him, as it did, the seeds of that deadly malady which carried him to the grave.* During the spring months

* He indeed made several voyages after this, in one of which he brought home from St. Lucie an invalid officer (Colonel Mackay, the husband of the accomplished authoress of "The Family at Heatherdale"), who came on board so weak that he could not mount the companion-ladder unaided. For six or eight weeks, George watched over him with the

of 1806, the symptoms of consumption having showed themselves with alarming distinctness, he resolved to try the effect of his native air. For a short time that air seemed to revive and reinvigorate, but the improvement was only temporary. The months of August and September were spent at Kilmany, when his mother, his sisters Lucy, Jean, and Helen, and his brothers Thomas and Charles, were all around him. Leaving Thomas and Lucy ill behind him at Kilmany, George returned to Anstruther, where Thomas joined him at the close of the following month—not to be separated till the earthly bond was broken by death.

"ANSTRUTHER, *Oct.* 29, 1806.

"DEAR JAMES,—I arrived here yesterday from Kilmany quite recovered from my sore throat. It confined me about four weeks, and has had the good effect of reducing me to something like a reasonable size. The fact is, that the ease and indolence of a country retirement have induced a tendency to corpulence, which I am anxious to avoid, as the greatest possible bar to action and useful exertion in every department. You perhaps know that I have been in the practice for some time back of dividing the year between Kilmany and St. Andrews, allotting the summer to the former, and the winter to the latter. The wretched state of the manse renders this in some measure necessary, and indeed I can never regard myself as completely settled until I get my heritors prevailed on to grant a new establishment of house, offices, &c. I remember having some directions from you on the subject of gardening, which I neglected altogether, having no taste at the time for that occupation. I have lately, however, devoted myself to the study of botany, and am so much fascinated with the pursuit that I mean to lay out one-third of my garden in the cultivation of flowers. I will divide my botanical plot into narrow strips, with intervening walks, and mean to arrange the plants in scientific order. The book I use is Withering's British Flora; and to give you an idea of the rich botanical tract in which I am situated, two-thirds of his genera are to be found within nine miles of St. Andrews.

"Poor George is no better. His weakness, his languor, and perspirations have been much increased since he left Kilmany.

greatest tenderness, carrying him up daily in his arms from his cabin to the deck. He afterwards recovered, and hearing of George's illness, came from England to Anstruther, to return if possible the kind offices of the voyage.—See Correspondence of Dr. Chalmers, p. 496.

To you it would be an injustice if I held out delusive hopes, and I state it as my conviction that his lungs are seriously and irrecoverably affected. As to himself, he has all the manly indifference of his profession, is as cheerful as his bodily sufferings will allow, and perfectly resigned under the confident idea that his death is inevitable.—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The rapid progress of the malady was thus communicated by his father to James :—"*November* 25.—I sincerely wish I could make my report of my poor George more favourable. He is weaker than when I last wrote you. The doctors, I imagine, have no great hopes of a recovery ; but the Physician above all may otherwise appoint concerning him. I would desire to say with your brother, His holy will be done. He seems to be resigned to live or die as God shall see meet. I pray that living or dying he may be the Lord's.

"He was much pleased with your anxious solicitude about him ; and said that a letter from you, so far from putting him into any disorder, would give him great satisfaction. He has nothing of peevishness about him—a firm, steady resignation he possesses to a great degree."—"*December* 15.—Your letter gave George great satisfaction. I have no great heart to write. He is still alive, but unable to help himself in any manner of way ; but blessed be God that gives him a sweet submission to His holy will, and a satisfying hope of His mercy in Christ."

Every evening, at George's own request, one of Newton's sermons was read at his bedside by some member of the family in rotation. It was one of the very books which, a short time previously, Thomas had named and denounced from the pulpit. Bending over the pulpit, and putting on the books named the strong emphasis of dislike, he had said—"Many books are favourites with you, which I am sorry to say are no favourites of mine. When you are reading Newton's Sermons, and Baxter's Saints' Rest, and Doddridge's Rise and Progress, where do Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John go to?" As he now read one of these books to his dying brother, and witnessed the support and consolation which its truths conveyed, strange misgivings must have visited him. He was too close, too acute, too affectionate an observer not to notice that it was something more than the mere "manly indifference of his profession," something

more than a mere blind submission to an inevitable fate which imparted such calmness and serene elevation to George's dying hours. He was in his room when those pale and trembling lips were heard to say, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes." Perhaps as the words were uttered, the thought arose that in his own case, as compared with that of his brother, the words might be verified. In company with a weeping household, he bent over the parting scene, and heard the closing testimony given, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." George died on the 16th December 1806. It was the first death of a near relation which Thomas had witnessed; and the deep impression which it made, was the first step towards his own true and thorough conversion unto God.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST VISIT TO LONDON.

A few months after George's death, Mr. Chalmers, having occasion to go to Liverpool, received and accepted an invitation to proceed onward, and spend a week or two with his brother James in London. The following extracts from his journal reveal the ardour with which he availed himself of the opportunities by the way which this journey afforded, and the diligence with which, during his first visit to the great metropolis, the work of sight-seeing was prosecuted.

"*Edinburgh, April* 17.—Had nearly missed the coach. It broke down at the end of the town, and the accident detained us at least an hour. . . . Arrived in Carlisle at two in the morning.

"*April* 18.—Found in the coach from Carlisle this morning, a lady and gentleman from Carlisle. The former disposed to be frank and communicative, but apparently under some control from the gentleman, who had probably prepared her to expect a very vulgar company. He had the tone and the confidence of polished life, but I never in my life witnessed such a want of cordiality, such a cold and repulsive deportment, such a stingy and supercilious air, and so much of that confounded spirit too prevalent among the bucks and fine gentlemen of the age. They give no room to the movements of any kindly or natural impulse, but hedge themselves round by sneers, and attempt to awe you into diffidence by a display of their knowledge in the polite world. Give intrepidity to weather them out. I sustained my confidence. I upheld the timidity of the company, and had the satisfaction of reducing him at last to civility and complaisance.

"*April* 19.—Left Lancaster at seven in the morning, and arrived in Liverpool at six in the evening. . . .

"*April* 20.—Went with a party from Mr. Maccorquodale's to the Botanic Garden. . . . I christened his daughter at three o'clock, and we sat down to dinner at four. Mr. Yates and a son of Dr. Currie's were of the party. The former

assailed me with an application to preach for him, which I have had the simplicity to consent to, a circumstance which I dislike exceedingly, from the extreme awkwardness of my provincial dialect. Mr. Currie is a merchant of this place, combines liberalism and fashion, is an admirer of the Edinburgh school, and carries in his manner a great deal of the chastened amenity of a cultivated temper. They are both warm admirers of Mr. Stewart, a circumstance in which I took the liberty of differing from them. I lament the provincialisms of my tone and conversation, but must study to get over it by a proper union of confidence and humility.

"*Tuesday, April* 21.—Accompanied a party to a pottery about a mile and a half up the river. Was delighted with the elegance and simplicity of the process [*which is most minutely and graphically described*]. . . . Went to the School for the Blind, a truly admirable institution. . . . They have an hour for music—the effect was in the highest degree interesting, and the allusion to their own situation most pathetic. Dined in Mr. Maccorquodale's. The only stranger was a Mr. Duncan Maccorquodale, a military gentleman, of an appearance rather unfashionable, but accompanied with a most interesting modesty. To such as these I feel attached by an impulse the most kindly and benevolent, and cannot but spurn at the heartless formality of those who would triumph in the timidity of the inexperienced. Oh, how I like the untrained originality of nature! Oh, how I dislike the trammels of a cold, lifeless, and insipid formality!

"*Friday, April* 24.—Spent the forenoon with Dr. Traill, a chemical lecturer and practitioner, with a great deal of ardour and philosophic simplicity. He showed me his chemical apparatus. The most interesting was—1. An apparatus for decomposing water [*minutely described and diagramed*]. 2. A glass apparatus for decomposing water by galvanism [*the form of two vessels drawn, and the manner of using them detailed*].

"*Saturday, April* 25.—Walked to the Botanic Garden, and spent two hours in it. Found it of this form and dimension,—[*Here follow plan and measurements, with notices of its rarest plants.**]

* Besides the Journal from which the extracts given above have been taken, a separate Botanical Journal was kept during this journey. This Journal has been submitted to the inspection of Professor Balfour, who, from the graphic description given of its general appearance, even where the class and order are not given, had little difficulty in detecting what plant or flower was meant. For about a year, indeed, botany appears to have been the science which was in the ascendant. His knowledge of it was very rapidly acquired. His

"*Sunday, April* 26.—Preached in the forenoon for Mr. Kirkpatrick on the comforts of religion, and in the afternoon on drunkenness—the former with far more effect and impression than the latter. In the afternoon we met at three o'clock, after dinner, which has the effect of making both a drowsy preacher and a drowsy audience. Mrs. H. evidently reluctant in her testimony of approbation—disposed to overrate the deficiencies of manner and pronunciation, and asleep in the afternoon.

"*Monday, April* 27.—Drove out in the curricle with Mr. M'C., from six to nine in the morning. After a charming round of sixteen miles, returned with him to breakfast. . . . Went to the Athenæum. . . . Accompanied Mr. M'C. to dine in the river with Captain Tucker on board the Union Guineaman. We reached the vessel—she was going out of dock, where we proceeded to an anchorage about a mile and a half off from Liverpool. We had the music of benevolence to drown all the relentings of nature, and ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the shore to sanctify what was infamous, and deck the splendid villany of the trade.

"*Tuesday, April* 28.—Left Liverpool at seven in the morning. . . . Reached Birmingham by about ten at night.

"*Wednesday, April* 29.—[*Various manufactures, toy, button, gun, spade, &c., visited, and all the processes particularly noted down.*]

"*Thursday, April* 30.—Left Birmingham for Woodstock at seven in the morning, where I arrived at four in the afternoon. There was only another passenger in the coach, and he was inside, a sensible, discreet, cultivated man, whom I afterwards learned to be a Fellow of Oxford, and who had evidently a little of the rust and embarrassment of a learned profession. I parted with him at Woodstock. I was immediately conducted by a person from the inn to the gate of Blenheim. For a particular account see *Guide*, which seems to be written with great taste and power of description. The pleasure I felt was heightened by a variety of circumstances which supplied associations of grandeur. In addition to the stateliness of actual display, I had the recollection of its origin, the immortality of its first owner, the proud monument of national glory, the prospect not of a house, or scene, or a neighbourhood, but the memorial of those events which had figured on the high theatre of war and of

attention having been attracted to it at a meeting of Presbytery, he set himself to learn it, and at the very next meeting appeared to be quite familiar with its details.

politics, and given a turn to the history of the world. The statue of Louis XIV., placed upon the south front, and taken from the walls of Tournay, gives an air of magnificence far beyond the mere power of form or of magnitude. It is great not as a visible object, but great as a trophy, great as it serves to illustrate the glory of England, and the prowess of the first of warriors. I spent two hours in the garden. Never spot more lovely—never scenes so fair and captivating. I lost myself in an elysium of delight, and wept with perfect rapture. My favourite view was down the river, from the ground above the fountain. The setting sun gleamed on the gilded orbs of Blenheim; through the dark verdure of trees were seen peeps of water and spots of grassy sunshine; the murmurs of the waterfall beneath soothed every anxiety within me, the bell of the village clock sent its music across the lake on my left. I sat motionless, and my mind slumbered in a reverie of enchantment.

"*Friday, May* 1.—Started from Woodstock at seven, and walked to Oxford. I was rather surprised at the small number of students I met; but the appearance of one at times, with the garb of his order, had an interesting effect among these ancient solitudes. The Fellows, I was informed by one of my guides, are sometimes very noisy, and keep it up till two in the morning. It is impossible to carry away anything but a confused recollection of the different objects. The mind is overpowered with the dazzling variety that presents itself, and a guide for after-perusal is a most necessary accompaniment to all these various and extensive exhibitions. I returned to dine in my little mansion after a fatiguing walk of five hours, and in the evening took a rambling and irregular walk through the different streets of Oxford. I was delighted with the academic air and costume of the place; and amid the grossness of a mercantile age, it is the delight of my spirit to recur to the quiet scenes of philosophy, and contemplate what our ancestors have done for learning, and the respect that they once paid to it. Threw myself into bed at ten in the evening.

"*Saturday, May* 2.—Left Oxford at seven in the morning, . . . and landed in Ludgate Hill about seven in the evening. After waiting about a minute in the coffee-room, met my brother, who conducted me to his house in Walworth.

"*Sunday, May* 3.—Walked on London Bridge, round the Tower, along Cornhill and Cheapside to St. Paul's, where I heard service. After dinner we sallied out to Westminster

Bridge, St. James's Park, Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, and returned by Oxford Street and Blackfriars Bridge. Astonished at the display; the dress, the carriages, and company, give a high idea of the wealth and extravagance of London.

"*Monday, May* 4.—The Tower. . . . St. Paul's—the Guildhall and Exchange.

"*Tuesday, May* 5.—The Bank—the Treasury—the House of Commons; looked with veneration at Fox's seat. Went to Westminster Hall—saw Lord Eldon presiding in the Court of Chancery, and Lord Ellenborough in the Court of King's Bench. . . . Westminster Abbey. The *tout ensemble* and general view to me more interesting than the individual curiosities, which pass before the eye of the spectator in too rapid succession to be either appreciated or remembered.

"*Wednesday, May* 6.—Crossed London Bridge to the Monument. Had a most gratifying view of London. Saw the shipping through the winding of the Thames, till the prospect sunk away into mist and obscurity. In the Strand saw the model of a cotton mill [*all the parts and movements of the machinery minutely specified*]. . . . Went to the exhibition of pictures at the Royal Academy. An astonishing display of fashionables; had the satisfaction to observe that Mr. Wilkie's picture* attracted particular admiration.

"*Thursday, May* 7.—The Horse Guards, where I heard a most delightful band of music, and saw the 3d regiment of Foot Guards go through their exercise. Went to St. James's Palace, and was conducted through the State-rooms by Mrs. Macqueen, who, upon recognising me to be Scotch, invited me to return to the drawing-room on Thursday next. . . . Exhibition of models of Roman antiquities in cork, a most wonderful performance. Small bits of cork are put together so as to represent the different stories of the building, and coloured in such a way as to imitate the mould of antiquity. Small tufts of moss are scattered over the walls so as to give more truth and nature to the representation. The imitations are exact, and calculated to give a most interesting idea of these magnificent remains.

"*Friday, May* 8.—Merlin's Museum—a collection of mechanical curiosities [*numbered, and particularly described*]. . . . Got a station near the hustings at Westminster, and heard, with great interest, the speeches of the different candidates.

"*Saturday, May* 9.—Went as far as Upper Shadwell with a

* "The Blind Fiddler."—See *Life of Sir D. Wilkie*, pp. 144 146.

view to make out the Docks and Greenwich Hospital, but was prevented from proceeding by the rain. Returned to Westminster, where I heard the candidates exhibit in their usual style.

"*Sunday, May* 10.—The badness of the day prevented us from prosecuting any of our schemes. Walked out before dinner to Dulwich village, where we had the full view of a country enriched and adorned by the neighbourhood of the metropolis. After dinner, a round by Oxford Street. We returned by Blackfriars, where *en passant* we had an opportunity of hearing the delightful music in Rowland Hill's, and the roaring enthusiasm of another preacher, whose sect was founded by a female mystic, Joanna Southcote.

"*Monday, May* 11.—The hustings at Westminster,* and a Zoological Museum.

"*Tuesday, May* 12.—Breakfasted with the Miss Hunters, and took three of them to the Royal Academy, and had great satisfaction in observing the increasing celebrity of Mr. Wilkie's picture. In going along to Somerset House, I met John Campbell [now Lord Campbell]. On my return, I met Mrs. and Miss ——. By the way, I have no patience for Mrs. ——; not a particle of cordiality about her; cold, formal, and repulsive; a perfect stranger to the essence of politeness, with a most provoking pretension to its exterior; a being who carries in her very eye a hampering and restraining criticism; who sets herself forward as a pattern of correct manners—while she spreads pain, restraint, and misery around her; whose example I abominate, and whose society I must shun, as it would blast all the joy and independence of London. . . . Met at tea a Mr. M. He seems a smattering pretender to science; has a great respect for it; was very courteous and attentive to me. I accompanied both gentlemen to a lecture in Guy's Hospital. It was given that night by a Mr. Allan, a Quaker. The subject was, the Earth considered as a planet with its attendant Moon. It was quite narratory and illustrative, as I believe almost all scientific lecturers are in England. He had about 100 hearers; and from the rapid and imperfect explanation he gave of his subject, I do not believe that one of them went away instructed. They still persevere, however, and think that their progress in philo-

* He used often to tell of a scene which he witnessed at these hustings. An ugly fellow, raised on the shoulders of the mob, said to Sheridan—"If you do not alter your ways, I will withdraw my countenance from you." Sheridan replied, "I am very glad to hear it, for an uglier countenance I never saw." The countenance sunk quickly out of sight.

sophy is to be measured by the progress of the course. Oh, London! artful as a serpent in the dark and tortuous paths of iniquity, but simple and credulous as a child in the higher fields of intellect.

"*Wednesday, May* 13.—Breakfasted with John Campbell. Much franker and more manly than in the first years of my acquaintance with him. Visited Carlton House; thence proceeded to St. James's, and stationed myself on the outside of the railing at Buckingham House. One of the royal carriages entered the Court, and went off first with Princess Elizabeth; then, with Princess Mary and the Duke of Sussex; then, from the front of the house, with the Queen and Princess Augusta. It took them all successively to St. James's, where they went on a visit to two of the royal dukes at their apartments. I was there in time to have a full view of the royal train. I met them in one of the narrow passages, where I stood with my hat off. A condescending notice from her Majesty was the return I got for it. I am charmed with the cordial and affectionate loyalty of the people. An old gentleman from the country laughed with pleasure; an elderly gentleman was delighted with the smiling countenances of her Majesty and daughters, and remarked that her Majesty was looking wonderfully well. I saw a glow of reverence and satisfaction on every countenance, and my heart warmed within me.

"*Thursday, May* 14.—Walked over in a pour of rain to St. James's. Ran up the great stair of the Palace, and found Mrs. Macqueen at the head ready to receive me. She ushered me into the outer passage room. Stopping some time here, I was conducted by the same lady, along with others, to a room through which the royals pass in their way to the drawing-room. I had here the opportunity of seeing the Queen, with her splendid train supported by a page, the five princesses, and an immense procession of attendants. The most distinguished of these is the Earl of Morton. I then went back to my old place, where I witnessed an astonishing flow going to and returning from the drawing-room. I had the advantage of knowing very few of them. The Duke of Cambridge, Princess Sophia of Gloucester, Duke of Cumberland, and the Princess of Wales, were all pointed out to me. Upon their approach, the halberds are dropt upon the ground, and the attendants put on their hats. A court dress appears to me the most fantastic and unnatural, the barbarous remnant of an age when

simplicity was unknown, and the most gorgeous affectation of ornament prevailed over every department of fashion. What more ludicrous than the hoops! The best place for a stranger getting acquainted with the company is at the foot of the staircase, where the servants and carriages of the different people are called for.

"*Friday, May* 15.—The India House—Deptford—the Docks. We proceeded to Drury Lane Theatre, where we heard the comic opera of the Duenna, High Life below Stairs, and the pantomimic ballet, Don Juan. I am not fond of operas, because I have no taste for that music the merit of which appears to me to lie entirely in the execution. The squalling exertion of the performers is painful to me, and not a word of the song can be collected. Indeed, such is the extent of Drury Lane Theatre, that in many parts of the house, the most audible and distinct enunciation must be lost upon the hearer. The house was quite full, more decorous than the Circus, and exceeds anything I have seen in the splendour of its boxes and rich expensive scenery. None of the performers appeared to me first-rate. The pantomime I did not enter into. We returned to Walworth in the morning.

"*Saturday, May* 16.—I arrived at Windsor at seven; ran up to the Castle; got admittance by the porter (1s.); and was shown by the chambermaid (1s. 6d.) through the public rooms. The paintings I did not see to advantage, from the lateness of the hour; but was particularly struck with the magnificence of St. George's Hall, and the finished elegance of the king's audience chamber. In one of the rooms, I was pointed out the Duke of Marlborough's annual quit-rent for Blenheim, a small flag highly decorated. I went down to the terrace; and as I walked along the north of the Castle, I swore in the gladness of my heart that there was never scene so sweet or fair. You have an exquisite view, below the eminence, of the Castle, the windings of the Thames, Eton College and Chapel. The vivid green seen in patches through the fringe of luxuriant branches; the extensive lawns below, on which the peaceful cattle were grazing; the hum of the village; the grand association of Majesty; his piety and amiable character; his selection of this quiet retirement as a refuge from the cares and the splendour of royalty, threw me into a train of emotions, soothing, tranquil, and elevating. I returned to the Hero Inn, where I got a snug room, a substantial supper, and a comfortable bed.

"*Sunday, May* 17.—Went to the king's private chapel; where, at half-past eight, I was gratified with the entrance of their Majesties and the Princess Elizabeth. His manner is devotional and unaffected. I heard them all repeat the service most distinctly; and was much pleased with their frank, easy, and benevolent appearance. The view of Twickenham was most charming. Pope's house was among the delightful residences that we gazed on with rapture from the opposite side. The river was enshrined with pleasure boats; and the gay London parties, walking and drinking tea on both sides, gave cheerfulness and animation to the prospect. The idea, however, of vicinity to the metropolis pollutes all our rural impressions of this fascinating scene—takes off from all that pure interest which the idea of simplicity confers, and mingles with original nature the vices, profligacy, and corruptions of civilized life. We ascended Richmond Hill; eyed with rapture the country before us; saw in the rich scene that presented itself the wealth of the first city in the world, spreading its embellishment over the neighbourhood. Took a boat to Kew, when we passed Islesworth, and had a charming sail down the river. From Kew, we coached it to town, and reached Walworth by eleven in the evening.

Monday, May 18.—The London Institution—Waxworks—Cosmorama—thence to the hustings, where I heard a most eloquent eulogium on Fox from the mouth of Sheridan—thence to the theatre, Covent Garden. The play was Coriolanus. The chief actors were Mrs. Siddons and Mr. Kemble. She had few opportunities of coming forward, but shewed herself a great and impressive performer, and noble in the expression of heightened heroical sentiment. I was electrified at the drawing out of the dagger, 'to die while Rome was free.' Kemble disgusted me at first; heavy and formal in the movement of his arms, and not able to drop the stateliness of his manner on trivial and unimportant occasions. He is too formal, artificial, and affected; but is more than tolerable—is great and admirable on those grand occasions when nature overpowers art, and the feelings are carried along by the strong, the vehement, and the resistless.

"*Tuesday, May* 19.—Started at six o'clock for Woolwich—thence to Greenwich. At this time of the year Greenwich fair is held, and resorted to by an immense concourse of people. The park overflowed; and I never witnessed a better display of the English character—their propensity to amusement—their dissipation—their love of gambling, shows, and exhibitions.

We are more a business people, devoted to the pursuits of selfishness, and controlling any ungenial propensity in obedience to the call of prudence and interest. I was delighted with the views from the park. Saw the painted hall, chapel wards, and dining-room of Greenwich Hospital; and after several rounds through the scene of gaiety, I was brought home at five in the afternoon. I am sure I met a hundred carriages on their road to the fair, and was informed by my driver that he had carried them down till half-past eight. A horse dead upon the road with over-driving was to me a most impressive display of the dashing, careless, and impetuous spirit of the people, when urged on by some popular and fashionable object.

"*Wednesday, May* 20.—Breakfasted with Peter Cleghorn, and find him a manly, sensible fellow. Accompanied him to Mr. Wilkie, No. 10, Sol's Court, but missed our object. Attended a lecture and exhibition of gas lights at Pall Mall in the evening. The lecturer, Mr. W., is a mere empiric; not a particle of science, and even dull and uninteresting in his popular explanations. The Londoners listened with delight; and I pronounce the metropolis to be the best mart of impudence and ignorant folly. It is not worth the attending, though it may be rendered so with a better lecturer. My own conviction is, that with certain precautions gas will succeed. Returned at eleven in the evening.

"*Thursday, May* 21.—Called on Wilkie; took Russell Square in my road, and think it the finest in London. Mr. Wilkie is a man of genius and excellent sense, with all the simplicity which accompanies talent, and firmness to resist the corruptions of flattery. After leaving him, I took a round among the streets and squares to the north of Oxford Street.

"*Friday, May* 22.—Went in the forenoon to a splendid exhibition of tulips in Walworth. The tulips and anemones together covered about four acres of ground. There was a green room filled in its whole length by the most beautiful tulips brought to the highest perfection.

"*Saturday, May* 23.— . . . Repaired to the Albany, and dined with Mr. Sheridan and 150 of his admirers. The dinner was wretched—too little of it—and the worst conducted I ever saw. Great tumult and confusion among the company. I was disappointed in all the speeches, and much shocked with the extreme incorrectness of feeling discovered by several of the company. When the venerable memory of Fox was announced

by Mr. Sheridan the toastmaster, it was received with the most ridiculous shouts and huzzas, which were at last drowned by the hisses of the majority. A most offensive degree of vulgarity prevailed among my immediate neighbours. It seemed to be their great entertainment to throw the waiters into trouble and confusion. It was strongly suspected that there were people stationed at one part of the room for the purpose of disturbing the harmony of the electors. I left them at nine, and bent my steps homewards.

"*Monday, May* 25.—The British Museum; where I was conducted with great rapidity through a collection of curiosities too various and multiplied to appreciate in the course of a month.

"*Tuesday, May* 26.—Left London.

"*Wednesday, May* 27.—I was delighted with Cambridge; a small town deriving its entire support from the University. It smells of learning all over, and I breathe a fragrancy most congenial to me. The very women have an air of academic mildness and simplicity. I prefer it to Oxford, where you are embarrassed with the multiplicity of objects, and astonished at the glare of decoration and spectacle. In Cambridge, everything wears a simplicity and chasteness allied to the character of philosophy; and the venerable name of Newton gives it an interest that can never die. Left Cambridge at half-past seven in the morning. Found Huntingdon all astir about an election dinner. Threw myself into the coach from London to Stamford, which passes Huntingdon at four in the afternoon. I was informed at Stilton, that the cheese of that name is not manufactured there, but chiefly in Leicester and Rutlandshire; that it was first purchased by an innkeeper at Stilton, who was the means of giving it celebrity, and from this circumstance it first got and still retains the name of Stilton cheese. Before reaching Stilton, enclosures are less frequent; but after leaving that town, the character of beautiful enclosed pasturage is again resumed. Passed a very extensive range of wooden barracks, appropriated for the reception of French prisoners. I am glad to hear that they have the best accommodation, and a spacious court, giving the advantage of air and exercise. In passing through the wild succession of corn fields and picturesque cottages, with the evening sun shedding its quiet light over the landscape, I was struck with the figure of a woman reading at a window—a sober reflection pictured on her countenance. Supped and stopped all night at Stamford.

"*Thursday, May* 28.—Started from Stamford at a quarter

from four, in the coach from London to Newcastle. Sir Isaac Newton's house I saw most distinctly. I felt a glow and an enthusiasm, for my veneration for the character and talents of Sir Isaac is unbounded. Dined at Doncaster, the approach to which is beautiful; got to Aberford about ten.

"*Friday, May* 29.—Started at half-past five, and scrambled through fields for six miles to Tadcaster. I could here perceive the richness of English soil and English cultivation. I was lost among hedges, and had no view of the country which surrounded me. On my arrival at Tadcaster, I found the 29th May celebrated by the ringing of bells, and the whole town in a stir about the county election. Found it impossible to secure a seat in any of the coaches, so I walked on to Struthouses, where I breakfasted. Half a mile farther on, I fell in with the Leeds coach for York, so I got on the top of it, and reached York about eleven in the forenoon. I spent an hour in contemplating the glories of York Minster. The objects which struck me most were the circular carved work at the top of the south entry—the beautiful colonnade at the back of the altar—the highly ornamental screen which supports the organ, and separates the choir from the nave of the cathedral—the windows on the north, with five longitudinal divisions, richly painted in the pattern style—and above all, the chapter-house, an octagonal room, that displays all the power and elegance of finished workmanship. From the top of the great tower, I surveyed a raised expanse of level scenes thrown into hedge enclosures, bounded at a great distance on the east by a gentle swell, and on the north by two distinct tiers of elevated country. On the west, and particularly the north, the scene loses itself in interminable distance. The two west towers are beset with beautiful pinnacles. Not a horse nor a conveyance was to be had in York, so I walked on to Easingwold.

"*Saturday, May* 30.—Took an outside place to Durham on the High-Flyer, from London on to Newcastle, passing through Easingwold at nine. The approach to Durham is by no means impressive. The houses, with their red roofs, took away from that venerable air of antiquity which my fancy had led me to associate with the name and situation of Durham. I arrived between six and seven in the evening; ran up to the cathedral; tried in vain to get admittance, and was obliged to content myself with a survey of its exterior. [*Here follows minute description, with ink sketches.*]

"*Sunday, May* 31.—Started at seven, and walked to Bishop-Wearmouth. The country possesses no great or decisive features. The bridge over the Wear is an astonishing piece of workmanship. I got under it in a boat, and made my observations. [*A minute description of the bridge is given.*] Falling in with a man who drove a post-office gig, rode to South Shields. Crossed over to North Shields for twopence in a skuller. From North Shields I proceeded to Tynemouth, with which I was delighted; the east fragment of the abbey is particularly beautiful. Sailed up the river to Newcastle.

"*Monday, June* 1.—I left Newcastle about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and stopped at the six-mile-house in the expectation of getting a place in the mail. It was quite full, however, so I walked on to Morpeth, where I spent the evening.

"*Tuesday, June* 2.—Rose at seven in the morning. I took an outside seat to Alnwick. From the inn I proceeded to the castle, and was much delighted with the different rooms of this noble edifice. . . . The chapel has three beautiful painted windows; the window at the extremity the most elegant I had seen. The walls set round with gilded triangles and slender pilasters —perhaps too bright and airy for a place of devotion. I was more pleased with the interior of the house than with Blenheim. It is not so rich or various; but there is a uniformity of character, and a simplicity that does not fatigue or overpower you. Blenheim is before it in exterior appearance, and the beautiful scenes of its garden and park. I walked from Alnwick to Warrenford. The whim struck me that I should make an excursion to Holy Island; so after passing through Belford, I turned to the right, and after walking for three or four miles along the beach, was fortunate enough to fall in with an oyster boat, which ferried me over the channel. I was here disgusted with the rapacious spirit of the young rascals of boatmen, who, though I overpaid them for their trouble, tried to work out of me every little addition they could think of."

* * * * * *

After a survey of the island, he reached Berwick on the following day; and walking along the banks of the Tweed and the Teviot, found himself, about a week afterwards, in the hospitable manse of Roberton. "I proposed," says Mr. Shaw, "when he left, to accompany him to Dr. Hardie's (about six miles distant), whence he intended to get to Penicuick next day. We set out accordingly on a Monday after breakfast. The next

morning, I expressed a wish that we should go as far as Galashiels, and call on Dr. Douglas;* to which he consented, on condition that it must be only a short call. There, however, we were induced to spend the day. Next morning we took our departure on the way to Peebles; but in passing the hospitable residence of a family with whom I was intimately connected, I prevailed on him to call; and being much delighted with our kind reception, we remained till next morning, when we took our leave after breakfast. On our way up the Tweed, I suggested the propriety of our calling on my friend, Nicol of Traquair,† whose manse was situated only about half-a-mile off the road. 'Well, sir,' was the reply, 'but it must be only for a minute or two, as I must get to Penicuick this night.' There, however, we spent the day most comfortably; and in the evening, were so delighted with the music of the piano, that we could not refrain dancing a few merry reels. At last, Chalmers took hold of my arm, and exclaimed, 'It's out of the question my getting home this week. You have a good horse, so you must just proceed to-morrow morning to Kilmany, and I will go back to Roberton.' To this proposal I readily agreed. Nicol was amazed, and seemed to think we were both getting deranged. On awakening next morning, and perceiving that it rained, I began to groan a little, when my friend pulled me out of bed, and ordered me to set off with all convenient speed. Off I accordingly rode, and reached Kilmany about eight o'clock at night. Chalmers went from Nicol's to Hardie's on the Friday —we parted at Traquair—and on Saturday, to Roberton parish, where he wrote a poetical farewell to Teviotdale, and preached a brilliant sermon on 'Look not on the wine when it is red' (Prov. xxiii. 31). Afterwards, on his way home, he called at Abbotshall, and gave me a minute and amusing account of all his proceedings, concluding with high glee and emphasis, 'This famous exploit will immortalize us, sir.' I regret that I cannot find his Farewell to Teviotdale, which I must have somehow mislaid."

* Robert Douglas, D.D., minister of Galashiels, was the author of "A General View of the Agriculture in the County of Roxburgh." Edinburgh, 1798. 8vo. And of "A General View of the Agriculture in the County of Selkirk." Edinburgh, 1798. 8vo. He was also the writer of an anonymous life of Logan, prefixed to the edition of his poems published at Edinburgh in 1812. He sold to Sir Walter Scott a farm called *Clarty Hole*, afterwards dignified by the name of Abbotsford. Mr. Lockhart tells us, that he was the "shrewd and unbigoted" minister of the gospel in Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk. Some notices of his character are to be found in the Life of Dr. Balmer, by Dr. Henderson of Galashiels.

† James Nicol, minister of Traquair, published, in the earlier part of his life, "Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect." Edinburgh, 1805. 2 vols. 16mo. A work of his was published four years after his death, entitled, "An Essay on the Nature and Design of Scripture Sacrifices, in which the Theory of Archbishop Magee is Controverted." London, 1823. 8vo.

CHAPTER VI.

PUBLICATION OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE EXTENT AND STABILITY OF NATIONAL RESOURCES—DEATH OF HIS SISTER BARBARA.

Mr. Chalmers returned to Kilmany in July, and the transition was immediate from the bustle of the metropolis and the varieties of the wayside, to the solitary labours of the desk.

"Kilmany, *September* 9, 1807.

"Dear James,—I should have written you sooner, but the eternal sameness of the country suggests no subject that can at all interest you. I by no means dislike the country, however; and much indeed would I regret it, if my jaunt to London had inspired disgust with my situation. The truth is, I have come down to Scotland more of the country parson than I ever was in my life before, quite devoted to the sober work of visiting and examining—scarcely ever without the limits of my parish, and not once at Auster or St. Andrews since I returned from my excursion.

"You hinted to me, when in London, the propriety of making some effort in the way of publication. To this I am encouraged by the success of my last effort, which, however little known in London, and in spite of the angry opposition it met with, sold unexpectedly well in this part of the country. I have accordingly been engaged in some discussions on the subject of the Public Revenue, which I think may excite the attention of politicians. Wilkie, the celebrated painter, spent a day with me lately, and promises to make the thing as extensively known as possible among his literary acquaintances in London. . . .
Yours affectionately, Thomas Chalmers."

One-half of the projected volume was already written, when his brother was thus told of its being commenced. At a still earlier period of his life, Political Economy had been a favourite study of Mr. Chalmers; and the state of public affairs at this particular crisis invited him to certain investigations in that

branch of science, the results of which he longed to promulgate, as in the highest degree consolatory and encouraging to the country. With the prospect before her of a protracted and expensive war, the alarm had spread widely that her capabilities to continue it were about to be extensively crippled. In November 1806, Bonaparte had issued his famous Berlin Decree, shutting the ports of every country on the continent over which his influence extended against all vessels which had cleared from British harbours, and confiscating all cargoes of British goods, however carried. Austria, Prussia, and Russia, their armies beaten on the field by France, had already been forced into this commercial war with England; and Portugal and Spain, threatened by the same victorious power, appeared to be on the eve of joining a coalition which was to place the British islands in a state of blockade. Our merchants and manufacturers fancied themselves on the brink of ruin; and the country generally shared their terror, believing that, to whatever extent our trade was curtailed, to the same extent our national resources would suffer loss. In the apprehension of Mr. Chalmers, this alarm was altogether groundless. He could demonstrate, he thought, that the whole loss which the country should suffer, even if the measures of Bonaparte were to succeed, would be the loss of those luxuries which foreign trade supplied—not any diminution of that general fund out of which these luxuries were paid for, and by which all our manufactures were upheld; and, if that fund remained entire, then, with less to do in ministering to personal enjoyment, it would have more than ever to offer to Government for the upholding of national independence. The discussions out of which this cheering conclusion emerged were so vigorously prosecuted, that they should have been completed ere the year had closed, had not a severe illness intervened.

"Anstruther, *December* 4, 1807.

"Dear James,—I am here for a change of air, having just recovered from a fever which has thrown me back two months in all my speculations. In your last you seem to intimate something like a suspicion that the subject of my proposed publication is not a popular one. Of all others, I believe it a subject most adapted to the present circumstances of the country. It is entitled an 'Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources;' and though upon a general subject, and chiefly intended to elucidate some questions in

the science of political economy, yet I cannot forbear interspersing a number of allusions to the present aspect of affairs. I got a pamphlet lately from London, entitled 'Britain Independent of Commerce,'* which I see has attracted the notice of Cobbett, the author of the Political Register. Several of its discussions coincide with those I had before prepared upon the same subject, though my plan embraces a greater variety of investigation; and I have the vanity to think that my illustrations of the argument are more perspicuous and impressive.

"The great burden of my argument is, that the manufacturer who prepares an article for home consumption is the servant of the inland consumer, labouring for his gratification, and supported by the price which he pays for the article;—that the manufacturer of an article for exportation is no less the servant of the inland consumer, because, though he does not labour immediately for his gratification, he labours for a return from foreign countries. This return comes in articles of luxury, which fetch a price from our inland consumers. Hence it is ultimately from the inland consumer that the manufacturer of the exported article derives his maintenance. Suppose, then, that trade and manufacture were destroyed, this does not affect the ability of the inland consumer. The whole amount of the mischief is, that he loses the luxuries which were before provided for him, but he still retains the ability to give the same maintenance as before to the immense population who are now discarded from their former employments. Suppose this ability to be transferred to Government in the form of a tax. Government takes the discarded population into its service. They follow their subsistence wherever it can be found; and thus, from the ruin of our trading and manufacturing interest, Go-

* "Britain Independent of Commerce; or, Proofs deduced from an Investigation into the true Causes of the Wealth of Nations, that our riches, prosperity, and power, are derived from resources inherent in ourselves, and would not be affected even though our Commerce were annihilated. By William Spence, F.L.S. London: Cadell and Davies, 1807." This pamphlet ran rapidly through three editions, and was reviewed both in the Monthly and Edinburgh Reviews. It was answered by James Mill in an elaborate pamphlet of 154 pages, entitled, "Commerce Defended; an Answer to the Arguments by which Mr. Spence, Mr Cobbett, and others, have attempted to prove that Commerce is not a Source of National Wealth;" and, by R. Torrens, in a pamphlet called "The Economists Refuted; or, an Inquiry into the Nature and Extent of the Advantages derived from Trade." In 1808, Mr. Spence published a second pamphlet, entitled, "Agriculture the Source of the Wealth of Britain: a Reply to the Objections urged by Mr. Mill, the Edinburgh Reviewers and others, against the doctrine of a pamphlet entitled, 'Britain Independent of Commerce;' with Remarks on the Criticism of the Monthly Reviewers upon that work. By W. Spence." Not satisfied with leaving the controversy in this condition, the Edinburgh Reviewers entered the lists a second time, in vol. xiv. p. 50. There can be little doubt that the pre-occupation of the public mind with the speculations of Mr. Spence seriously interfered with the success of Mr. Chalmers's publication.

vernment collects the means of adding to the naval and military establishments of the country. I therefore anticipate that Bonaparte, after he has succeeded in shutting up the markets of the continent against us, will be astonished—and that the mercantile politicians of our own country will be no less astonished—to find Britain as hale and vigorous as ever, and fitter than before for all the purposes of defence and security, and political independence.—Yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"KILMANY, *January* 5, 1808.

"DEAR JAMES,—I received yours, and feel myself a good deal stimulated by your observations. With all my activity, however, I shall not get my revisal finished before the 1st of February. My fever was a cruel interruption; and it left a languor behind it which rendered me useless for several weeks. It is perhaps unfortunate for my book, that my two first chapters are among the most abstract and uninteresting of the whole. This was unavoidable, as it was necessary to establish the principles of my reasoning before I could proceed to the more useful or popular applications. The following is a catalogue of my chapters:—

"Chap. I.—The Case of a country secluded from all Foreign Intercourse.

"I here attempt to prove, that the utility of a manufacture lies entirely in working up certain articles for the enjoyment of customers. If the manufacture is destroyed, the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of the enjoyment. The maintenance of the manufacturers ought not to be taken into the account. This maintenance still lies in the hands of their customers, and can be given to them with as much liberality as ever for some new service. If this new service is the service of the Government in the capacity of soldiers, the whole amount of the change is a change of employment to manufacturers; and to the customer it is the exchange of one advantage for another—the exchange of luxury for comfort and independence.

"Chap. II.—The Case of a country which carries on Foreign Trade, but is subsisted by its own Agricultural Produce.

"I here attempt to prove, that the manufacturer of the exported commodity derives his maintenance from the inland consumer, and is therefore as much under his control as the

home manufacturer. Though his present employment were destroyed, the maintenance still exists to give him the same advantages in some new service, as in the case of the home manufacturer.

"Chap. III.—The Case of a country which has to import Agricultural Produce.

"This is in some degree applicable to Britain, though to a much less extent than is generally imagined. From the most authentic catalogues, it appears that the number subsisted upon foreign grain amounts to about $\frac{1}{33}$ of the whole population. The agricultural resources of England are immense, and far more than sufficient to feed all this redundant population.

"Chap. IV.—On Profit and Capital.

"What is true of labourers is true of capitalists. The revenue they derive in the way of profit is from a previous ability existing in the country. Though their trade is annihilated, the ability is still in reserve to give them as good an income as before in some other employment. The army holds out as great a number of good situations, in proportion to the number of which it is composed, as any trading establishment does in proportion to the number of its labourers. The extended branches of the Government service hold out an equal number of openings for our discarded capitalists, as well as for our discarded labourers.

"Chap. V.—On the Distinction between Productive and Unproductive Labour.

"I here attempt to combat the definition of Dr. Adam Smith.

"Chap. VI.—On Taxation.

"I take up the merits of two systems of taxation—a tax upon consumption and a tax upon income. The course of my speculations leads me to a decided preference for the latter.

"Chap. VII.—On the Effects of Taxation upon the Labouring Classes of the Community.

"Among other topics, I discuss the merits of the compulsory system by which men are dragged into the service of the country.

"Chap. VIII.—The consideration of some Difficulties and Objections."

In the chapter on Taxation the following suggestion is made as to the mode of levying an income-tax:—"It is the excess of income above that which is laid out in purchasing the neces-

saries of existence, which contributes the only fund out of which the public revenue is raised. Let a man be taxed then by the portion he possesses of this fund; let him be exempted for that part of his income which only raises him to an equality with the labourer. We shall suppose the exemption to extend to £50 a year. If a sum of £50 a year, then, is exempted, it is unfair to tax a man of £60 by the whole of his income. He should only be taxed by his excess above £50. Let him be exempted for his £50, and let him pay an aliquot part of his excess above £50, or an aliquot part of £10. If this aliquot part be one-fifth, let him pay one-fifth of £10, or £2. Extending this rule to higher incomes, let the income of £70 be taxed one-fifth of £20, or let it pay £4; the income of £80 pay £6; the income of £100 pay £10. . . . And so of all incomes whatsoever." —Pp. 272, 273.

The conviction, that this was the best and most equitable way of imposing an income-tax, remained with Dr. Chalmers through life; and on a late occasion, when this tax was re-imposed by Sir Robert Peel, he earnestly urged its adoption in any influential quarter to which he had access. It is now more than thirty years since the suggestion was first made by the then unknown minister of Kilmany. In one of the latest and ablest treatises on political economy the following passage occurs:—"The mode of adjusting these inequalities of pressure which seems to be the most equitable, is that recommended by Bentham, of leaving a certain minimum of income sufficient to provide the necessaries of life, untaxed. Suppose £50 a year to be an income ordinarily sufficient to provide a moderately numerous labourer's family with the requisites of life and health, and with protection against habitual bodily suffering, but not with any indulgences. This, then, should be made the minimum; and incomes exceeding it should pay taxes, not upon their whole amount, but upon the surplus. If the tax be ten per cent., an income of £60 should be considered as a net income of £10, and charged with £1 a year; while an income of £1000 should be charged as one of £950. Each would then pay a fixed proportion, not of his whole means, but of his superfluities." *

In treating of the compulsory system by which the army and navy were then supplied with men, Mr. Chalmers says—"I can

* Mill's Principles of Political Economy, vol. ii. p. 351.

never consent to call that a voluntary service into which men are decoyed by artifice, or driven by vice and by misfortune—to which they fly as a refuge from infamy, or as the last shift for an existence—which is held out as an asylum to acquitted criminals, and a hiding-place to all whom ignominy and misconduct have compelled to abandon the neighbourhood of their acquaintances. The army is not a voluntary service unless men are allured into it by rational inducements; but instead of this, the only possible way of getting men is by tricking them into an imprudence. You beset them in the hour of intoxication; you try to overset their firmness by holding out the immediate temptation of a bounty; you avail yourselves of all their little embarrassments, and employ a set of despicable agents, whose business is to wheedle and falsify and betray. . . . The liberal policy of sufficient pay is unknown to you. You grudge every penny that is bestowed on the defenders of the country. Yes, the wealth of the country is otherwise bestowed. It is spent with the most prodigal hand on those labourers who provide their employers with the gewgaws of splendour and fashion and luxury; while violence and constraint and misery are the inheritance of those brave men who form the palladium of our nation's glory, and the protection of its dearest interests. . . . Let us hasten to redress this crying enormity. Let it be a voluntary service. Individuals, when they want servants, go to market and enlist them for a term of months. Let Government imitate their example—let it go to market and enlist for a term of years. Let it be no longer a slavery for life; and let the burning ignominy of corporal punishment be done away. Make the situation of a soldier respectable, and annex to it such advantages as may be sufficient to allure into the army the strength and substance of our most valuable population."—Pp. 278-290.

By the Army Service Bill, introduced by the present able and enlightened Secretary-at-War in 1847, the old system of life-enlistment has been abolished, and in its stead a system of limited enlistment introduced, the infantry soldier enlisting now for ten years, the cavalry and artillery for twelve. A large advance has thus been made towards rendering the condition of a soldier all that Mr. Chalmers in 1808 desired. It may require more than another thirty years to realize the reform pointed to in the following passage:—

"What is true of soldiers, is true of officers. Their allowance is shamefully little. If you wish to exalt the military character of the country, you must give *éclat* to the military service. You must annex to it the most honourable distinctions; you must reform the vicious system of military preferment; you must banish all political and pecuniary influence; you must institute an inviolable order of preferment, and put it beyond the putrefying touch of money or politics. Let it be a fair race in the career of ambition; and to every office, however humble, let there be annexed the vision of future glory, and the highest anticipations of future eminence."—Pp. 292, 293.

* It was a frequent remark of the author of these suggestions, that if nature had specially fitted him for any one profession above another, it was that of a military engineer. It seems a pity not to preserve here the only specimen which his writings present to us of his abilities in this peculiar walk. In the conclusion of this volume he says—"It is with the utmost diffidence that I hazard an opinion on the detail of military operations. But it must strike the most inattentive observer, that France has established herself in the different countries around her, not because these countries had arrived at the limit of their resources, but because, from the rapidity of the invader, they had not time to convert their resources to the purposes of defence—they had not time to collect their disposable population, and train it to the business of war. . . . It is too prevailing a maxim in this country, that the question of invasion must be decided in a moment—that we must overpower the enemy on the beach—that the country must not be exposed to the miseries of a protracted warfare—that the whole of our military strength must be brought at once to bear upon the enemy—and that we must attempt to anticipate him by some great and decisive stroke at the very outset of his operations. This appears to me to be the most ruinous and mistaken policy. What! shall we commit the independence of the empire to the issue of a single engagement? Shall we rest our security upon the uncertain fortunes of one army, when, with the advantage of a little time, we could summon up out of the disposable population a succession of armies, which, with the discipline and preparation of a few months, would be fit to repel invasion on a scale of greater magnitude than any that all Europe will ever put into execution? . . . The delusive importance annexed to the metropolis may

often tempt an invaded country to step beyond that defensive policy which is its true interest at the outset of its military operations. Had Austria abandoned Vienna at the very outset of its unfortunate contest, and Prussia abandoned Berlin, it would have given at this moment a new aspect to the politics of Europe. What is a metropolis, in fact? It is a great collection of houses, occupied in general by a part of our disposable population, who supply the country around them with the productions of their industry. If an enemy comes there, he may find much wealth—that is, he may destroy or take possession of many valuable commodities; but I venture to say that, with all his power of mischief, he is not able to take from us more than what would supply the luxuries of a few months, and which, if he had not taken away, would at the end of that time have been destroyed by the consumption of purchasers. The whole amount of the mischief, then, is the loss of a few months' luxuries; and though the invader was allowed to take his full swing of depredation and violence in every part of the country, all that he could possibly destroy would bear no greater proportion to the whole value of the island than the movables of an estate do to the estate itself. I would not surrender a single military point for the sake of the metropolis; I would not abandon a single position; I would not risk a single uncertainty; I would survey the country with the eye of an officer; I would look upon the island as if it were a blank surface, and regulate my military operations in the same way as if no metropolis existed.

* * * * * * *

"Britain is now called upon to act a brilliant part in the history of the world. She is not able to revolutionize Europe, but she is able to hold out to her the example of an independent country. She is able to perpetuate in the world the only remnant of liberty that exists in it, and to present to the weary eye one bright spot on the troubled theatre of political affairs. Were it a total extinction of liberty, its cause might be desperate and irrecoverable; ages to come might lie buried under the violence of a rude and unsettled despotism, and the better days of man might die away from the memory of the species. But there is some ground for anticipation to build upon when we reflect that there still exists in the world one solitary asylum for the principles of liberty—that there remains one animating example for the nations of Europe to appeal to—that the time may yet come when this example shall have its influence, when there shall be

some new fluctuation in the tide of human affairs, when this awful storm shall blow over, and the sunshine of happier days shall smile upon our children."

By the end of January, the labour of composition was closed; in February, Mr. Chalmers went to Edinburgh, where he remained while his work was passing through the press; and on Monday, the 28th March, the volume was published. Of the 500 copies which were printed, 150 were despatched to London. The briskness of the sale in Scotland suggested the idea of a second edition; and the prospect of that edition issuing speedily and with *éclat* from the London press, prompted the following rapid series of communications to his brother James:—

"KILMANY, *April* 6, 1808.

"With regard to my going to London on the business of a second edition, I should find it very inconvenient; and I have, therefore, a plan to propose, which I hope may meet your approbation. Consult with my friend Mr. Wilkie. If a second edition is resolved upon, let it be begun without delay. Find a good printer, and a good bookseller. They have the first edition to copy from; and, with the trouble of about one hour a day from you, the proof-sheets may be corrected, and the thing completed in a fortnight. I write Mr. Wilkie by this post, so I would thank you to call upon him, and concert matters as speedily as possible."

"*April* 13.—Fifty copies have been sent to Liverpool, and the sale is going on in this quarter with unexpected rapidity. No advertisement has yet appeared in the London papers. I beg you will attend to this; and what Longman neglects to do in that way, do yourself."

"*April* 15.—I have just received yours, and am much mortified by the non-arrival of my copies. What, in the name of Heaven, is the meaning of it? The wind has been fair. If Longman and Rees are not active enough, get other publishers. It is selling rapidly in this quarter; but what I sigh for is to be fairly introduced to the public in London."

"*April* 16.—The sale goes on briskly here; but I do not think I am published till I appear in London. Mr. Perceval's* making no observations is of no consequence. He may not have read it; and even though he has read it, he may not relish it,

* A presentation copy had been sent to Mr. Perceval.

because he and his colleagues are all mercantile. I would even esteem Cobbett's refusing to insert my abstract as by no means a discouraging circumstance; for Cobbett is an enemy to taxation. Both parties and individuals may condemn it, not because they can refute its principles, but because they dislike them. All this may happen, but I would not be discouraged by it; for, throwing aside all regard to individuals, and the opinions of individuals, my whole anxiety is to be fairly and speedily introduced to the notice of a London public. If you can push off a large second edition, and in this way give me a footing in London, I shall bethink myself of other plans, and probably come southwards to develop them."

"*April* 17.—I hear that my book is going well off in Glasgow; but London is the grand object of my anxiety. My advertisement has not yet appeared in your papers. I pester you so much with letters that I think you are entitled to insert the postage as an item in the expense of publication."

"*April* 20.—I understand that my advertisement has appeared in the London papers, and am much pleased to observe my abstract in Cobbett's Register. I learn from Edinburgh that the bookseller there is reduced to fifty copies, and from different accounts of the sales in other places, I think you are fairly warranted to commence a second edition. The only thing wanted is to impress the public with the idea that it is by no means a fleeting or ephemeral performance—that it is a subject of permanent importance, and, independently of all application to the present circumstances of the country, that it offers some new and original doctrines to political science."

"*May* 3.—What I have now resolved on is to offer the edition to an Edinburgh bookseller in the first instance. It is likely that their want of enterprise may intimidate them from undertaking it, in which case I go to London, and negotiate the business with some bookseller there. I am astonished at the silence of my friend Wilkie. Have you seen or heard of him?"

"*May* 12.—I had a letter some days ago from Wilkie, in which he mentions the favourable impression which my book had made upon some of his literary acquaintances, and that one of them had prepared a letter for Cobbett, but withheld it on seeing the letter which you inserted. This was wrong, as there is nothing like keeping it perpetually in the public eye, and dinning the public ear with it in all directions. The oftener you write to me the welcomer, even though you have nothing par-

ticular to say. I think that one of Wilberforce's late speeches smelled a little of my principles. I wonder if he has read the book."

"*May* 13.—Edinburgh and Glasgow are each left without a copy. I shall begin a new edition next week. Had the same proportional justice been done in London, a second edition should have been off before this time."

"*May* 20.—I received your 'Literary Advertiser,' and at the same time a copy of the 'Examiner,' a weekly paper, of Sunday the 8th, which takes notice of me in respectful terms. I beg you will see and ascertain whether the editors of the two Reviews I before mentioned were each presented with a copy of the work."

"*May* 25.—I have directed my friend Mr. Wilkie to take in offers. If something considerable is offered I will take it; but rather than want the co-operation of a London publisher, I will be content with a mere nothing of pecuniary advantage. . . . I have just received yours of the 21st. I feel very averse to going up to London, and if I attempt it at all it will be by sea. Have the reviewers got copies?"

"*June* 28.—Wilkie has reversed my plan.* Let an edition of 1000 copies be offered to the booksellers on the most advantageous terms that can be procured. If they are backward, I surrender every consideration of emolument, and offer it to them on no terms, only that they take the risk and management, and proceed to the execution of it immediately. If this cannot be accomplished, I take my place in a Dundee smack, and come up to London and attempt to negotiate the thing myself. So much am I convinced of what remains to be done, and of the truth and importance of the discussion, that I will rather undertake the

* Mr. Wilkie attempted to obtain something for the copyright of the work by effecting an absolute sale; whereas Mr. Chalmers was chiefly anxious that a second edition should be published on any terms. The following extracts from his diary show what trouble Mr. Wilkie had taken in the matter:—

EXTRACTS FROM WILKIE'S DIARY.

"*May* 27, 1808.—Had a letter from Mr. Chalmers, authorizing me to dispose of the copyright of his work.

"*June* 8.—Called on Mr. Murray in Fleet Street, who promised to give me an answer respecting Mr. Chalmers's book in a day or two.

"*June* 16.—Called at Mr. Murray's, and found that he had made no offer for Chalmers's work.

"*June* 23.—To Miller's after breakfast, but got little encouragement for Chalmers's work.

"*June* 25.—Went to Longman and Rees, and proposed that they should purchase Chalmers's work, and was told by them, that till it was noticed by the reviews there was little chance of the book selling.

"*June* 27.—Wrote to Chalmers to tell him of my bad success with his work."—Cunningham's *Life of Wilkie*, vol. i. pp. 175-180.

journey than not have it settled. The truth is, that the subject of my book is not ephemeral. It contains discussions of permanent importance; and not a person who is profoundly versant in the writings of Dr. Smith who does not see that if my principles are found to be conclusive, they will give a wholly different aspect to the science of political economy. The Farmer's Magazine has belaboured me with twenty pages of abuse.* It is a coarse and ignorant invective."

"*July* 23.—I purpose setting off for London about the middle of August. My great object is to get introduced into some of the literary circles. The great success I have met with in Scotland encourages me to hope that I may meet with proportional success in the greater theatre of the metropolis if I could only get into the way."

But those days which in anticipation he had devoted to literary adventure in the great theatre of the metropolis were to be spent in the retirements of Anstruther, amid the sorrows of the sick-chamber and under the shadow of death. While waiting to hear of the day on which Thomas was to sail for London, James received the following communication from his father:—

"ANSTRUTHER, *August* 1, 1808.

"I only write to prevent any surprise from the intelligence which I fear I must soon communicate to you. My dear Barbara has within these few days weakened very fast. Till the 27th ult. she went out on horseback every day, and complained of no toil, but was rather refreshed with her ride. On that day she became so weak as since not to have been able to leave her room. There is nothing impossible with God, but to human appearance her dissolution is not far distant. My weakness overcomes me much. I have every comfort that a parent could have in separation from a beloved child. I behold in her a cheerful submission to the will of God, and a humble confidence in the satisfaction of her great Redeemer. Her situation is not known to the Kilmany family, as the turn in her disorder is since we last wrote to them."

* In the Number for June 1808, p. 221. A still more abusive notice appeared in the July Number of the Eclectic Review, which closes in these terms:—"Mr. Chalmers's style is flowing and showy. He is warm and declamatory, but excessively diffuse. Instead of regularly pursuing the course of his argument, he sets himself to gallopping and frisking round every particular idea of it, till he becomes quite giddy, and wears out the patience of his reader. His command of language is probably a snare to him; for as he seems to be at no loss for words, he is led to mistake fluency of expression for fertility of thought."

The same fatal malady which had carried George to the grave had seized upon Barbara. No earthly hope was left. Through three dreary weeks of great suffering she had still to struggle. But that great Redeemer upon whose satisfaction her confidence had been cast, made clear unto her the path of life; and while she walked through the dark valley, the light of His presence shone brightly and steadily upon her, and neither doubt nor fear having visited her, she passed into the presence of God.

"ANSTRUTHER, *August* 20, 1808.

"DEAR JAMES,—Barbara died last night after a most tedious and severe illness. It was the near prospect of this event that restrained my departure for London, which would have taken place some time ago. At present I have no decided intention upon the subject, but will write you soon.—I am, &c.,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER VII.

WINTER AT WOODSMUIR—FIRST SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—BECOMES A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA—EARLY RELIGIOUS OPINIONS—DEATH OF MR. BALLARDIE—SEVERE ILLNESS, AND ITS EFFECTS.

"WHAT a severe winter we have had!—another desperate attack of frost and snow within these few days—the very beer freezing in the bottles." Mr. Chalmers wrote thus to his brother James from his winter quarters at Woodsmuir, a house to which he had removed in the autumn of 1808, and which lying close upon the Fifeshire coast of the Frith of Tay, had been recommended to him by the enlivening prospect which it commanded of Dundee and the shipping of the river. His letter is dated on Thursday, the 8th of February 1809, the very day set apart as a national fast on account of the recent battle of Corunna, and the loss of one of the greatest of British generals. Like every other minister in Scotland, Mr. Chalmers had to open his church for public worship, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion. To discharge this duty, he had the cold and snow of a five miles' walk to brave. "I made my way," he says, "through the drift from Woodsmuir to Kilmany. I had none but the villagers to preach to, and I got them convened in my dining-room." And it was to that small shivering group, convened in the damp dining-room of the old and uninhabited manse, that he preached as eloquent a sermon as was delivered that day from the best of British pulpits, or as was listened to by the most brilliant audience in the land.*

A recent act of the legislature† had declared that no stipend of any clergyman in Scotland which had been augmented before the passing of this act should be augmented again till after a period of fifteen years; and that no stipend augmented after the passing of the act, should be augmented again till after a period

* The reader will find this sermon in Dr. Chalmers's Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 62.
† 48 Geo. III.; passed June 30, 1808.

of twenty years. Looking into this statute with an eye made all the keener perhaps in its vision that the time for the augmentation of his own living was drawing on, Mr. Chalmers perceived that owing to the date fixed as that from which the interval between the two augmentations should be calculated, it might be lengthened out in a manner most vexatious to a minister, and so as to defeat the obvious intention of the legislature. This defect in the bill was brought before the Supreme Judicatory of the Church of Scotland by overture from the Presbytery of Cupar. . It was in support of this overture that on Thursday, the 25th May 1809, Mr. Chalmers made his maiden speech in the General Assembly. The topic was a sufficiently dry and barren one, fit enough for a good legal pleading, but ill calculated, we should have thought, for eloquence or illustration. The speaker besides laboured under the great disadvantage that the bill, the construction of one of whose leading clauses it was his object to impugn, had already been submitted to the law committee, and been approved of by the leaders of the Church. Nevertheless, a few sentences only had been uttered when the singular ingenuity and eloquence of the pleader arrested the whole house. Vigorous reasoning, genial humour, practical sagacity, large and generous sentiment, all broke out in the fervid and rapidly spoken utterance. "Do you know anything of this man?" said Dr. Campbell to a minister who sat near him, "he is surely a most extraordinary person." The question was on many lips besides Dr. Campbell's as the speaker sat down.* When the house had recovered from its surprise, and the Fifeshire ministers had satisfied the curiosity of inquirers as to this new speaker, Dr. Inglis proceeded to read the report of

* In closing his speech, he said—"It is quite ridiculous to say that the worth of the clergy will suffice to keep them up in the estimation of society. This worth must be combined with importance. Now, it is our part to supply the element of worth, and it is the part of the Court of Session to supply the element of importance. Give both worth and importance to the same individual, and what are the terms employed in describing him? 'A distinguished member of society, the ornament of a most respectable profession, the virtuous companion of the great, and a generous consolation to all the sickness and poverty around him.' These, Moderator, appear to me to be the terms peculiarly descriptive of the appropriate character of a clergyman, and they serve to mark the place which he ought to occupy; but take away the importance, and leave only the worth, and what do you make of him?—what is the descriptive term applied to him now? Precisely the term which I often find applied to many of my brethren, and which galls me to the very bone every moment I hear it—'*a fine body*'—a being whom you may like, but whom I defy you to esteem; a mere object of endearment; a being whom the great may at times honour with the condescension of a dinner, but whom they will never admit as a respectable addition to their society. Now, all that I demand of the Court of Teinds, is to be raised, and that as speedily as possible, above the imputation of being '*a fine body*'—that they would add importance to my worth, and give splendour and efficacy to those exertions which have for their object the most exalted interests of the species."

the committee upon the legal provision of the ministers of the Church. Both Mr. Chalmers and the person who was to have seconded his motion imagined that the way was quite open to them after the report was read. On presenting themselves, however, they were told that through their ignorance of the forms of the house, they had let the opportunity for pressing their motion irrecoverably escape; that the unseconded motion had already fallen to the ground, and could not be brought forward again. Mr. Chalmers breakfasted on the following morning with Dr. Brewster.* One of the party present warmly congratulated him on the well reasoned and brilliant speech of the preceding day. "Yes," said he, breaking out of the silent and contemplative mood in which at the moment he was indulging—"Yes; but what did it signify—it had no effect—nothing followed upon it." It had the effect at least of subjecting him to a whole host of applications. "I have been beset," he wrote to his father a few days afterwards, "from all quarters to publish my speech." "Beseech Chalmers of Kilmany," so wrote Mr. Andrew Thomson to Dr. Brewster, "to publish his speech; he should and must do it." The speech was at last committed to the press.†

The winter months at Woodsmuir had been devoted to the collecting of materials for different articles which he had undertaken to prepare for the Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Some months before his sister's death, he had been invited by Dr. Brewster, the editor of that work, to become one of the contributors. The invitation was at once gladly and gratefully accepted. Writing to Dr. Brewster on April 23d, 1808, he said —"I go into St. Andrews in the course of a week or two to rummage its library, and ascertain whether I shall like the articles you did me the honour to propose. There is one article in Mathematics which I have conceived a fancy for, and which, if it interfere with no other person, I will undertake—'Trigonometry.' I am now busy with Cagnoli;‡ and I think it would be doing a service to give a view of the very extensive application of trigonometrical formulæ both to analysis and physics." After his sister Barbara's death, he wrote to Dr. Brewster,

* Now Sir David Brewster.

† A second edition of this speech was published in 1818. Dr Chalmers had intended that it should be comprised in the series of his works published by Mr Collins; but having omitted to indicate his desire, it has not been included.

‡ Cagnoli, a native of Zante, was author of the "Trigonometria plana e sferica," published in 1783, and afterwards translated into French. This work was long considered a standard treatise.

requesting that the article "Christianity"* might be committed to him. He urged the request with earnestness, expressing his extreme anxiety to do the subject justice, and stating his resolution to live three or four months in St. Andrews for the express purpose of consulting the necessary authorities. In the absence of definite information as to what had induced him to make this request, and to cherish so strong a desire that it should be complied with, we may be permitted to conjecture that the renewed impressions of the second death-scene at Anstruther had awakened the conviction, that among the subjects that were to engage his thoughts for the winter, it would be well that one at least connected with religion should find a place. In selecting the Christian Evidences, he was neither influenced by any novelty in the subject, nor any change in his convictions regarding it. His faith in the divine origin of Christianity had been early established, and the evidence on which that faith rested had years before been carefully investigated. When his work on the "Evidences of Christianity" was put into the hands of one who had heard him frequently while he was assistant to Mr. Elliot, many of its discussions were recognised as having many years previously been propounded from the pulpit at Cavers. From a Diary kept at the time by Dr. Duff of Kenmore, I extract the following entry:—"*St. Andrews, September* 12, 1802. —Went out to hear Mr. Thomas Chalmers preach at Denino; spoke in a stream of glowing eloquence, but was much too violent in gesture, and had none of the graces of good delivery. Dined together at the manse; he talked of the difficulties which students met with in searching after divine truth; considered the historical evidence of Christianity the most satisfactory, and that little value is to be attached to the internal evidence apart from the external." In a lecture addressed evidently to a mixed audience, and in all probability delivered to the chemical class at St. Andrews, he said:—"There is a line of reading allotted to certain professions, and there is a general line of reading allotted to them who, without any professional object, pursue literature as an elegant amusement, or aspire to a moderate degree of literary cultivation. The general course of reading comprehends novels, of which many are excellent, and many are most vitiating and seductive; works in history, to enrich our minds with

* This subject had been committed, in the first instance, to Dr. Andrew Thomson, then minister of Perth, who consented to give it up when informed of Mr. Chalmers's strong desire to undertake it.

the science of human nature and the principles of human society; works of taste, to multiply our innocent and delightful enjoyments; works of morality, to chastise the deficiencies of the heart and temper, and to give to the humbler scenes of life the tone of philosophy and high sentiment. This is all excellent, and there is only one deficiency which I am anxious to supply; and no one who knows me will ascribe it to the gloom of puritanical solemnity, or stigmatize it as the melancholy whimper of a poor and pitiful fanaticism. What I allude to is a few of the best and most elementary treatises on the evidences of Christianity. This is a species of literature in which England, I believe, has taken the lead of all the countries in Christendom. The work of Paley is excellent. It will do more than instruct; it will interest and delight you; it will prove an effectual antidote against infidel opinions. The truth of Christianity is neither more nor less than the truth of certain facts that have been handed down to us by the testimony of reporters. Let the historical evidences on which it rests be made to pass in review, and become the subject of sober inductive examination;—let the question be decided by a fair and patient inquiry;—let the enemies of our faith show the world that their infidelity rests on higher grounds than a stale invective against the jugglery of priests, or the pertness of a flippant witticism;—let them bring along with them the spirit of cool and candid reflection, an anxiety after truth, and a ready submission to evidence. How little do they think, as they strut along in the pride of the infidel philosophy, how little of the spirit and temper of true philosophy is in them—of that humble cautious spirit which Bacon taught, and on which Newton rests the immortality of his genius. . . . There is a puppyism in infidelity for which I have no patience. I thought that now-a-days both gentlemen and philosophers would have been ashamed of it. At the commencement of last century one had some credit in sporting the language of unbelief and infidelity—for they were supported by the countenance of Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, who, in addition to their being peers of the realm, had a sufficient acquaintance with their mother tongue. But infidelity, like every other fashion, has had its day; and since the masterly and triumphant defences of our English divines, it has been generally abandoned by the superior and more enlightened classes of society, and, to use the words of an Oxford professor, is now rarely to be heard but in the language of bakers, and brewers, and bricklayers, and bell-menders, and

bottle-blowers, and blackguards. . . . I revere Christianity, not because it is the religion of my fathers—I revere it, not because it is the established religion of my country—I revere it, not because it brings to me the emoluments of office; but I revere it because it is built upon the solid foundation of impregnable argument—because it has improved the world by the lessons of an ennobling morality, and because, by the animating prospects which it holds out, it alleviates the sorrows of our final departure hence, and cheers the gloomy desolation of the grave." The Rev. Mr. Smith,* who had frequent and close intercourse with Mr. Chalmers during the years 1808-1809, referring to the period which preceded his undertaking the article on Christianity, says:—"Of the truth of Christianity he had a firm and unwavering belief. He unhesitatingly believed that the Scriptures are the Word of God, and that the Christian system is divine. In this conviction he had been firmly established at an early period of life, by reading Bishop Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion, &c. He told me that it was Butler's Analogy that made him a Christian." He did not need to be made a Christian by being converted from Deism, or what is generally spoken of as infidelity. The scepticism of his student years was one which affected the foundations of all religion, whether natural or revealed. And when that scepticism was cleared away, Butler's great work came in to do the signal service of satisfying him that there was nothing either in the contents or credentials of Christianity to weaken the force, much less to warrant the setting aside, of its own proper and peculiar proofs. These proofs he had investigated, and found valid. It was but to revive, therefore, the studies, and to re-establish the convictions of earlier years, that, under the impressions of his sister's death, he wished to be employed in drawing up a condensed statement and defence of the argument on behalf of the divine origin of Christianity.

But although his faith required and underwent no change as to the credentials of the Bible, it was not so with his views and impressions as to its contents. The sermons preached by him during that period sufficiently represent what those views and

* The Rev. Mr Smith, minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Dunning, taught the school at Galdry, in the immediate vicinity of Kilmany, from October 1807 till September 1810. He acted as amanuensis to Mr. Chalmers while preparing his work on the "Extent and Stability of National Resources" for the press, and while writing the earlier part of the article on Christianity. From the familiar intercourse which he enjoyed with Mr. Chalmers during all the period of his residence at Galdry, Mr. Smith's testimony becomes particularly valuable.

impressions were throughout the first six years of his ministry. That single-minded simplicity of character, which had not even to struggle with any tendencies to guile, lent a truthful transparency to all his utterances from the pulpit, and made his public ministry a full and faithful transcript of all his opinions and feelings as to religion. He never inculcated upon others what he did not fully and heartily believe himself; he never (as was but too common in those days) kept back from his people any part of his own religious creed; nor did any fear of unpopularity restrain him from publicly and vehemently decrying that evangelism which he then nauseated and despised. I subjoin a summary of his religious creed, in the very words in which he presented it to his hearers at Kilmany :—

"In what particular manner the death of our Redeemer effected the remission of our sins, or rather, why that death was made a condition of this remission, seems to be an unrevealed point in the Scriptures. Perhaps the God of Nature meant to illustrate the purity of His perfection to the children of men; perhaps it was efficacious in promoting the improvement and confirming the virtue of other orders of being. The tenets of those whose gloomy and unenlarged minds are apt to imagine that the Author of Nature required the death of Jesus merely for the reparation of violated justice, are rejected by all free and rational inquirers. . . . Our Saviour, by the discharge of His priestly office, removed those obstacles to our acceptance with God which would have been otherwise invincible. But the obviating of difficulties was not the only part of Christ's mediatorship. The knowledge of some positive ground of acceptance was absolutely necessary, since the bare possibility of obtaining the Divine favour was not sufficient of itself to effect our salvation. The revelation of the means requisite for acceptance was therefore an essential part of Christ's undertaking; and in discharging His office as a prophet, in revealing the will of God for man's salvation, He has communicated a knowledge of these means in a most complete and satisfactory manner. With indignation do we see a speculative knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity preferred to the duties of morality and virtue. The cant of enthusiasm—the effusion of zeal—the unintelligible jargon of pretended knowledge—are too often considered as the characteristics of a disciple of Jesus; whilst, amid all these deceitful appearances, justice, charity, and mercy, the great topics

of Christ's admonitions, are entirely overlooked. Consult your Bibles, and you will find that these are the sure indications of the favour of heaven. . . . The rewards of heaven are attached to the exercise of our virtuous affections. The faith of Christianity is praiseworthy and meritorious, only because it is derived from the influence of virtuous sentiments on the mind. Let us tremble to think that anything but virtue can recommend us to the Almighty. . . . He who has been rightly trained in his religious sentiments, by carefully perusing the Scriptures of truth, will learn thence, that the law of God is benevolence to man, and an abiding sense of gratitude and piety. He will estimate the deficiencies of his obedience by his deviations from the laws of social duty, and the frequent absence of right impressions of reverence and love. Having learned the comfortable doctrines of pardon and salvation, that by the death of Christ there is hope to the sincere and humble penitent who wishes to forsake the evil of his ways, he will go on, in the confidence of such declarations, in his endeavour to promote the glory of God and the welfare of the human race. A sense of the Divine goodness will open his heart to the sentiments of gratitude and love. He will study to approve himself worthy of such conduct by cultivating the graces of charity and piety. True, his best endeavours fall short of perfection, and after all, he may be called an unprofitable servant; true, considering his numberless violations of the divine law, and the small progress he has made in the path of holiness, he may have reason to be discouraged; but contemplating the wonders of redeeming love, and finding all the deficiencies of his imperfect virtue supplied by the atonement and propitiation of Jesus, he goes on his course rejoicing, assured that, through Christ, his sincere but imperfect obedience is looked upon by Heaven with a propitious eye. But let him allow himself to be guided by the instructions of our mystical theologians, and all will be involved in gloom and obscurity. . . . Who but laments to see the luminous truths of Christianity invested thus with a veil of mysticism—to see the splendour of the Sun of Righteousness obscured in the mists of ignorance and superstition? Let us, my brethren, beware of such errors. Let us view such fanatical vagaries with the contempt they deserve, and walk in the certain path marked out to us by reason and by Scripture. Thus shall we rise superior to imaginary terrors, and learn to lament the real imperfections of our character. Thus shall we approve ourselves worthy of the Divine goodness, by directing

our efforts to the cultivation of our pious affections, and to improvement of our social conduct. Thus shall we exemplify the real nature of the Christian service, which consists in gratefully adoring the Supreme Being, and in diffusing the blessed influences of charity, moderation, and peace."

The Christianity which thus clearly and confidently expressed itself, and which substantially was the promulgation of a modified, milder, and mitigated law, could scarcely have had a fairer trial made, both of its power of individual consolation and support, and of the possible reach and extent of its influence over others, than was made in the person of that eloquent advocate, in whose own character and conduct those social virtues, which it so strongly enjoined, were so attractively exhibited. We have to wait now but a few months till we see this slight and superficial Christianity fairly and fully put upon its trial—till we see it signally and utterly fail.

Before he went to the Assembly, Mr. Chalmers had removed from Woodsmuir to the farm-house of Fincraigs, to be nearer Kilmany, while his manse, which had already been commenced, was building. He had scarcely reached Fincraigs, on his return from Edinburgh, when sad tidings arrived from Anstruther. His uncle, Mr. Ballardie, who had been a sailing-master in the navy, had long retired from the service, and having no family or near friends of his own, had been a kind of second father to his nephews and nieces.* He had already crossed, and Mr. Chalmers, senior, was now just touching, the limits of the threescore years and ten, and the bond between them had been growing stronger as they grew older, till now not a day could pass without their being an hour or two in each other's company. And they were one in deep piety as well as in strong affection. Mr. Ballardie's wife had been dead for many years, and his house was kept by her sister. On the evening of the 6th June, he had retired to his own room after tea. His sister-in-law, finding that he remained longer away from her than was usual, followed. She found him kneeling on a chair in the very attitude of prayer,

* Dr. Chalmers used often to tell that, when yet a very little boy, he was summoned to his uncle's side one day to get his first lesson in mathematics—a science in which Mr. Ballardie was no mean proficient, and which he put far above all the other branches of human knowledge. "What," said he, making a point upon the slate, "is that?" "A *dot*," said the young beginner. "Try again," said the uncle, ignorant of the already enlarged vocabulary of his scholar, and little doubting that the word, whose definition was to be the burden of the first lesson, would now come forth. "Try again: what is it?" "A *teck*," was the reply.

but the spirit had fled—apparently without pain or struggle it had taken its departure; and from this lowly posture before the throne of grace on earth had passed into the presence of the throne of glory in the heavens. Notice of the sudden and impressive death was instantly despatched to Kilmany: it found Mr. Chalmers in such a severe illness, contracted on his way home from the Assembly, that much as he longed to pay the last tokens of respect to the remains of his departed relative, he was prevented by the positive interdict of his medical attendant. "I cannot help," he said, after telling his father by letter of the unwelcome restraint thus laid upon him—"I cannot help feeling the very severe loss which our family has sustained in a man whose attachment to every one of us, whose great kindness, great worth, and great integrity, shall ever endear his memory to all his acquaintances." The bulk of Mr. Ballardie's property was bequeathed to his brother-in-law's family. He left Thomas, as the bearer of his name, his house and furniture, and, along with his father, constituted him his trustee. The state of his health did not admit of Mr. Chalmers leaving Kilmany till the beginning of August. He returned to Anstruther at the close of September, and it was some exposure in coming home from that second visit, which threw him into that long, severe, and most momentous illness, during which the first stage of a great and entire spiritual revolution was accomplished in him. For four months he never left his room; for upwards of half-a-year he never entered his pulpit; it was more than a twelvemonth before all the duties of his parish were again regularly discharged by him. His illness, which was an affection of the liver, was such as to require the application of the very strongest medicines. "I visited him," says Professor Duncan, "at Fincraigs, where he was under the medical treatment of Dr. Ramsay of Dundee, and I certainly never saw any person so much altered in the same space of time, being then greatly attenuated, while formerly he was corpulent. He was scarcely able to walk across the room. It was a year or two before he recovered, and during that period he had much the appearance of an old man, of one who would never be able again for much exertion." But although the body was thus weakened and reduced, the mind was left in untouched vigour; and into it, now left to its own profound and solitary musings, there sunk the deepest and most overpowering impression of human mortality.

For upwards of twenty years death had never entered his

family circle. Perhaps the first time that he had ever stood face to face in presence of the last enemy, and seen the last stroke given, was when he witnessed the death of his brother George. But death was now to be no stranger: already had he borne away two of the family in his cold embrace; and two of his sisters were at this time threatened with the same fatal malady. Mr. Ballardie had passed into eternity in a moment. It seemed as if, once begun, the quick succession was to go on unbroken. A panic seized the family, as if one after another they were doomed to fall. Partaking fully of that panic, Mr. Chalmers believed that he was about to die. For days and weeks he gazed upon the death brought thus so near, with eye intent and solemnized. "My confinement," wrote Mr. Chalmers,* "has fixed on my heart a very strong impression of the insignificance of time—an impression which I trust will not abandon me though I again reach the heyday of health and vigour. This should be the first step to another impression still more salutary—the magnitude of eternity. Strip human life of its connexion with a higher scene of existence, and it is the illusion of an instant, an unmeaning farce, a series of visions and projects, and convulsive efforts, which terminate in nothing. I have been reading Pascal's Thoughts on Religion; you know his history—a man of the richest endowments, and whose youth was signalized by his profound and original speculations in mathematical science, but who could stop short in the brilliant career of discovery, who could resign all the splendours of literary reputation, who could renounce without a sigh all the distinctions which are conferred upon genius, and resolve to devote every talent and every hour to the defence and illustration of the Gospel. This, my dear sir, is superior to all Greek and to all Roman fame."

* In a letter to his friend the Rev. Mr. Carstairs of Anstruther, dated Fincraigs, February 19, 1809.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EFFORT AFTER A PURE AND HEAVENLY MORALITY.

Contemplated from the confines of eternity, his past life looked to Mr. Chalmers like a feverish dream, the fruitless chasing of a shadow. Blinded by the fascination of the things seen and temporal, he had neglected the things unseen and eternal. He had left undischarged the highest duties of human life, and he had despised that faith which can alone lend enduring value to its labours, and shed the light of a satisfying hope around its close. How empty had all these bygone years been of God! True, he had not been wholly forgetful; many an adoring thought of the Almighty, as the great Creator, Upholder, Governor of the universe, had filled his mind, and many grateful feelings towards his heavenly Benefactor had visited his heart: but that, he now felt, was not enough. The clear unchallengeable right belonged to God over the full affection of the heart, the unremitting obedience of the life; but no such affection had been entertained; and it had been but seldom that a distinct regard to the will of God had given its birth or its direction to any movement of his past history. In name acknowledged, but in their true nature and extent misunderstood, he felt that his Creator's claims over him had been practically disallowed and dishonoured during his whole career. The meagre and superficial faith of former years could no longer satisfy him. It could not stand the scrutiny of the sick-room; it could not bear to be confronted with death; it gave way under the application of its own chosen test; for surely, even reason taught that if man have a God to love and serve, and an eternity beyond death to provide for, towards that God a supreme and abiding sense of obligation should be cherished, and to the providing for that eternity the whole efforts of a lifetime should be consecrated. Convinced of the fatal error upon which the whole scheme of his former life had been constructed, Mr. Chalmers resolved upon a change. He would no longer live here as if here he were to live for ever. Henceforth and habitually he would recognise his im-

mortality; and remembering that this fleeting pilgrimage was a scene of trial, a place of spiritual probation, he would dedicate himself to the service of God, and live with the high aim and purpose of one who was in training for eternity. It was a kind of life which had already been realized by countless thousands of his fellow-men, and why not by him? It had been realized by Pascal in making the sublime transition from the highest walks of science to the still higher walk of faith. It had been realized by those early Christians whose lives and testimonies he was now engaged in studying. Surrounded with such a cloud of witnesses, a new ambition, stronger and more absorbing than that which had thirsted so eagerly for literary fame, fired Mr. Chalmers's breast. Every thought of his heart, every word of his lip, every action of his life, he would henceforth strive to regulate under a high presiding sense of his responsibility to God; his whole life he would turn into a preparation for eternity. With all the ardour of a nature which never could do anything by halves, with all the fervour of an enthusiasm which had at length found an object worthy of its whole energies at their highest pitch of effort, he gave himself to the great work of setting himself right with God. The commencement of such an enterprise marks a great and signal epoch in his spiritual history. It sprung out of his profound sense of human mortality; his vivid realizing of the life that now is in its connexion with the life that is to come; his recognition of the supremacy which God and the high interests of eternity should wield over the heart and life of man. It did not originate in any change in his speculative belief induced by his studies either of the contents or credentials of the Bible. In the course of that memorable transition-period which elapsed from the beginning of November 1809 till the close of December 1810, important modifications in his doctrinal views were undoubtedly effected. His partial discovery of the pervading and defiling element of ungodliness, gave him other notions of human depravity than those he had previously entertained, and prepared him not only to acquiesce in, but to appropriate to himself representations from which a year before he would have turned away with disgust. And with his altered view of human sinfulness, there came also an altered view of the atonement. He was prepared now to go further than he had gone before in recognising the death of Christ as a true and proper sacrifice for sin. Still, however, while looking to that death for the removal of past guilt, he believed that it lay wholly with

himself after he had been forgiven to approve himself to God, to win the Divine favour, to work out the title to the heavenly inheritance. The full and precise effect of Christ's obedience unto death was not as yet discerned. Over that central doctrine of Christianity which tells of the sinner's free justification before God through the merits of His Son, there hung an obscuring mist; there was a flaw in the motive which prompted the struggle in which Mr. Chalmers so devotedly engaged; there was a misconception of the object which it was possible by such a struggle to realize. More than a year of fruitless toil had to be described ere the true ground of a sinner's acceptance with God was reached, and the true principle of all acceptable obedience was implanted in his heart.

About four months after the beginning of this great struggle, Mr. Chalmers commenced to keep that Journal from which the following extracts are selected. Perhaps it is scarcely necessary to ask the reader of this Journal to remember, that, in the first instance, it was devoted exclusively to the record of felt deficiencies. This, its primary purpose, it most faithfully performs, exhibiting all the writer's faults, reflected from a mirror bright enough to give back the faintest shades of criminality. But as a full portraiture of the period, it is necessarily incomplete. It gives us most interesting glimpses of Mr. Chalmers in various positions—in his manse—with his relatives—at his desk—among his parishioners—in the pulpit; but the times at which these glimpses are gotten are when some grave fault worthy of formal record has been committed; and though we cannot say that the deviations chronicled so faithfully are magnified, yet, unless the reader's eye be used to the medium through which he is asked to look, it will require a slight effort on his part to assign the right shade, and to give the right proportions to all the traits of character successively developed before his view. It happens fortunately that, in order to preserve this memorial of his errors, Mr. Chalmers has to give some detail of the occasions on which they were committed; and so far as these details carry us, the very interior of his Kilmany life is opened up to us. There is much, however, about which this Journal leaves us uninformed. Casting our eye backward from the point at which we are now standing, we should have liked to have seen a little more distinctly into that chamber to which, while unable or forbidden to speak, Mr. Chalmers was for four months confined. Looking through the dimness, we have been able only to discern a wasted

invalid, lying with a volume of Lardner or Voltaire or Pascal spread out before him; rising to pace his room with weak and tottering step; wearied with the brief effort, reclining again—getting one or other of his sisters to read to him, or sending over to Galdry for Mr. Smith to while away an evening hour by parish gossip, or by engaging in a game of cards. But there are hours of stillness and seclusion in that chamber, when the tread of the last enemy is heard as at the door, and when the spirit, stirred up at the sound, revolves and re-revolves its eternal destinies. Into these no light can guide us; we can but wait and watch for the precious fruits they are afterwards to bear. And, again, we should have liked to have seen him, when, able once more to see and converse with his old friends, the never-failing John Bonthron from the village, or the kind and most welcome Mr. Duncan from Dundee, dropped in to relieve the tedium of the day. There was much to tell such visitors that a change had happened since they had seen him last, for brief but solemn allusions, such as they had never heard from him before, dropped occasionally from his lips. And there was much to tell them that he was still unchanged. There were the same cordial greetings, the same kindly questionings about themselves and all their friends, and the same hearty laugh at the racy anecdote or stroke of quiet humour; for great as was the change effected, neither at the first, nor ever afterwards, did it damp or narrow that genial and most social spirit which carried him into varied intercourse with all classes of his fellow-men, and made the joy of that intercourse to be a very cordial to his heart. But though this Journal does not all for us that we could desire, we are most thankful for what it does. Its service is the greatest where our anxieties for information should be most profound; for by its light, the instructed and sympathizing reader will be able to trace with distinctness the steps by which, through many anxieties and efforts, Mr. Chalmers found his way at last to the peace and holiness of the gospel.

"*March* 17, 1810.—I have this day completed my thirtieth year; and upon a review of the last fifteen years of my life, I am obliged to acknowledge, that at least two-thirds of that time have been uselessly or idly spent, and that there has all along been a miserable want of system and perseverance in the business of adding to my intellectual attainments. For by far the greater part of that time, too, there has been a total estrangement of my mind from religious principle; and my whole conduct

has been dictated by the rambling impulse of the moment, without any direction from a sense of duty, or any reference to that eternity which should be the end and the motive of all our actions. My prayer to heaven is, that this record of my errors and deviations may be the happy mean of recalling me from folly and wickedness; that my temper, and my passions, and my conversation may be brought under the habitual regulation of principle; that the labours of my mind may be subservient to the interests of the gospel; that from this moment I may shake off caprice and indolence, and the mischief of ill-regulated passions; and that, with the blessing of the Divine assistance, I may be enabled to soar above the littleness of time, and give all for eternity.

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"I find, that before finishing La Grange on Numerical Equations, I would be greatly the better of reading his Theory of Analytic Functions, which I shall try to procure. I mean to suspend my mathematics, and fill up the interval with preparing a review of Charters's Sermons.

"*March* 18.—Mr. L. preached at Balmerino on my account, and spent the evening with me. Tried to impress some of my peculiar views upon him, and failed of exciting his sympathy to the degree I wished. Must guard against the vanity of display, and let the steadiness of my principles develop itself chiefly in a vigorous and consistent line of conduct. Am much delighted with a sentiment in Dr. Charters's Sermon on Rev. i. 17, 18. It is to this effect:—Your lively feeling of the comforts of devotion depends on the state of the spirits. The want of this feeling is a misfortune; but it should not discourage the Christian who persists in his obedience. The truth is, that obedience in this situation, as being more difficult, may be considered as more disinterested, and pure, and acceptable to God.

"*March* 19.—I have this day made a rough estimate of my yearly expenditure, and find from the result that my circumstances impose upon me more arrangement or more economy than I have hitherto observed. It is painful to think how miserably all my plans have been followed up by execution. I must get myself extricated from the oppression of my numerous debts before I feel myself entitled to expatiate in any kind of splendour or luxury. There is a great deal of serious principle involved in this affair; I hope I shall be able to observe a more serious attention to money matters in future.

"*March* 20.—A day spent without any intercourse with people abroad. But in every situation there is a call for vigilance: and what a struggle one must maintain to render himself the agreeable inmate of a family. In this respect I have much to accuse myself of; I have little or no indulgence for the infirmities of the aged; and nothing galls me more than to be obliged to repeat the same thing to the deaf or the careless. It is only in the latter case that anger is at all justifiable; and I should recollect, that if the person be old, the habit of carelessness may be beyond the possibility of correction. By far the best way is just to accommodate to it: it is the way of duty and of comfort. Let me ever carry about with me that I am in a scene for the trial and the exercise of principle. This would give an object to the mind: I would feel patient and cheerful acquiescence in the peculiarities of those around me to be my business; and as in every other business, I would feel pleasure in the successful execution of it. Let it be as much my care to keep down every tendency to irritation when in company, as to keep down every tendency to indolence in solitude. This disposition, in fact, to get out of humour at what is irksome in others, lies at the bottom of that undutiful conduct which makes my parents unhappy with me at Anster; and I fear my aunt not altogether satisfied with her visit to myself. I must try to maintain a vigorous contest with this unfortunate peculiarity of my temper; and I implore the Divine blessing upon my endeavours.

"*March* 21.—Had a large company at dinner, consisting of Messrs. T., M., L., S., J., and S. Felt a good deal distressed at the indelicacy with which Mr. T. proposed to Messrs. J. and S. that they should drive coals for me. This was heightened very much by the circumstance of their being at my table at the time. At the same time I must own that I felt a want of singleheartedness in the business; for though my distress was both real and apparent, yet the very great need I stood in of this piece of civility gave me a leaning to its being done for me. The only two ways to avoid this dilemma of feeling in future are—first, to ask nothing in the way of favour; or second, when I ask a favour, to do it with simplicity, and at a time when there is no exertion of kindness or hospitality or my part.

"*March* 22.—No intercourse with people abroad. Nothing like regular and useful employment for rendering one independent of all foreign amusement, and enabling him to maintain the cheerfulness of his mind through the solitude of whole days.

"*March* 23.—Had a call of Miss —— this forenoon. Her behaviour was marked with incivility; but, while you keep free of all servility of manner on your part, by far the best way is to discover no sense of it, and, above all, to indulge in no angry invective upon the subject. Mr. —— spent the evening with me. I felt at times a slight degree of impatience at his misapprehensions, and the irrelevancy of his observations. He tells me of the infidelity of the people of Flisk, and, above all, of the dangerous example and conversation of the schoolmaster. This is a business which must not be lost sight of.

"*March* 25.—I did speak of Miss —— to my sister Jane. Perhaps it would have been better not to have done it. A feeling of bitterness is almost unavoidable; and, besides, there is a dignity in silence, the consciousness of which enables one to maintain a stronger and more decided attitude in your future intercourse than the recollection of any extravagant outcry that you may have indulged in. I find that Miss —— was not so culpable. I have always had a strong tendency to communicate my feelings. This may be indulged with a confidential friend; but there is often a great deal of vanity at the bottom of it. An excellent rule is, to suspect the propriety of every communication where the personal feelings or circumstances of the speaker form part of the subject.

"*March* 26.—Refused a wandering beggar an alms. It is a good general rule; and if there be any scruple on the score of conscience, let the money you have thus withheld be given to the unquestionable want that exists in your parish or neighbourhood.

"Mr. Bonthron drank tea with us. He tells me of the incursions that people are making upon my glebe. I must check them with calm and temperate determination. It is a most comfortable part of moral regimen, when one can at the same time maintain his peace by schooling down every irritable feeling, and his rights by being as active and determined in the assertion of them as if under the impulse of resentment. I should entertain Mr. B. with patience and civility. He is tedious, and difficult to converse with; but he is aged, and though it may be difficult to maintain good humour, I should never forget that it is an exercise of principle. I have another call upon me, on the score of example to Sandy,* who is apt to laugh at his peculiarities.

* His youngest brother, then living with him.

"*March* 27.—Had Mr. —— to drink tea. Detected myself in a slight tendency to evil-speaking. Got ruffled at Jane for the fretfulness with which she returned my questions about her accounts. I should never laugh in such a way as to irritate the sore. This is often done with the view of transferring the humiliation from yourself to the opposite party. There is a pride and a selfishness in it which are quite unchristian.—While I have to record so many deficiencies, let me feel the humility of the gospel, and an entire submission of mind to its spirit and its authority. Heaven grant that my great object through the day may be the honour and felicity of writing a pure register in the evening.

"*April* 2.—Dined at Mr. Morison's with my father and Mr. Manson. I erred after dinner in telling a story to the prejudice of ——. Erred in the evening, after I got home, by delivering myself up too openly to my feelings of indignation against ——. I must combine temper with exertion upon this subject —abstain as much as possible from all irritation, but be steady and determined—*suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. Heavenly Father, encompassed with error I implore Thy forgiveness for the past, and Thy direction for the future. Keep me in the way everlasting; and under the feeling of life being but a pilgrimage, may I neither be too much devoted to its pleasures nor too much oppressed by its anxieties.

"*April* 3.—Had a call from Dr. Ramsay, to whom I spoke with too much contempt of M.'s talents, not that I underrated them, but I should restrain myself from all conversation that borders upon the malicious and the satirical.

"*April* 9.—I this day gave a most melancholy and alarming proof of the imbecility of my purposes; I got into a violent passion with Sandy in the morning; and after I had reasoned myself into a thorough impression of its criminality, repeated the same scene, with high aggravations, in the afternoon. His negligence is undoubted; and I also find from experience that the most effectual method of curing it for the time, is to correct it with the energy of passion. But let me try the experiment of calm determination, and convince him that his heedlessness is not to be indulged, in a steady and unruffled way. A cardinal rule is to abstain from all violence in these cases.—Gracious heaven! look down with pity on the errors of a poor and benighted wanderer. May principle gain its ascendency over him; and in the humility of conscious guilt, may he repair to

the consolations of the cross, and to the power and practice of its righteousness.

"*April* 10. —— arrived with his acquaintance ——. He has a great deal of the conceit and impetuosity of a very young man about him. I must be on my guard. Want of temper would be hurtful to the discipline of my own heart; want of firmness hurtful to him. I must offer a testimony against any thing improper, and maintain all that authority which resolution united with firmness can confer.—Father in heaven! teach me what is right, and enable me to adhere to it. In all my undertakings enable me to sacrifice myself. Give justice to my conceptions of propriety, and confidence and effect to my execution of them. May I take heed lest I fall; and in every triumph of my vigilance, may I give the glory and the gratitude to that mighty Being who reigns supreme in the heart of man, and gives birth to all his purposes.

"*April* 12.—Am much better to-day. Feel much indignation at the news of the London disturbances;* but I should keep my patriotic feelings in subordination to the principles of the gospel, abstain from violence of observation, and let the greatness of eternity moderate the interest which I feel in the affairs of this world.

"*April* 13.—Sandy has fallen ill to-day, and threatens fever. Now is the time for reflecting on the evils of harshness and severity and intemperate passion; sooner or later they land in the bitter fruits of repentance.—Father of heaven! teach me the tutorage of myself. May the gentleness of Thy religion shed its influence over me. Teach us the precariousness of all earthly blessings; and in feeling our entire dependence upon Thee, may we become every day more pious, more spiritual, more heavenly.

"*April* 14.—Dined at Mr. Morison's [of Naughton]. A servant was insolent, and my old spirit of indignation was up upon the subject. I should not have come over it again in conversation. I erred after dinner in supporting the cause of the clergy in too decided and ostentatious a manner.

"*April* 16.—Erred egregiously this evening in venting my indignation against Mrs. ——, and before my aunt, too, who esteems her. This is a double fault. Oh, how far short both of the elevation and the charity of Christian principles, to be so much disturbed by the little injuries which are offered to our

* Created by the arrest of Sir Francis Burdett.

pride. Grant me humiliation and vigilance: and let it be the ambition of my life to shorten the record of its errors. Sandy continues under fever, and I am all tenderness and anxiety. Let the feeling rise into a principle; and may I ever, in reference to him, act upon a calm and enlightened view of his substantial interests.

"*April* 17.—My aunt left me this day for Dundee. Sandy, I fain think, is better to-day, and I here record my gratitude to heaven, and pray that it may be perpetual.

"*April* 19.—I walked to Kilmany, and viewed the progress of affairs at the manse and glebe. Sandy is greatly better in his general health, but the pain in his side still distresses me. I should not betray too much anxiety to him.

"*April* 20.—I have at length resolved to suspend my mathematics till my health be fairly re-established.

"*April* 21.—Sandy better to-day, and the doctor represents his complaints as trifling. Let my gratitude be indelible.

"*April* 22.—I find that principle and reflection afford a feeble support against the visitations of melancholy. It is a physical distemper, and must be counteracted by physical means. It is not the direct application of reason that will school it down, any more that it can cure the discomfort of your physical sensations when placed in an overheated room, for example. But it is our duty to apply whatever experience tells us is a corrective against those unpleasant feelings which agitate, and enfeeble, and render unfit for any useful exertion. It is not my duty to feel cool and comfortable when placed in a confined room; but it is my duty to rise and open the window if this can restore me to my wonted capacity of exertion. It is perhaps not my duty to summon up a cheerfulness of mind in the hour of unaccountable despondency, for perhaps this is an affair as completely beyond the control of reason as any other of our physical sensations; but it is my duty to study, and, if possible, to devise expedients for restoring me from this useless and melancholy state. Now, all experience assures me that regular occupation is that expedient; and it is my duty, if I find myself unequal to the severity of my usual exercises, to devise slighter subjects of employment which can be resorted to in the time of necessity. This I esteem to be an important part of moral discipline. Writing a fair copy of an old production which you wish to preserve, setting your books and papers into a state of greater arrangement, writing letters, looking over your accounts, and making slight but interesting calcu-

lations about your future gains and future expenditure,—these, and a number of other subjects of occupation, should occur to be ever ready to offer themselves as correctives to melancholy. Let me cultivate, then, that habit of exertion which will not shrink from a remedy which I find so effectual.

"*April* 23.—Walked to Kilmany, and gave directions about my gas tubes. Recurred to my old habit of regular employment. Must guard against every relaxation of moral vigilance. When an hour strikes, let me regularly summon up religion to my thoughts. It may be the means of giving it a more habitual influence.

"*April* 26.—For these few days past I have enjoyed a calm and pleasurable state of feeling. But let it be remembered, that I have little to plague me. Heaven grant that I may maintain my vigilance—that I may not lull myself into a mistaken security—that I may lay up principle for the hour of trial. 'Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'

"*Sunday, April* 29.—Mr. Thomson preached for me. A most brilliant day, and the whole scenery around me full of peacefulness, and full of splendour. Had a charming walk in the evening, and was much occupied with pleasurable sensations. When I compare this day with the Sunday previous, I learn moderation in my joys, and firmness under the visitations of life. Why elated or depressed beyond measure, when the revolution of a few days brings such changes of feeling and temperament along with it. —Heavenly Father, confirm more and more the ascendency of principle over me.

"*April* 30.—Called at Mountquhannie, and dined. There were some strangers, and among the rest ——, against whose manner I had wont to conceive a violent antipathy. Am glad to find that this is subsiding, and that I am less under the influence of that anxious vanity, which is one great source of awkward and difficult manners. While more indifferent to the opinion of others than before, let me never be less indifferent to their feelings, their comfort, their honour, and every other consideration which charity prescribes.

"*May* 1.—Dined this day at Mr. Morison's, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Johnson of Rathillet. After dinner felt a tendency to annex ridicule to absent characters. This unchristian practice must be kept down. The temptation is to make yourself agreeable, but let this principle never be indulged at the expense of duty. Aid me, O gracious Father, in the hour of trial. May

this fear be perpetually before me, and may the clear and decisive light of religious principle never abandon my soul to the frailties of its weak and corrupted nature. Must be particularly careful as to the quantity of food and wine that I indulge in. Let me be strong and decided on this subject, and adhere invariably to the rule of never exceeding three glasses of any intoxicating beverage whatever.*

"*May* 2.—Sandy complains of the recurrence of pain in his breast, and I am all anxiety. Heaven lend an indulgent ear to the prayer of affection!

"*May* 3.—Went to Kilmany, where I overhauled the paling, and kept by my purpose of having it done up in a better style, in spite of the tradesmen's opposition. On my return found Mr. Adamson, who dined with me.

"*May* 6.—I preached this Sunday, after a retirement of thirty-one weeks from all public duty, and have not felt myself the worse of it. I had to make an effort in the way of keeping myself from being overpowered. Gracious God! reveal to me the importance and extent of my duties, and may the glory and interest of religion be all my exertion and all my joy.

"William Vertue joined me in the village after sermon, and proceeded with me to Fincraigs, where he dined and drank tea. I was on the point of doing a most improper thing, viz., settle my account with him, but happily checked myself. This might have had the worst effect upon a young mind in point of example, and have given a general shock to his religious principles. Let me study to maintain the gravity of the ministerial character, and at the same time hold out an endearing view of religion, by a manner cheerful and friendly and affectionate.

"Mr. S. called and spent the evening. Upon the whole, my feelings this evening are pious and pleasurable.

"*May* 8.—Went off in a chaise this morning to Cupar, where I joined the Presbytery, to the proceedings of which I mean to be more attentive in future. Dined with the brethren. I must attempt to school down vain-glory, irritability, and everything that is envious or malignant. I must not be too much elated with attentions, and far less depressed than ever by neglect or displeasure. Let my chief ambition be to please God, to maintain that life that is hid with Him in Christ, and to

* "He was cheerful, but very temperate; and when at a dinner party, while they were drinking, he amused himself, he told me, by contemplating the vivacity and variety of the faces of those who were present."—MS. memoranda of this period by Rev. Mr. Smith.

secure a quiet, virtuous passage through this the country of my pilgrimage.

"*May* 9.—Called at the Bank, and suspect Mr. —— to be rather out of humour at the tardiness of my payments. I must make the most strenuous efforts to reduce my accounts in that quarter. I feel acutely the humiliation of debt, and must struggle to extricate myself; at the same time, should not feel so sorely the displeasure of man. If my grand principle was to please God rather than man, it would be a far better security for doing what was just, and at the same time alleviate all that misery which I am so apt to feel when another betrays offence or resentment against me. Upon examination, I believe that vanity lies at the bottom of this exquisite susceptibility to the displeasure of an acquaintance. It is only when the displeasure is expressed in such a way as to imply disrespect, that I feel it so exquisitely. In the meantime, let it be my great aim to emancipate myself from the galling dependence of pecuniary embarrassments.

"*May* 10.—In my conversations with the clergy, there are two points of jealousy to which I must direct all the vigilance of moral and religious principle:—1. Guard against that vanity which courts a compliment, or is fed by it. 2. Guard against that laxity of sentiment which appears under the disguise of moderation, and if indulged, might land you in a total indifference to everything serious.

"*May* 11.—Left Fincraigs in a chaise for St. Andrews. Reached Anster at night. Found Lucy in an alarming way. She goes to Dunkeld with Mr. and Mrs. Carstairs.*

"*Sunday, May* 13.—Attended church here, and heard Mr. Wilson. I must regard attention and reverence there as a solemn and important part of religious discipline. Retired to my room for two hours betwixt tea and supper, and tasted the delights of piety. While I am here, let me read some portion of divinity to my father every Sunday evening.

"Sandy has made no progress this day; and poor Lucy's illness, I fear, will prove fatal.

"Gracious Father, establish my heart with the duties and the comforts of religion; and in this interval of suspense and imperfect health, may the wholesome principles of Christianity gain a habitual and confirmed authority over my temper, and feelings, and behaviour.

* The Rev. Mr. Carstairs was minister of West Anstruther.

"*May* 15.—Settled matters with Mr. Ballardie's legatees, and have to record, for my encouragement and direction in all future cases, that a steady unyielding determination to carry through what is your right and your justice is far less formidable in the act than in the anticipation.

"*May* 16.—There is one thing for which I implore the assistance of Heaven. I feel movements of impatience with my kind and venerable father. O let my manner to him be calculated to soothe him, and render him happy. I am now getting embroiled with business and company. Father in heaven! be my guide and my guardian; and in the whole of my conduct may I evince the power and the excellence of Christian principle. I told a story in which the ludicrous was blended with religion. Let this on all occasions be avoided.

"*May* 18.—Rode to St. Andrews with Lucy. Made a good many calls there, and feel a growing indifference to University preferment. This I regret not.

"*May* 19.—Walked to Pittenweem, and got the sederunt-book on Dr. Reid's affairs. Mean to examine it very particularly, and to maintain an inflexible purpose of doing justice to the concern in spite of all the delicacies and obstructions.

"*May* 22.—Had a most irksome and fatiguing business with my father in settling the accounts of Mr. Ballardie's trust this forenoon. I thank Heaven for the degree of patience with which I supported it, though at the same time it was far short of that perfection which I never should lose sight of, and which it should be the constant aim of my life to aspire after. May the Father of all mercies enlighten me with His Spirit, and settle in my bosom the perpetual sunshine of faith and a good conscience.

"*May* 25.—I am alarmed at the small and uncertain progress of religious principle in my mind. O God! may the power of Thy Son's atonement be to me the effectual instrument both of comfort and of righteousness.

"*May* 27.—Heard Mr. Stewart from Kingsbarns. I still feel a great shortcoming from that reverence and constant attention which should ever accompany me into the house of God.—O Lord, may this fear be perpetually upon me. Read to my father, and found, in the sense of having accomplished a duty, a restoration to cheerfulness and complacency. Spent some hours alone in my apartment, and have to bless God for the holy peacefulness which I often feel in the sweetness and solitude of a Sabbath evening.

"*May* 28.—Walked with Mr. Duncan of Kilrenny. Miss Anne Taylor and Miss Wilson drank tea with us. Supped in Mr. Willis's with a small party. In the engagements of the world, let me never lose sight of its vanity; let eternity be ever present to my feelings, and may I walk through the journey of life with my eye fixed on its end. Called on Mr. Johnston of Rennyhill this afternoon. I drank tea with Mr. Duncan. Had a conversation with my father on religious matters, and must study to impress him with the idea of my soundness and sincerity, of which he is rather sceptical.

"*Sunday*, *June* 3.—Preached in the afternoon at Carnbee.

"*June* 4.—Walked from Carnbee to Anster. Drank the King's health with the town's-people, and on occasion gave way to levity of conversation. Supped in Dr. Goodsir's. In all the bustle of this world's variety, may I never forget communion with God and with my own conscience; may I carry in my mind a perpetual reference to religion; may I maintain vigilance, and humility, and self-denial; may every day witness my rising progress in the virtues and accomplishments of the Gospel; and may principle maintain its vigour and its ascendency over me. For these purposes, I invoke the aid of that blessed Spirit, to whom I ascribe all power and all righteousness.

"*June* 5.—Poor —— in an alarming state this forenoon. My father's interference was in the highest degree tender and overpowering. I feel all the heaviness of this dispensation, and implore the kindness of all-good Providence to alleviate and avert it. O God, may all this send home to our feelings the vanity of time; and may the prayers of a broken spirit, for consolation and acceptance, find grace in Thy sight. Pardon my sins, and guide me by Thy blessed Spirit to comfort and hope, and improvement in righteousness.

"*June* 6. —— a good deal better this day; yet I feel myself so enfeebled by the weight of anxiety about her, as to be incapable of going through my regular exercises. The virtue of sufferance a highly necessary accomplishment in this world of affliction. Though I feel a reluctance to effort, yet it is better that I should make the attempt.

"*June* 7.—Rode in a gig to Crail, Fifeness, and Kingsbarns. Dined with Mr. Bell, and enjoyed all the luxury of feeling which is inspired by the view of a respectable man at the head of an interesting family.

"*June* 8.—Let me raise my apprehensions to the grandeur

of eternity, and keep aloof from the vortex of earthly passion, and the vanities of an instant.

"*June* 9.—From the fatigues of yesterday I was unable to go through my usual exercise of composition this forenoon.

"*Sunday, June* 10.—Heard Mr. Wilson. I this evening finished the poem of Paradise Lost.

"*June* 16.—In this excursion I learn the unformed and inefficient state of my religious principles, and in the quietness of retirement I pray for more vigilance, more anxiety about my great and essential interest, more constant and habitual recurrence of my attention to the grand concerns of eternity, more indifference to the objects of time, and more steady and determined resistance to the danger of its temptations. O God, accept my humility, my remorse, my sincere faith in the atonement of the Gospel, and my anxious supplication that, in my progress through the world, I may evince the power and the excellence of religious principle.

"*Sunday, June* 17.—This a most important but discouraging day. . . . In place of that piety which the Sabbath evening generally brought along with it, I feel a total estrangement of mind from God, and a dread of approaching the offended purity of His nature.

"*Monday, June* 18.—This morning rose in great disquietude, and with a total incapacity for exertion. . . . Let me feel the littleness of the world's opinion. Let my sole aim be the greatness, and elevation, and purity of gospel principles. Let me possess my spirit in patience, and, by a determined recurrence to useful and regular employment, let me evidence the power and magnanimity of religion. This I write in the middle of the day. I pray God that I may have to report the success of my resolution in the evening. I am in His hands; I implore the assistance of His Spirit; and to Him I ascribe all the glory and all the triumph. . . . Must trust to time and repose for the restoration of my peace. Am still in great disquietude. Let my motto be—'Faint, yet pursuing.' If, after this day, I soon write a register of a bright complexion, let me never despair afterwards under any visitation of the world's calamity. O God, shine on me with Thy grace; pity and console me.

"*June* 19.—Still incapable of employment, though the turbulence of my feeling begins to subside. Have determined to return to Fincraigs. Find for these few days a grievous relapse from the steadiness of principle.—O God, give me the spirit of

prayer and the spirit of watching. Work in me to will and to do. Recall me to the delights of piety; and, both in the conception of every good purpose, and in the successful execution of it, may I give Thy blessed Spirit all the praise and all the glory.

"*June* 20.—I have to thank God that I am getting on in a capacity for exertion, though I have not yet recovered perfect tone and vigour of mind. O God, give me the tranquillity of a mind raised above the pettiness of this world's distractions: accept of my sincere gratitude for the measure of comfort which Thou hast given me, and restore me to the vigilance which is so necessary in this state of warfare and temptation.

"*June* 21.—Coming on in exertion. Upon the whole, have to thank God for restoring me to a firmer nerve of principle, and a better tone of pleasurable feeling than I have experienced for some days past.

"*June* 30.—Left Anster this morning on horseback. Spent a pious and pleasurable evening at Kinneir, and tasted the comforts of prayer and devotion.—O God, be with me to sustain me in this excursion into a tempting and deceitful world.

"*July* 3.—Lucy returned from Dunkeld.*

"*July* 6.—I am sensible that I do not feel the same trembling anxiety on the subject of moral discipline that I did at the outset of this Journal; but let me not relax the vigilance of my efforts. O what a small share principle has upon our hourly and familiar movements!

"*July* 8.—Preached twice to-day.—O God, may I love Thy Sabbaths, and cultivate the peace and piety of Thy gospel.

"*July* 11.—The rain disappointed me, and confined me to the house; but a cheerful and immediate recurrence to useful employment is a noble exercise of independence upon accident. Decision and propriety in the smaller movements of life is a great constituent of comfort. I am thankful to God for the coolness and sobriety of my feelings during these few days. Exercise and severe study have a composing effect upon the character; and let this be the way in which the redundant energy of my temperament is expended.

"*July* 12.—I should maintain a scrupulous and guarded

* Lucy had gone to Dunkeld for change of air, and on her return remained for two months at Fineraigs. Wishing to persuade his friend, Mr. Carstairs, who had kindly escorted his sister both to and from Dunkeld, to come and join them at Fineraigs, Mr. Chalmers writes:—"Besides, and I plume myself upon this as my most important argument, what think you of the privilege of riding upon an ass? Lucy mounts it daily, the young colt follows, Jane leads, and I cat up the rear, and close the procession."

silence whenever I feel inclined to expatiate to another's prejudice or another's ridicule. I am not sufficiently attentive in this respect. Oh, the slender influence of religion on the great mass of my conduct! Let me associate religion with the sound of every hour; and I pray that this may be a help to its gaining a habitual influence over my practice and sentiments.

"*July* 18.—Went to Dundee.

"*July* 19.—Called on James Anderson and Miss Scott this forenoon. Walked with Messrs. Craik, Miller, and Duncan. Was pleased with Dr. H. Scott, and feel how much an earnest devotion of mind to a great object raises you above every petty embarrassment. Religion is such an object, and a sickly anxiety about manner in the presence of strangers I would call a petty embarrassment; but while indifferent to the gratification of my own vanity, let me never be indifferent to the rights and feelings of others. Crossed, after tea, in the same boat with Dr. M'Dowal and Miss Saunders. Obtruded my botany too much upon them.

"*July* 21.—Went before breakfast to Kilmany, to consult with Major Horsburgh about certain alterations on the church. Had a delightful reverie from a hill in the neighbourhood. Mr. Bonthron at tea in the evening.

"*July* 23.—Find Kilmany in one point of view to be a fitter theatre of moral discipline than Anster—that I meet with fewer temptations to dereliction of principle, and this is certainly to be preferred in the infancy of your religious course.—O God, save me from falling. Set me in a sure place, and grant me in Thy good time the joys of the Christian faith and the diligence of the Christian practice. May I not think that the record of my faults is any atonement for them; but in the strength of the Christian faith, may I be vigilant and determined.

"*July* 24.—In company with the Misses F., N., and T., had no colloquial firmness, and felt all the awkwardness of my boyish days. To escape bashfulness, I put on a flurried rapidity of manner which is apt to overstep propriety. Should maintain more composure, and not give way so much in mixed company to the idea of the inability to support myself.—O God, accept my gratitude for Thy mercies, and my earnest prayers for the increase and continuance of Thy gracious Spirit.

"*July* 25.—Preached twice to a numerous and attentive audience. Read a great deal of divinity in the evening, and thank God for the blessed influence of a holy and peaceful Sabbath.—Gracious Father, give efficacy to my good purposes; and

may the sense of Thy presence and Thy authority never abandon my heart.

"*August* 4.—Misses F. and H. arrived at Fincraigs. I am happy that I overcame the unmanly delicacy which would have influenced me in other days: I read a sermon to the young ladies, and had prayers in the evening. I must not be deceived by the amount of pure and pleasurable feeling which I have experienced for some days: let me lay in principle for the day of trial, and let my happiness be of that kind which maintains itself when unsupported by external objects.

"*August* 19.—Preached twice to-day, and must study to make myself impressive and interesting to the bulk of my hearers. At the same time, I should keep up my habits of composition, and if possible gain some to righteousness by an occasional sermon addressed to people of literary taste and cultivation.

"*August* 21.—Have conceived the idea of abandoning severe mathematics, and expending my strength upon theological studies. Eminence in two departments is scarcely attainable. Let me give my main efforts to religion, and fill up my evenings with miscellaneous literature. The sacrifice is painful, but I must not harass and enfeeble my mind with too much anxiety; and let me leave myself entire for all those discussions which are connected with the defence of Christianity, the exposition of its views, and the maintenance of its interests, as affected by the politics or philosophy of the times. The business of our Courts and the dignity of our Establishment will of course afford a most animating subject for the joint exercise of speculation and activity. —O my God, prosper me in all my laudable undertakings, and let Thy glory and the good of mankind be the uttermost concern of my heart. Political economy touches upon religious establishments, and a successful or original speculation in this department may throw an *éclat* over my ecclesiastical labours.

"*August* 26.—Preached as usual; the people, I thought, were attentive and impressed, particularly in the forenoon.—I thank God for being enabled to maintain the regulation of myself, and for the holy Sabbath of peace and improvement which His goodness has allowed me.

"*August* 27.—Dined this day with my venerable friend Dr. G. Was shocked at the total loss of recollection and judgment evinced by ——. Went to Flisk in the afternoon, when I drank tea with Mr. and the Misses Morton. Was perhaps wrong in speaking of ——'s failures of memory in such a way as to excite

laughter, and I should shun the vanity of saying odd and ludicrous things.

"*Sept.* 3.— . . . A trying subject for the exercise of patience and heroism. Let me feel the importance, nay, even grandeur of the contest with myself.—O God, may I never forget Thee; may I never lose sight of eternity, or suffer the anxieties of a petty and perishable world to withdraw me from the duties and the contemplations of religion.

"*Sept.* 6.—Regaining my tranquillity by degrees. Constant employment.—O God, I thank Thee for the blessings Thou scatterest along the path of life. Grant me to taste the comforts of religion, and to feel the power of its principles. Have resumed, in a moderate degree, my mathematical reading. Have to thank God for supplying me with such abundant resources of study and amusement, the grand materials of independence. Father of heaven! may Thy good Spirit never abandon me: guard my wandering mind against every relaxation of vigilance.

"*Sept.* 8.—Walked to Moonzie. At dinner we had Mr. Fleming,* presentee to Flisk,—accomplished in some interesting branches of science, and promises to be a great acquisition to me, from the congeniality of some of our pursuits. Let me never forget the pre-eminence of religion.

"*Sunday, Sept.* 9.—Preached twice, as usual. Had a pleasant scientific conversation with Mr. Fleming all evening; find him a valuable accession in this point of view, but I must keep up with him a tone of seriousness upon religious subjects. Have to thank God for giving me courage to go through the exercise of family worship.

"*Sept.* 11.—Had a long walk with Mr. Fleming, and am happy to find that he expresses a high sense of duty on the subject of the clerical office. Lucy left Fineraigs this afternoon.

"*Sept.* 12.—Erred in speaking unfavourably of Mr. S.; and though zeal for what I conceive the humility of evangelical views entered into my criticism, this only disguises the fault, without justifying it. Read a good deal of mathematics.

"*Sept.* 20.—Mr. Duncan tells me that Jeffrey, the reviewer, had been speaking highly of my talents, but let me carry a becoming indifference to the praise of men.

"*Sept.* 30.—Preached as usual, and found the people parti-

* Now Dr. Fleming, Professor of Natural Science in the New College, Edinburgh; for another reference to whom, see Posthumous Works, vol. ix. pp. 477, 478.

cularly attentive in the forenoon. Let me give my strength to the grand business of being useful in my profession.

"*Oct.* 2.—Had a most agreeable note from Dr. Charters, accompanied with a present of books, and expressing his entire satisfaction with my review of his sermons.

"*Oct.* 6.—I had been employing myself in drawing a ludicrous exposition of the conduct of the St. Andrews Presbytery (in Principal Playfair's case), when in comes Mr. Melvil, who had been dining with a party of clergymen, and reported their general determination to support Playfair. This produced a delirium of joy, which threw me off my guard, and I gave way to the fulness of my emotions. I should not have spoken so virulently of ——; at the same time, it will be of the utmost importance to get him down from his influence in the Church.—And I pray God that He would give me grace to employ all my endeavours towards the interest of His religion and the aggrandizement of His name.

"*Oct.* 12.—Upon a general review of the last five or six days, I collect a few points which it may be useful to register. Let me pay a great deal more attention to the details of Church business. Let me respect my elders; but seeing, as I do, upon what trifling grounds a measure may be suggested and generally concurred in, let me maintain all the obstinacy of principle, and, by a manner removed from everything like impetuosity or conceit or contemptuousness, let me try to gain effectual influence over the hearts of my brethren. I have less of the vanity of display, but I have still a strong remainder of the worldly principle. I behoved to have spoken at the Synod, because a speech was delivered adverse to my cause, and the nod and imploring eye of Dr. Playfair were of themselves sufficient to decide me. But let me never comment upon one's appearance afterwards, let me never fish for compliments, or try in a disguised manner to turn the conversation to the subject. Previous to my appearance I was engrossed with anxiety. This is not heavenly: it is vain even upon worldly principles. It takes so much time from happiness, and it is not justified by the event, which in all cases is greatly less formidable than the anticipation. But the most serious part of it is, that it argues an occupation of the mind with what may be called trifles when compared with the great subject of human interest and anxiety—the favour of God, the moral discipline of the heart, the faith of the gospel, the promises of immortality. In this interval of time I have not

been regular in my devotions, and not guarded in my conversation. O God, may I repair with delight to Thy service, and may I employ this short interval of retirement from the world in giving new vigour to my principles and more effect to the lessons of Thy Word. O thou Father of mercies, to whom no humble and sincere worshipper addresses himself in vain, uphold me by Thy good Spirit; make me heavenly-minded. May I walk by faith, and not by sight; and in the contemplations of eternity may I bury the vanity and the delusions of time.

"*Oct.* 26.—Crossed to Leith, walked to Edinburgh, and dined in Mr. Cowan's.

"*Oct.* 28.—Heard sermon in the forenoon at New Greyfriars, and was much pleased with the manly and vigorous orthodoxy of Mr. Andrew Thomson.

"*Oct.* 29.—Took the Carlisle Diligence for Hawick, and landed at Wilton in the evening, where I repose in the bosom of a pious and cultivated family.

"*Oct.* 30.—Called at Mr. Arkle's, Thomas Kedie's, and the dear and interesting Ushers of Courthill.

"*Nov.* 1.—Was spoken to by Dr. Charters about my publication on National Resources not having taken, and of his certainty that my review would not be admitted into the Edinburgh. May I feel the salutary lesson of indifference to the praise of man, and may all my anxiety be directed to the praise of God and the interests of eternity. I disguised some things relative to the fate of my publication; and the only way in which I could pacify my conscience was by again bringing them forward. May I wrap myself in the armour of principle.

"*Nov.* 6.—Left Wilton this morning in the Hawick stage, and got to Valleyfield (Penicuick) about six in the evening.

"*Nov.* 7.—Walked with Mrs. J. and her daughter to Sir George Clerk's. The former is unitarian in her principles; the latter is under doubt and anxiety. Let me maintain the high tone of principle, if consulted upon this subject. I was consulted, and said, that we perhaps might read the Bible with honesty, and not be convinced of the absolute divinity of our Saviour. I stood up, however, for His high pre-eminence, for unqualified submission to the authority of Scripture, and for the clear, undeniable revelation of an atoning sacrifice.

"*Nov.* 23.—Rode from St. Andrews to Cupar, and in the Union coach to Kilmany, when I entered my new manse for the first time. This may be considered as an epoch in the history

of my life; and I pray Heaven that from this epoch I may date new vigour to my principles, greater consistency in my conduct, more effort and more determination in my purposes of obedience.

"*Sunday, Dec.* 9.—This the day of my sacrament. Mr. Blair and others from Naughton heard me. I felt the restraint of their criticising tendencies; but let me maintain charity. In my pulpit exhibitions I am perhaps too anxious to communicate a full impression of what I say, and give an ardour and a rapidity to my utterance which defeats the purpose. I should confide a little more in the sympathy and intelligence of my hearers; and by a more distinct, and at the same time less fatiguing manner of enunciation, I both save myself, and probably come nearer to the object of my anxiety. O God, may every approach to Thee leave improvement and growth in grace behind it.

"*Dec.* 12.—Confined to the house all day by snow and sleet. Spent the whole of it in subduing my confused books into arrangement.

"*Dec.* 18.—Walked this forenoon from Cupar to Anster. Refused Mr. Pearson's kind offer of a horse; and am happy to think that the expense of maintaining him was my chief reason. Let me make sacrifices to the grand object of economy, and feel how respectable an object it is, as it will be the means of releasing me from embarrassment, and preparing me for the freer exercise of justice and humanity. Reached Anster by four in the afternoon, and found Lucy fast hastening to her grave.

"*Dec.* 22.—Left Anstruther this morning in a chaise. Took what, in all probability, will be my final adieu of Lucy on this side of time. She was in great agony, and speechless. My aunt was holding her head; and the expression of her countenance, which spoke the strong conflict within her, has haunted me all day, and at this moment overpowers me with tenderness.* O God, may I feel the importance of religion, and may I cherish and keep alive the salutary impressions of this affecting scene. O God, may I prize Thy religion as the only sure defence against the griefs and the dangers of this earthly pilgrimage.

"*Dec.* 23.—Went up to Logie, and preached at the kirking of Mr. and Mrs. Melvil. At the first prayer Patrick made his appearance, from which I inferred Lucy's death.

* "Lucy died yesterday morning at five o'clock. It has long been looked for, and the family are bearing it with as much composure as can be expected. My father is almost blind. This decay in his sight came on pretty gradually at first, and has now arrived to such a degree that he can neither write, read, nor recognise any of the family."—Letter from Mr. Chalmers, of date December 24, 1810.

"*Dec.* 24.—Went off in a chaise this morning, and reached Anster after four. Have begun to read Wilberforce, and hope to be much the better of it.

"*Dec.* 25.—Spent this day in my room, and with my relations. I am making head against the soreness of my temperament to what is irksome, though still far and very far from perfection.—O God, may I feel the authority of Thy law.—I am delighted with Wilberforce.

"*Dec.* 31.—Walked to Pittenweem with Misses Hall and Nairne. Returned and dined with Mr. Henderson. . . . I pray God that I may contract no taint from my intercourse with the world. As years roll away may I gather wisdom, and learn that it is not on this side of time that my home and my inheritance lie."

That effort after a pure and heavenly morality which Mr. Chalmers had so long and so unfalteringly sustained, was now on the eve of a change, which was not only to alter, but to reverse in their relative positions its starting-post and its goal. All the natural elements at work throughout this struggle were elements of signal power. A vigorous and enlightened intelligence—a conscience strong but very tender—most delicately susceptible, yet devoid of all narrowness and weakness—a will of almost inflexible determination, become now a yielding servant to the high sense of duty,—these all exerting themselves under the profound impression, that God's eye was ever on them as they toiled, and that everlasting interests hung suspended on the issue, present to us such a full and attractive exhibition of mere natural character as might have invited analysis, or fixed for a season the eye of our admiration. But all lesser interest connected with this period loses itself in the light and meaning thrown upon it by its close. As the year expired, and for his evening readings at Anstruther while he remained there after his sister's death, Mr. Chalmers took up Wilberforce's "Practical View"—a work specially intended to expose the inadequate conceptions regarding the leading and peculiar doctrines of Christianity which characterized the religious system prevailing among professed Christians. "We are loudly called on," said Mr. Wilberforce, "to *examine well our foundations*. If anything be there unsound and hollow, the superstructure could not be safe though its exterior were less suspicious. Let the question, then, be asked, and let the answer be returned with all the

consideration and solemnity which a question so important may justly demand, Whether in the grand concern of all—*the means of a sinner's acceptance with God*, there be not reason to apprehend that nominal Christians too generally entertain very superficial and confused, if not highly dangerous notions?"—(p. 101.) The summons came from one whose character was otherwise so enthusiastically admired, and it was so wisely and so winningly given, that it would have been listened to even had Mr. Chalmers not been subject at the time to that restless dissatisfaction with the fruits of all his own former efforts, which made him at this conjuncture peculiarly open to instruction. As in this favourable spirit he read this volume, he found his own individual case thus accurately delineated, and thus wisely prescribed for :—"There are, it is to be apprehended, not a few who, having thought little or scarcely at all about religion, have become at length, in some degree, impressed with a sense of the infinite importance of religion. A fit of sickness, perhaps, or the loss of some friend or much loved relative, or some other stroke of adverse fortune, damps their spirits, awakens them to a practical conviction of the precariousness of all human things, and turns them to seek for some more stable foundation of happiness than this world can afford. Looking into themselves ever so little, they become sensible that they must have offended God. They resolve accordingly to set about the work of reformation. . . . Again and again they resolve ; again and again they break their resolutions. All their endeavours are foiled, and they become more and more convinced of their own moral weakness and of the strength of their inherent corruption. These men are pursuing the right object, but they mistake the path in which it is to be obtained. *The path in which they are now treading is not that which the gospel has provided for conducting them to true holiness, nor will they find in it any solid peace.* . . . The Holy Scriptures call upon those who are in the circumstances now stated to *lay afresh the whole foundation of their religion.** The nature of that holiness which the true Christian seeks to possess is no other than the restoration of the image of God to his soul ; and as to the manner of acquiring it, disclaiming with indignation every idea of attaining it by his own strength, he rests altogether on the operation of God's Holy Spirit, which is promised to all who cordially embrace the gospel. He knows therefore that this holiness is not to PRECEDE his reconciliation with God, and be its

* The *italics* in all the passages quoted above are Mr. Wilberforce's.

cause, but to follow it and be its effect; that, in short, it is by faith in Christ only that he is to be justified in the sight of God." —(Pp. 271-276, 11th edition.) The result of the perusal of the whole volume is best told by Mr. Chalmers himself in two letters, of a later date, addressed to his brother Alexander.*

"*February* 14, 1820.

"My dear Alexander,—I stated to you that the effect of a very long confinement, about ten years ago, upon myself, was to inspire me with a set of very strenuous resolutions, under which I wrote a Journal, and made many a laborious effort to elevate my practice to the standard of the Divine requirements. During this course, however, I got little satisfaction, and felt no repose. I remember that somewhere about the year 1811, I had Wilberforce's View put into my hands, and, as I got on in reading it, felt myself on the eve of a great revolution in all my opinions about Christianity. I am now most thoroughly of opinion, and it is an opinion founded on experience, that on the system of—Do this and live, no peace, and even no true and worthy obedience, can ever be attained. It is, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. When this belief enters the heart, joy and confidence enter along with it. The righteousness which we try to work out for ourselves eludes our impotent grasp, and never can a soul arrive at true or permanent rest in the pursuit of this object. The righteousness which, by faith, we put on, secures our acceptance with God, and secures our interest in His promises, and gives us a part in those sanctifying influences by which we are enabled to do with aid from on high what we never can do without it. We look to God in a new light—we see Him as a reconciled Father; that love to Him which terror scares away re-enters the heart, and, with a new principle and a new power, we become new creatures in Jesus Christ our Lord."

"St. Andrews, *June* 9, 1825.

"My dear Alexander,—When I meet with an inquirer (and I have met with many such) who, under the impulse of a new feeling, has set himself in good earnest to the business of his eternity, I have been very much in the habit of recommending Wilberforce. This perhaps is owing to the circumstance, that I myself, now about fifteen years ago, experienced a very great transition of sentiment in consequence of reading his work. The

* The Sandy of the preceding Journal.

deep views he gives of the depravity of our nature, of our need of an atonement, of the great doctrine of acceptance through that atonement, of the sanctifying influences of the Spirit,—these all give a new aspect to a man's religion; and I am sure that, in as far as they are really and honestly proceeded upon, they will give a new direction to his habits and his history. But there are other books which might be as effectually instrumental in working the desirable change; and, in defect of them all, there is the Bible, whose doctrines I well remember I then saw in an altogether new light, and could feel a power and a preciousness in passages which I formerly read with heedlessness, and even with disgust. I do think that, without disparagement to human authorship, which in many instances is in the highest degree helpful to the inquirer, still the main road to light and comfort, and a solid establishment in the way that leadeth to life everlasting, is the reading of the Scriptures, with prayer."

The critical condition of the reader lent power to Mr. Wilberforce's volume. A prolonged but abortive effort had prepared Mr. Chalmers to welcome the truth of a gratuitous justification before God through the merits of Christ. For upwards of a year he had striven with all his might to meet the high requirements of the Divine law; but that law rose in its demands as he rose in his endeavours, and, continuing our narrative here in his own descriptive words, "it still kept ahead of him with a kind of overmatching superiority to all his efforts. His attempt to scale the heights of perfection, to quell the remonstrances of a challenging and not yet appeased commandment, was like the laborious ascent of him who, having so wasted his strength that he can do no more, finds that some precipice still remains to be overcome, some mountain-brow that scorns his enterprise and threatens to overwhelm him." He struggled hard to recover his immeasurable distance from that high and heavenly morality which the law required, and, after all, he found himself "a helpless defaulter from the first and greatest of its commandments." He repaired to the atonement to eke out his deficiencies, and as the ground of assurance that God would look upon him with a propitious eye; but, notwithstanding, an unappeasable disquietude hung heavy upon his heart, and "he walked among the elements of uncertainty and distrust," till at last he came to see that the Saviour had already and completely done for him what, with so much strenuousness, but with so little success, he had

been striving to do for himself. The felt insecurities of his position he had been in vain endeavouring to strengthen, by mixing up the merits of Christ with the sincerity of his repentance, and the painstaking of his obedience, to form together the ingredients of his hope and security before God. But the conviction was now wrought in him that he had been attempting an impossibility; that he had been trying to compound elements which would not amalgamate; that it must be either on his own merits wholly, or on Christ's merits wholly that he must lean; and that, by introducing to any extent his own righteousness into the ground of his meritorious acceptance with God, "he had been inserting a flaw, he had been importing a falsehood into the very principle of his justification." In the Journal of the following Chapter, we shall see him stepping from the treacherous ground of—Do and live, to place his feet upon the firm foundation of—"Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

But I cannot close this Chapter without alluding to the comparison naturally suggested between the spiritual struggle which it records, and that through which, at a like period of their lives, Ignatius Loyola and Martin Luther passed. Loyola's great effort was to tread the world beneath his feet, and to rise into a mystic region of rapt idealism, where high spiritual intercourse with the unseen world might be enjoyed. The main stress of his struggle was to mortify the desires of the flesh and of the mind—to spiritualize the carnal nature. Luther's great effort, prompted by an urgent sense of guilt, was to reconcile himself to an offended Deity; and the main stress of his struggle was to bring into a state of right adjustment his personal and immediate relationship with God. Dr. Chalmers's great effort was to prepare for an eternity felt to be at hand, by discharging aright the duties of time; and the main stress of his struggle was to bring his dispositions and conduct towards all around him up to the requirements of the Divine law. Loyola busied himself mainly with fastening aright the ties, and sustaining the communion, which bound him to the spiritual world, as that world was conceived of and believed in. Luther busied himself mainly with his legal standing before the High Judge of all the earth, and was still trying over and over again the question of his acceptance or his condemnation before the bar of eternal justice. Dr. Chalmers busied himself mainly with the state of his affections and behaviour towards his fellow-men, with all of whom he tried to be on terms of perfect and cordial amity ere he passed

into eternity. The devotional element predominated with the first, the legal with the second, the moral and social with the third. Out of his severe and prolonged struggle, Loyola found his exit by casting himself into the bosom of his Church, and giving himself up to the devotions which she prescribed, and the services which she demanded. Out of their struggle Luther and Dr. Chalmers alike found their exit by casting themselves into the bosom of their Saviour, and giving themselves up to all the duties of life, spiritual and social, as those who had been freely and fully reconciled unto God through Jesus Christ their Lord.

CHAPTER IX.

GAS TUBES—GARDEN BEDS—HOSPITALITY OF THE MANSE—SUPREMACY OF THE IMAGINATION OVER THE SENSES—PREPARATIONS FOR THE ARTICLE CHRISTIANITY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. ANDREW THOMSON—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTOR—JOURNAL OF 1811.

It was fortunate that during the summers of 1810 and 1811, when so much lost bodily vigour was to be regained, and the hurtful effects of so much mental agitation was to be counteracted, that there were those healthful walks from Fineraigs to Kilmany to view the "progress of affairs," and afterwards, when the manse was occupied, those forenoons devoted to planting trees, and measuring grass-plots, and laying down garden walks. Over one of the preceding entries in the Journal the reader has perhaps paused a moment—"Walked to Kilmany, and gave directions about my gas tubes." The conviction which he felt when he heard the London lecturer,* he had now carried so far as to believe that in a very few years all private dwellings would be lighted by gas, and by now laying these tubes through the manse, he would have it all ready for the new epoch when it arrived. Should the anticipated epoch ever come, these tubes may be there to testify to the prophetic sagacity of Mr. Chalmers; and whether it come or not, they not only tell us of his own strong scientific faith, but of the persuasive energy which he had exerted over his heritors, affording, as he himself might have described it, visible and emphatic demonstration how thoroughly he had inspired them with confidence in his chemistry. It was not only on the interior of the manse that the original genius of its first occupant displayed itself. In laying out the garden he found room for his mathematics as well as his botany; for while the plants and flowers were all arranged in scientific order, every plot and bed was of a regularly constructed geometric figure—the conic sections being all accurately laid down—so that on either side of the circle or ellipse, a parabolic or hyperbolic bed flourished conspicuous with its allotted genera and species.

The hospitality of Kilmany manse was unbounded. It is

* See p. 83.

always a matter worthy of special record in the Journal when Mr. Chalmers spends a whole day alone. The morning's reading and forenoon's severe composition over, if he found not society within doors, he either went abroad to seek it, or imported it from without. His favourite resort for relaxation was Dundee, where many agreeable families were always ready to welcome him, and above all, where he had his old college friend, Mr. Duncan,* around whose gentle benevolence his own livelier and more imaginative affection loved to disport itself. Nor were ingenious devices wanting, pleasantly diversifying their intercourse. It was about this time that coffee began to be generally introduced. Instead of adopting the new beverage, Mr. Chalmers invented one of his own—an infusion of burnt rye—which he not only used constantly himself, but urged upon all his guests, strenuously affirming its equality with the best Mocha coffee. Upon one occasion, at Kilmany, Mr. Duncan, who had no great relish for his friend's beverage, so stoutly denied this position, that Mr. Chalmers declared that the next time he came to Dundee, he would subject the matter, in Mr. Duncan's own presence, to an *experimentum crucis*, and triumphantly vindicate his own invention. The time for the experiment soon arrived. Mr. Chalmers appeared in Dundee, bringing with him a quantity of rye-coffee, as he called it, of his best manufacture. The trial between it and its rival was made in Dr. Ramsay's, to whose sister the performance of the important experiment had been committed. It was agreed that a select company of connoisseurs should assemble; that Miss Ramsay should furnish each, first with a cup of her best Mocha coffee, and then with a cup of the "Genuine Kilmany;" that each guest should announce his opinion, and that by the verdict of the majority the question of their respective merit should be decided. In the meantime, however, before the trial commenced, Miss Ramsay received certain private instructions, upon which she acted. In due time, the company assembled. The coffee being handed round, met with general approbation. The second cup was next presented: by one after another an adverse verdict was pronounced, till it came at last to Mr. Duncan, who emphatically exclaimed, "Much inferior—*very much* inferior!" Mr. Chalmers burst into laughter as he replied, "It's your own Mocha coffee; the second cup is just the same article as the first."

The supremacy of the imagination over the senses which he

* Now Professor of Mathematics in St. Andrews.

had thus tested upon Mr. Duncan and the coffee-connoisseurs of Dundee, Mr. Chalmers used also to illustrate by an incident which occurred in the house of his granduncle, Dr. Chalmers, the minister of Kilconquhar. A party of ministers had met at the manse, where a number of them were to remain all night, and among the rest, Mr. Gray, against whom some slight pique, on account of a real or assumed literary superiority, was entertained. The question as to the relative power of the imagination and the senses was raised, and the argument rose high, Mr. Gray alone taking the side of the senses, and all the others the side of the imagination. The combatants parted for the night; Mr. Gray, by retiring first, giving his adversaries the opportunity of concocting the trick by which they made his own act contradict his argument. It was the custom at that time to wear wigs, which were given to a servant at night to be powdered for the next day. When Mr. Gray, with his freshly powdered wig, came down next morning to the breakfast-room, he found it unoccupied. It was not long till one of his brethren joined him, who, on approaching, gave very distinct, but not very agreeable indications that a most offensive odour was issuing from the wig. Trying his own senses, Mr. Gray could detect nothing amiss, and laughed at his friend for his folly. Now, however, a second friend came in, who declared, immediately on entering, that there was a very strong smell of brimstone in the room, and traced it at once and unhesitatingly to the wig. The laugh subsided, but still, after a second trial, Mr. Gray could find nothing amiss. But a third friend came in, and a fourth, and a fifth, all fixing the alleged offence upon the wig, till, his own senses overcome at last, and the victory given to his adversaries, Mr. Gray flung the harmless wig indignantly away, exclaiming, "Why, the fellow *has* put brimstone on the wig!"

Throughout that illness which reached its climax about the close of the year 1809, Mr. Chalmers continued his preparations for the article "Christianity"—reading when he could not write—listening to another when he could not himself read. Many volumes of Voltaire's works had been perused, and some progress made in Lardner's "Credibility," before the labour of composition could be resumed. That labour was vigorously prosecuted during the summer of 1810, his broken and feeble health sometimes disabling him from writing, but never interfering with that high state of mental excitement to which he head been raised. "I have seen him," says Mr. Smith, speak-

ing of those summer months, "almost in an ecstasy when he was speaking of the grandeur and excellence of Christianity, and of the clearness and force of the evidence by which it is supported. His mind was almost overwhelmed by it. One day he called on me and said—'Tell me all that ever you heard against Christianity from its enemies: I am more than able to refute them all. The evidences of our religion are overwhelming.' It is utterly impossible for me to convey in language an idea of the manner in which he uttered these and similar expressions. His whole soul was completely absorbed, and he gave vent to his feelings in language peculiarly his own." It was amid such exciting engagement of his thoughts with Christianity in its wider and more general aspects, that the discovery broke upon him that the gospel presents a distinct and peculiar scheme of mercy—providing for the sinner's immediate and complete reconciliation with God. That discovery bore many fruits; and this among the rest, that his mathematical readings, which, after his recovery, had been partially resumed, were now finally abandoned. The same principle, however, which induced the relinquishment of all his scientific pursuits, secured his hearty acquiescence in a proposal conveyed to him from Edinburgh. In the spring of 1810, Mr. Andrew Thomson was removed from the East Church of Perth, and ordained minister of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh. A few months after his settlement in the metropolis, he commenced the publication of the "Christian Instructor." The first number of this periodical appeared in August 1810; and in the January of the following year, its editor wrote to Mr. Chalmers requesting him to become a contributor. "The Review department," he said, "is that in which I wish you to write. I hope you will have no objections to comply with my request. In this case, let me know what species of works you would like to criticise. There is one on Toleration, lately published in London, which I would wish you to undertake. The subject is very important, and affords great scope for good writing. Do not decline it. Set your mind to it, and we shall have a good article." To this request Mr. Chalmers at once acceded. He had lying by him the criticism on Dr. Charters's Sermons, prepared some months previously, and originally intended for the Edinburgh Review; this he forwarded immediately to Mr. Thomson. Its author must have had some slight misgivings as to the reception his critique might meet with, otherwise, in announcing its transmission, he

would not have thought it necessary to make the following suggestions:—

"Kilmany Manse, *January* 18, 1811.

"As I wish to be upon the most liberal understanding with you, I think it right to say, that I count it the undoubted privilege of an editor to express his dissent from any opinion advanced in the contributions which are sent him: only, it occurs to me, that the most palatable method of doing this would be, to insert the contribution entire, and that you would save your responsibility with the public, by introducing your exception in the form of a note or appendix at the end of the article. My sole intention in this is, that each of us may feel unshackled, and be perfectly secure of understanding one another, in spite of any difference of sentiment that you may either feel or think yourself bound in conscience to express. I do not anticipate any difference in things which are essential; for be assured that the manly and vigorous orthodoxy which you patronize is quite according to my own heart; and I think a Magazine like yours peculiarly called for, as a barrier against the flippancy of the prevailing taste in theology, which seems to have abandoned altogether the substance of Christianity, and the authority of its peculiar doctrines."

To this communication Mr. Thomson replied as follows:—

"Edinburgh, *February* 18, 1811.

"Dear Sir,—I have received your criticism on Dr. Charters's Sermons. It is well written, and in many points extremely just and striking. But I fear much we cannot insert it in the Instructor, as a review of our own, without very material alterations. These I need not point out at present, as in your letter you object to any such alterations being made. The method by which you propose to reconcile, or at least to express, our difference of opinion, will not do. Our review department is understood to express our own sentiments; and to admit your article as it stands, subjoining notes in contradiction to parts of it, would be actually to tell our readers that we have two different creeds. If you wish it to be published in our Magazine, I shall be happy to put it among the religious communications, and in that case I can make what remarks appear to be proper. From what Mr. Shaw wrote me, I find that it has been shown to Dr. Charters himself, which puts me rather into an awkward predicament. But I cannot help it.

"I herewith send you the book on Toleration, which I wish you to review. The subject is very important, and I should suppose it is one on which we shall not differ much. I am for toleration being enjoyed by all denominations of Christians, including Roman Catholics. But Catholic Emancipation is such a ticklish question, that I should like you, when alluding to that point, to deal in generalities. We must beware of meddling with the party-politics of the day. Be brilliant. Go the length of twelve pages of letterpress, and be ready on or before the 2d day of April if possible.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

ANDREW THOMSON."

The receipt of this letter is marked by the following entry in Mr. Chalmers's Journal:—"*Feb.* 23.—I had a parcel from Edinburgh, with letters. Mr. Andrew Thomson cannot insert my review of Charters without material alterations. This is a proof that he conceives it to be incorrect in point of doctrine; and, as I feel myself upon the eve of some decisive transformation in point of religious sentiment, I contemplate with interest everything that bears upon a subject so important." The reply to Mr. Thomson was not despatched till a few days had been given to consideration.

"KILMANY MANSE, *March* 5, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,—Let us, if agreeable to you, leave the future disposal of my critique on Dr. Charters's Sermons upon this footing. I have no particular wish upon the subject, and let it therefore go among the communications if you wish it. After it has got inserted it becomes fair game, and an author has no title to complain of the observations which he provokes by the public appearance which he makes of himself, as by the very act of committing his production to print, he surrenders it to the fair criticism of all his readers. At the same time, I should like to get a sight of it again before anything more is done with it; and you will oblige me much by marking with a pencil all the obnoxious passages. If you could at the same time favour me with your corrections by letter, I would esteem it an additional kindness; and to save you the delicacy of saying—'I won't admit this production of yours into my magazine,' if you keep a dead silence upon that part of the subject, I shall infer that you wish to decline it altogether. I like the perfect freedom with which you have refused it a place in your review department, and I put it down

to the firmness and integrity of your principles. At all events, I will thank you to leave it with Messrs. Oliphant and Balfour, to the care of my brother, who will get it transmitted to me.

"I shall attend to your wishes on the subject of a review of the 'Hints on Toleration.'—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The review of "Hints on Toleration" appeared in the May number of the "Christian Instructor." Less brilliant than Mr. Thomson may have expected or desired, it is a close and consecutive argument, devoted to the establishment of two leading propositions—the competency of Government, in full consistency with those principles on which all our civil institutions are founded, to make religion the subject of legislative provision; and the entire compatibility of the most ample toleration with the existence and the safety of our religious establishments. The question of Catholic Emancipation is dealt with as the editor had desired—little ground however being left for doubting that the writer's judgment was in favour of the removal of all civil disabilities from Roman Catholics.*

The review of Dr. Charters's Sermons appeared in the July number of the "Christian Instructor," the editor satisfying himself with appending an explanatory note of his own to Mr. Chalmers's critique of the volume.† Many years afterwards,

* The strongest point in this paper is its exposure of the delusion, that to grant perfect toleration to Dissenters would be to endanger the religious establishments of the country. "While these establishments," Mr. Chalmers says, "may repose in perfect security upon the independent suffrages of that vast majority which the members of the Church, if they have worth and piety and veneration for the orthodoxy of their own standards, will be always sure to keep within its pale, all these advantages on the side of the national religion are most wantonly thrown away when its permanency is made to rest upon a monopoly of political influence, upon the exclusion of Dissenters from Parliament—in a word, upon a system of intolerance which can neither be defended nor endured . . . Let Dissenters of every kind obtain the fullest admission into all the civil and political offices of the country, but let us not give up an establishment. We hail their free and equal participation with us in the politics of the country: but we can never consent that the people of this country shall be thrown loose like the people of America, and that ten thousand churches should be pulled down, and their place left to be supplied by the precarious exertions of separate and individual societies." The "Hints on Toleration" was the work of a dissenter, animated by Lord Sidmouth's project of meddling with the Toleration Act, and imposing a further restrictions upon Dissenters by exacting higher qualifications from their religious teachers, and by interdicting an itinerant ministry. Before Mr. Chalmers's review of this volume appeared, it had already formed the subject of an article in the Edinburgh Review (see vol. xvii. p. 393).

† "Note. We certainly could have wished that the peculiar doctrines of the gospel had been more explicitly noticed; that we had not merely been made to recognize their influence throughout the practical discussions of the volume, but that they had been more openly announced, and more emphatically stated. In our extracts, indeed, we observe such a spirit pervading them as nothing could have inspired but a strong and cordial impression of Christian truth. But to give a prominency to that truth, to impress it particularly and broadly and frequently into view is attended with great advantages, more particularly of its

when Dr. Chalmers transferred the critique from the pages of the "Instructor" into the series of his works, the original note of Dr. Thomson was retained and appropriated. The following entry in his Journal marks the impression made at the time of its first appearance:—"*July* 22.—My review of Charters's Sermons has appeared in the 'Christian Instructor,' with such a note from the editor as it certainly required."

But let us take up now the Journal of 1811, which marks Mr. Chalmers's advancing progress towards a secure establishment in the faith of the gospel, and which records the first efforts of a ministry which now had a new motive and a new end.

"*Jan.* 1, 1811.—Made a round of new-year calls. Let me lay myself out for the happiness of those around me, and make every sacrifice, whether of vanity or indolence, to the perfect fulfilment of Christian love. Let me give a regular time every night to self-examination.—O God, make me to live to Thy glory. May I be clothed with the armour of religion; may I grow more and more in the right principles and practice of Thy Son's gospel; and as years roll over me, may I withdraw my affections from time, and feel that in moving through the world I am moving towards eternity.

"*Sunday, Jan.* 6.—Began my course of lectures on St. Matthew. A great party from Naughton there, and Miss St. Clair expressed her high satisfaction with my sermon. Let me resist vanity, repose all my complacency on the approbation of God, and convert the agreeable feelings which spring from the favourable testimony of man into a topic of grateful humility to that Being on whom all is suspended. Spent an evening of entire solitude, and have to thank God for the peacefulness of His Sabbaths.

"*Jan.* 7.—A review of this day sends home to my conviction the futility of resting a man's hope of salvation upon mere obedience; that there is no confidence but in Christ; that the best security, in fact, for the performance of our duties is that faith which worketh by love, and which, under the blessing of God, will carry us to a height of moral excellence that a mere principle of duty, checked and disappointed as it must often be

immediate effect on the instructions in which it is exhibited. And though we entirely disapprove of that ostentatious way in which some bring forward the characteristic truths of Christianity, we are persuaded that the other extreme of keeping them very much out of sight, is not justifiable on any good ground."—See Christian Instructor, vol. iii. p. 52; and Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. xii. p. 320. For Dr. Chalmers' final estimate of Dr. Charters's Sermons, see Posthumous Works, vol. ix. p. 383.

in its efforts after an unattainable perfection, could never have reached.

"*Jan.* 17.—Mr. Smith, preacher, and Mr. Edie of Gibliston, came in upon me at dinner. The latter left me soon, but the former, with Mr. Edie of Kilmany, drank tea, supped, and spent the evening. In the expectation of the first Mr. Edie remaining with me all night, I was unmanly enough to look forward with cowardice to family worship. It is very true that the circumstance of having no family makes it appear in rather an awkward light among young men. I believe that upon the principle of not having my good evil spoken of, I may dispense with it on some occasions. On this subject I am not decided.

"*Jan.* 20.—Preached at Leuchars. Must enter more earnestly and particularly into the peculiar doctrines; and pray God that He would add to my zeal and usefulness.

"O God, may I grow in grace, and feel more and more the sovereign efficacy of a Christian faith in giving consolation to my heart and purity to my obedience.

"*Jan.* 21.—My friends from Anster arrived in a chaise to dinner.—Thank God for the peaceful and pleasurable state of feeling which I enjoy. May I not be deceived by appearances; may I take heed lest I fall; and, O God, may the peace and the love and the joy within me be the fruits of Thy Spirit, and always abide with me.

"*Jan.* 23.—Found Miss M. at my house. She dined with us, and I was sorry to see that she had not the cheerfulness I should have liked to have seen her in. There is a high call on me to give myself up to another's comfort, and I should have struggled to be frank with her in spite of the untuned state of my feelings. How much did the Saviour endure to give that very comfort which she stands in need of! In all these cases let me maintain my patience; let me repose on the greatness of eternity; and let the grandeur of religious objects absorb the petty vexations of time.

"*Jan.* 28.—Miss Mary Wood, from Elie, called and spent the day with us. We had much conversation about religion; and, O God, may I grow every day in faith and in charity. Was much distressed by the cutting insinuations of the *Edinburgh Review;* and may I henceforth maintain a most strenuous devotion to ecclesiastical literature, that I may be enabled to repel them. Their observations on prophecy are highly dangerous.*

* See Edinburgh Review, vol. vii. p. 95.

"*Jan.* 30.—I am certainly obliged to Miss Wood. Through her I have enlarged my observations on religious sentiments. I have imbibed a higher respect for the peculiar doctrines. I feel more cordially than ever that my sufficiency is of Christ, and that faith in Him is the most comprehensive principle of practice.

"*Feb.* 4.—J. M.'s daughter came to my kitchen in my absence, and conducted herself in a rude and impudent style on the score of my inattention to her parents. This is unjust and ungrateful. Let me show my sense of it, but let my benevolence in relieving them be as active as ever.

"*Sunday, Feb.* 10.—Preached all day. Hear from Mr. Thomson that Mrs. Bethune is delighted with my orthodoxy. This is so far satisfactory; but let me rise above the temptation of human praise, and give the whole counsel of God without partiality. J. still an invalid; and I must bring my mind up to all the possibilities. May resignation to the Divine will and the grandeur of eternity never fail to give strength under all the visitations of life.

"*Feb.* 14.—Rode over to Dairsie, and preached a fast-sermon there. Was much pleased with Dr. Macculloch's edifying and evangelical prayer. The people were most attentive; and I was gratified with the approbation of Dr. and Mrs. Macculloch, and Mrs. Coutts—a kind of testimony that two years ago I would have despised.

"*Feb.* 22.—Have begun to read Scott's 'Force of Truth;' and I pray God to beget in me a lively acquiescence in the truth as it is in Jesus.

"*Sunday, Feb.* 24.—Preached all day. I am not sufficiently intelligible to the lower orders, and must study to be perspicuous and impressive in my addresses to them. Mr. Justice, from Dundee, was one of my hearers, and dined with me. Teach me the act of extracting piety from everything around me. Accept, O God, my gratitude for the peacefulness of thy Sabbaths. Give me light and comfort in prayer. Strengthen and settle me in the principles of the knowledge of Christ; and, well-grounded in the faith, may I feel that instead of making void the law, it establishes it; and may I go on with comfort and security to the diligent observance of all Thy commandments. He that observes the least of these commandments, and teaches men so, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

"*Feb.* 26.—The verse, Acts xxvi. 18, has struck me this night as a compendious expression of Christianity—the object of

which is to give forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified, by faith that is in Jesus.

"*March* 4.—Spent the day in experimenting upon the cutting of my hedge for fuel. This was trifling with a witness, and exemplifies one part of my character—the entire devotion of my mind to any novelty which interests it, so as to suspend all regular occupation in the pursuit of it.

"*March* 6.—I have had a complete cessation of all regular study these three days back, and what has been the mighty avocation?—preparing and experimenting upon wood as a fuel. I have not succeeded in the object; and, at all events, how preposterous to put the main and important business of my life at the mercy of every idle and amusing novelty! Let me adopt the resolution not to go out of doors till one every day, whatever temptation may offer from the work and improvements which are carrying on around me. Began to plant trees on the north side of my intended garden. This abandonment of idleness on my part is an example, not of the growth or victory of principle, but is the effect of being tired, and disappointed, and ashamed of my trifling speculation.

"*March* 7.—Have recurred to systematic employment, and find great comfort in it. Planted trees, and measured out my grass-plot.

"*Sunday, March* 10.—I have too hurried a manner in the pulpit; and it would be of importance for me to be more confident of the effect, and not to make too great an effort from my anxiety to produce a full impression. Have to thank God for the peacefulness of His Sabbaths; and pray that I may prize more and more the excellency of the knowledge of God in Christ Jesus.

"*March* 13.—Now that I have got well, let me devote a great part of my time to the business of my parish; and may it be the main anxiety of my life, O Lord, to promote Thy glory, and to testify the gratitude of my heart for the merciful scheme of reconciliation made known and offered to us in the gospel. May I every day feel a growing interest in the covenant of grace; and let me evince in my own conduct that the doctrine of faith is a doctrine according to godliness.

"*March* 15.—Called on sick people in the village. I am a good deal weaned from the ardour for scientific pursuits; and let me direct my undivided attention to theology.

"*March* 16.—I have brought one year of the Journal to its

close; and though decidedly more religious in my taste, in my temper, in my views, and in my pursuits, I have still much to aspire after. My hourly movements are still too little under its influence; and while I give God all the glory for the progress which has been made, let me not think that I have already attained or am already perfect; but forgetting the things which are past, let me look to the things which are before, and press forward to the prize of my high calling in Christ Jesus.

"There is a defect which I must supply in my Journal. It has hitherto exhibited no record of my studies. I shall still omit my common weekly preparations, but let me mark every day when I begin or finish the perusal of any book; and I find that a second reading should be bestowed upon every important book before I can be said to finish it. Let me also record the commencement and end of every severe composition.

"The following is a rapid sketch of my last year's labours:—

"Read a good deal of mathematics, but have finally abandoned that study, and purpose henceforth an exclusive attention to divinity.

"Read four volumes of Lardner; Newton on the Prophecies; Campbell on the Gospels; Charters's Sermons; Young's Night Thoughts; Paradise Lost; Hints on Toleration, by Philagathrarches; Wilberforce's View of Christianity; Maltby's Illustrations of the Christian Evidence; Scott's Lady of the Lake; Lardner on the Canons of the Old and New Testament; and the Edinburgh Review and Christian Instructor as they came out.

"Wrote a review of Charters's Sermons; great part of a large performance on the Evidences of Christianity; a sermon on Psalm xi. 1; another on Psalm viii. 1; another on Romans iii. 10; and a lecture on Psalm cxxxvii. 1-6; a great many in short-hand for the ordinary supply of my parish, of which I delivered one on 1 Cor. viii. 13,* in the hearing of Dr. Charters, who seemed to be more taken with it than with one that was care-

* The Sermon on Psalm xi. 1, was preached afterwards in Glasgow (I believe, however, upon an emergency), with no other alteration than the prefix of an additional text, and will be found in Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. vi. p. 234. Its descriptive introduction bears comparison with the most eloquent passages in the author's writings; and the whole sermon has a new interest given to it when it is known that it was written after his illness, but before the decisive change. It is, in fact, a record of the transition-period: the retrospect of his own life as taken at that time, given under the title of the Restlessness of Human Ambition. The lecture on Psalm cxxxvii. 1-6, and the sermon on Romans iii. 10, will be found in Dr. Chalmers's Posthumous Works, vol. vi. pp. 91, 162. The short-hand sermon on 1 Cor. viii. 13, was made the basis of a composition for Glasgow, which will be found in his Works, vol. ix. p. 319.

fully written; a speech for Dr. Playfair, which I delivered at the Synod; and part of a review of Hints on Toleration,—in all about thirty-four sheets of closely-written paper. My weekly allowance in this way is one sheet; but let me allow eighteen weeks for the avocations of duty or amusements.

"O God, may I number my days so as to apply my heart to wisdom. Grant me the guidance of Thy Spirit, and the joys of Thy salvation. May my delight, O Lord, be in Thy law, and may eternity be ever present to my recollection and my feelings. Time is short; and as years revolve over me, may I learn to prize as the truest of all wisdom, the wisdom of the gospel. I am in Thy hand, O God. If Thou pleasest to add another year to my pilgrimage below, may it witness my progress in the faith and charity of the New Testament. Make me to feel a clear union with Thee in Christ. May I taste the joys of Thy chosen, and rejoice in the contemplation of that everlasting crown which is laid up for all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and in truth. May I be faithful in the duties of my calling, and may the care of the souls of my people engross more of my time and prayers and strenuous application. All I ask is for the sake of Him to whom, with Thee and the Holy Spirit, I give all the praise and all the glory.—Amen.

"*Sunday, March* 17.—From this day I have added the reading of a chapter to my family worship. I have also begun the New Testament in Greek, and must revive my acquaintance with that language by reading a small portion every night.

"*March* 18.—Went to Murdochcairney at the special desire of Miss Henderson, and dined there. She anticipates death, and complains of her want of confidence in the power of the atonement.—O God, give me judgment and delicacy for the management of such important cases. May I be the mean of comfort and conversion to sinners; and dissipate, O Lord, the cloud which overhangs my own feelings. I understand the significancy of what the psalmist calls waiting on the Lord; and this evening I feel a peace, and love, and joy, for which I praise the Giver of every good and perfect gift. On my return from Murdochcairney called at Star Farm, and drank tea with Mr. Johnston.

"*March* 21.—Preached a fast-day sermon. Had a collection for the Bible Society, and can perceive a contempt or disinclination for this proceeding on the part of Mr. ——. Let me carry

through what is right and religious in opposition to every discouragement.

"*Sunday, March* 31.—Preached what Mrs. Bethune would call a legal sermon, and be probably offended with. Let me not seek after the approbation of men; but, at the same time, let me practise every expedient for reconciling the minds of my hearers to what I conceive to be sound and scriptural. By insisting upon holiness as the fruit of the Spirit, I soften down the opposition to practical preaching.

"*April* 4.—Finished this day my critique of the Hints on Toleration, and sent it off to Edinburgh. Began a speech for the Synod. Wrote some strong severities about Hill, and felt myself in a divided state of sentiment about their propriety, when in comes a most civil and obliging letter from himself in answer to one sent him about Charles. This disarms me, and I have resolved to soften some expressions and expunge others. This is a highly instructive affair. I had nearly deluded myself into a conviction of the propriety of my invective. The civility from him does not affect this propriety, but it affects my personal feelings, and I perceive how much self carries it over principle. The best rule is in every case to dispense, when possible, with all mixture of rancour or severity against individuals.

"*April* 18.—A foul stormy day, and no intercourse with people abroad. I this day finished my perusal of Lardner's 'Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies.' . . . Let me not lay my account with much happiness in the world. Let me view the present life as a preparation for heaven, and make an entire dedication of my mind to the faith and righteousness of the gospel.—O God, I implore Thy Spirit.

"*April* 23.—I am sensible of a growing acquiescence in the peculiar doctrines of the gospel as a scheme of reconciliation for sinners.

"*April* 27.—Got a letter from Mr. Kay of St. Andrews this morning, intimating the death of my poor brother David. Sent an express to Anster upon the subject. The ladies very much distressed.*

"*April* 29.—This has been a day of a very dark complexion. It rained incessantly, and came in in torrents through the east wall. This enough of itself to induce great discomfort; but when combined with the interior distress of the family, the extreme weakness of ——, the melancholy of ——, the cheerless

* David was captain of the ship Neptune, and died at sea, April 19, 1811.

insipidity and gloom of Miss M.'s temperament, and the high excitement of my own feelings, goaded, as they were, by reflections upon the conduct of the tradesmen,—all together formed a fine subject for the exercise and the triumph of Christian principle. I have to record the humiliation of my defeat. I did not act, or think, or express myself, as if I were born to live for others, and give up my own selfishness and my own gratification in the service of the gospel.

"*May* 1.—Got a present from Mr. Tait of Tealing of a sermon published by him upon the conversion of the Jews, with a complimentary note. This indicates a growing partiality for me on the part of the evangelical clergy.

"*May* 15.—Looked at Walker's Sermons, and promise myself a great confirmation of evangelical principles from this publication.

"*May* 17.—I am much taken with an observation in Walker, that we are *commanded* to believe on the Son of God, which gives us the high authority of heaven to plead against the charge of presumption in cherishing and maintaining the faith of the gospel.

"*Sunday, May* 19.—Preached twice this forenoon. Mr. T. rated me on my two sermons in summer, but let me brave the imputation of zeal in the good cause of religion.

"*May* 20.—Got Hannah More on 'Practical Piety,' and hope, under the blessing of God, that the perusal of this work may be the means of sanctification and growth in grace.

"*May* 24.—A French prisoner, Mr. Bataille, appeared before my door this forenoon, and conversed with the tradesmen. I brought him in, and he dined and drank tea with us. I would feel exposure to such intrusions to be grievous indeed; and my vanity aggravates the grievance, by perceiving that he was brought here by the tradesmen, who conceive a minister to be the idlest of men, who can give his whole time to entertainment. A great part of my disquietude lies in the apprehensions of my fancy. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

"*May* 31.—Rain without any abatement whatever, and no intercourse whatever with people abroad. Much may be done in solitude by prayer, and thought, and self-control. Examined a Bible Society report, and am strongly impressed with the value of this institution. Finished the perusal of Dr. Hardie's Sermons.

"*June* 1.—My aunt and Jane returned from Naughton. The experience of the last week convinces me that solitude at home

is my element, and supplies a strong argument against matrimony. In the independence of my resources, in the pleasurable trains of reflection which nothing occurred to interrupt, in the call to exertion to fill up the intervals of my time, and in my entire exemption from all that irksomeness and corrosion to which the offensive peculiarities of others are too apt to expose me,—I believe that quietness and solitude at home would add much to my usefulness as a public character. It is my duty to do all for the comfort of those under my roof, and to weather the trial of my patience, now that I am fairly embarked in it. But it may come to be a serious question in after-life, when any new arrangement in my housekeeping is proposed to me, what I should do. If, in point of fact, I feel less consumption of strength and of spirit in solitude, should not I keep it all entire for my professional duties; or should I give way to the wishes of my friends? I feel the selfishness of consulting my own ease, and the deceit which may mingle with my calculations. But the truth is, they wish me to marry. It is not their own accommodation they want; it is their idea of my incapacity for housekeeping that prompts their arrangements. I do not feel this incapacity; and upon the principle of consulting my own soul in every good work, should not I come to a frank explanation, if ever any new arrangement be proposed to me? Let me stick by Jane, and in every other way, but in that of fettering myself with a constant housekeeper, let me spare no manifestation of friendship and regard for my other relations. If the offensive peculiarities of others be so apt to distress me, why hazard my future tranquillity upon a wife?

"I do not acquit myself of blame in this morbid sensibility, and fear that there may be more of what is unchristian in it than I am aware of.—O God, enable me to give my whole life to public usefulness.

"*Sunday, June* 2.—Far more successful to-day, and pray God that I may never remit my vigilance. Preached in the forenoon, and Mr. Thomson in the afternoon. I find that I am too much hurried away by my keenness. Let me prepare less, write more concisely, and deliver myself in a more cool and deliberate manner for the future. Sat out of doors in the afternoon, where I read, and enjoyed the luxury of most delicious weather.

"*June* 4.—I find that successful exertion is a powerful mean of exhilaration, which discharges itself in good humour upon others. This furnishes a double call upon industry.

"*June* 6.—Am much impressed with Hannah More's chapter upon Self-Examination.

"*June* 10.—I am delighted with the first chapter of Colossians. May I grow in grace and in habitual piety.

"*June* 14.—I am still engaged with Hannah More, and pray that God would perpetuate the good impressions I receive from her.

"*June* 17.—Mr. Bataille called with another French gentleman, Mr. Desperet, a medical man, who is far more pleasant and cultivated than the former. I had a long walk with them in the forenoon, and they dined and spent the afternoon. I have been perhaps too cordial in my invitations. I have asked them for next Friday; but, as the doctor wished to see Janet Grieve, there was a reason for it; and, in the meantime, I have restricted them to after one o'clock, and expressed my disinclination to numerous parties, so that I purpose to decline all further extension of my acquaintance with the officers at Cupar. The point of difficulty at present is Mr. Bataille, who drank too freely, and whose principle in coming out, I am afraid, is to secure to himself the mere gratifications of the tippling-house. This is coarse and degrading, and must be discouraged. I had purposed to give him money for purchasing clothes. I must be a little further acquainted with him. Perhaps the same money laid out in maintaining a moderate hospitality may do as much good, and be less hurtful to the feelings of gentlemen. In the meantime, let me not be so unbounded in my speculations while I am in debt. My first duty is not to owe. I may vacillate in my purposes, but let me at least adhere to every good purpose recorded in this Journal as fixed and determined upon. I must see further before I record anything as to Mr. Bataille.

"There is a vast degree of self-conceit in the ecstatic feeling kindled by romantic generosity. The discipline of my hourly feelings is a far more unquestionable evidence of right principle.

"*June* 19.—When a human being is in sight, let the idea occur to me that he is a subject for the exercise of duty, and put myself on the alert.

"*June* 22.—Messrs. Thomas and David Duncan and Dr. Ramsay came and dined with us, and left us in the afternoon. Upon the idea that they were to stay all night, I have to record that I was distressed, and had come to no determination about family worship. Had much pleasurable feeling all day; but let me never forget that self-denial is the first principle of Christian

practice. Mr. Duncan brought a flaming account of my orthodoxy from Dundee through Mr. Miller, who was, it seems, delighted with it. Gave Mr. D. my review on Toleration to read. He was languid in his praise; and I rejoice in my growing indifference to it.

"*June* 27.—Walked to Dysart, with a view to spend the night at Mr. Brotherstone's. Missed him, and went to the heavenly Muirhead, with whom and his kindred wife I spent a night of elevation and piety.

"*July* 3.—I never had a more close, edifying, and satisfying faith in Christ, than I had this day. O God, may I hold fast my confidence and the rejoicing of my hope firm unto the end.

"*July* 4.—Rather better to-day. Looked into the Confession of Faith, and am resolved to give it an attentive perusal. Have begun a course of prayer with Janet Grieve, which I mean to persevere in.—O God, may I give my whole heart to the work of the ministry; and enable me to discharge its various duties with zeal and discretion.*

"*July* 6.—Prayed with young Alexander Paterson.†

"*July* 8.—After some miscellaneous employment in the forenoon, such as bestowing sessional relief, and visiting Alexander Paterson ministerially, I dined and went off to Dundee.

"*July* 10.—Mr. James Anderson, Dr. Ramsay, and his mother, dined with us to-day at Mr. Duncan's. Mr. Anderson a most promising subject, and a kindred spirit in matters of theology. Brought forward my Christianity after dinner; and should let a judicious and enlightened zeal for its interests be the guiding principle of all my conduct and all my conversation.

"*July* 17.—I went too far in my dissatisfaction with ——. I feel humbled, and ask with tears for pardon and reformation. May I be strengthened, O Lord, by Thy glorious might to all patience, with long-suffering and joyfulness.

"*July* 18.—Began Richard Baxter's 'Body of Practical Divinity,' which I mean to make my devotional reading in the evenings; and I pray God that I may be ready to submit in all things, and give my whole heart to the business of salvation, both as it respects my own soul and that of those who are com-

* On the 15th of this month he wrote thus to his brother James:—"The truth is, that a minister, if he gives his whole heart to his business, finds employment for every moment of his existence; and I am every day getting more in love with my professional duties, and more penetrated with a sense of their importance."

† See "The Missionary of Kilmany; being a Memoir of Alexander Paterson, with Notices of Robert Edie." By the Rev. John Baillie. Constable and Co., Edinburgh.

mitted to me. Must be more earnest and more particular in the performance of every part of my duty. Prayed with Janet Grieve.

"*July* 20.—Mr. Anderson came over from Dundee, and spent the day with me. Fatigued myself with reading too much to him. He is an excellent subject for peculiar Christianity.

"*Sunday, July* 21.—Preached all day, and am much fatigued by the exertion. Find that I have still to grow in faith, and that the exclusive honour and sufficiency of Christ must be a more constant and habitual feeling of my heart. Let the fruit I bear be all from Him as my vine.

"*July* 26.—After tea, Professor Leslie called and spent the night with me. I thank God for supporting me in my good determination to have family worship.

"*Sunday, July* 28.—Preached in the afternoon, and am very little fatigued by it. Was under excitement in the morning, but was sweetened and subdued as the day advanced; and I feel that much is due to the state of my physical sensations; but, O my God, hear the prayers which I have uttered, and make my repentance of all that is uncharitable within me sincere and effectual. Give me a thorough submission to Thy law and Thy ordinances; and leaning on Christ as my complete salvation, may I look to Him with faith for my deliverance from the punishment of sin through the power of His sacrifice, and for my deliverance from its power through the influences of His Spirit.

"*July* 30.— . . . The French gentlemen and Mr. Brown of Galdry dined. Mr. Melvil of Newton joined us at tea. Bataille got literally drunk, and presented a spectacle most offensive and degrading. He is sick, and must stay all night. This puts an end to all further attentions towards him. Desperet left me for Cupar, and to him I may be attentive.

"*July* 31.—Mr. Desperet came back this morning, and took Mr. Bataille to Cupar with him after breakfast. I gave the former a full exposition of my feelings upon the subject. I am much delighted with Baxter's observations about scrupulosity and vows. Let me be most cautious as to the latter; and with a strong determination to be guided by the law and Spirit of God in all things, let me commit myself to His Providence, and be regulated by the circumstances which occur.

"*Sunday, August* 4.—Let me give my whole strength to the conversion and edification of my people. Mr. Duncan from Dundee came and spent the day with us.

"*August* 7.—This my fast day. Messrs. Fleming and Melvil preached; and I have to record that, though more attentive than ever, my conscience was never more tender at the interruptions which my mind suffered from the encroachments of worldly calculation.

"O God, may the solemn dedication I made of myself yesterday, when in mind and in prayer I testified my acceptance of Thee as my owner, of Christ as my atonement, of the Spirit as my sanctifier, be ever present to my feelings, and be followed up by my whole life and heart and behaviour.

"*August* 8.—Re-examined a great many communicants; and I pray God for the origin and progress of religion in their souls. O fit me for the great charge of guiding them to the way of peace. I am much fatigued with my exertions, and with the prospect of duty.

"*Sunday, August* 11.—This the day of my Sacrament; and though there be great room for future progress, yet I thank God for the progress that has been made, and pray that He would chase all presumption away from my gratitude. Much fatigued with my preparations and exertions together, and let me henceforth separate them. Let me prepare for my future Sacraments a long time before they come round, and, when they do come round, give my whole strength to the examination of communicants, the state of my own heart, and the impressive communication of my feelings at the time of delivery. Let me also be less profuse in my invitations to company. We had twenty-two at dinner; let me rather bestow my attention upon my parishioners another time. The relief which I now feel is another proof of the extravagance of my anticipations. The thing is far more formidable in foresight than in reality. I might have saved my mind a number of its anxieties, and the experience of every month supports the μὴ μεριμνᾶτε of Revelation. O my God, bless this sacrament; and in my own heart, as well as that of my people, may its impression remain to the latest hour of our existence.

"*August* 12.—Messrs. Kid and Macculloch preached; and at dinner we had Messrs. Melvil, Macculloch, Kid, Fleming, and Thomson; Mrs. Melvil and Mrs. Coutts, and Misses Morton, Collyer, and Henderson. I was so fatigued that I did not pay the active attentions I would have been disposed to do. I feel it my duty to be cheerful, and to adorn the doctrine of my Saviour with all that is winning in kindness and enjoyment.

"*August* 13.—O God, give me the love of my brother, and the charity which endureth. May I grow in the knowledge of God; and may His reality and His relation to me be more intimately impressed upon my heart.

"*August* 14.—From a Report of the Baptist Missionaries I am much impressed with the worth and utility of these Christians.

"*August* 23.—I was thrown off my guard by a written application from Miss Bethune to my sister, requesting that I would take the forenoon of Sunday for the accommodation of her visitors. This I greatly dislike. It was the previous arrangement betwixt me and Mr. T., that I preach in the forenoon, else I should not have done it.—O God, save me from carrying my antipathies to the length of uncharitableness.

"*August* 26.—Resumed my work on Christianity, after a cessation of five months. Finished the second perusal of Prideaux's 'Connexion.'—O God, fit me for suffering, for taking up my cross, for living a life of faith on the Son of God; and by submitting to Christ as He is offered in the gospel, may I become a fit subject for the influences of the Spirit. Mr. Craik of Kennoway called in the evening, and spent the night with me. Mr. Robert Edie supped, Mr. John Patrick and Miss Mary Wood called for a few minutes in a chaise, and took a luncheon with me. A deep sense of God and of eternity is the best protection against embarrassment or fearfulness in the presence of men. When I do what is doubtful, the painful reflection should be a strong and effectual argument against the repetition of it. Pardon my sins, O God, and may I never couple faith in the atonement of Christ with a feeling of security in the violation of a single commandment. O God, grant Thy Spirit to work in me the work of faith *with power*.

"*August* 27.—Had a most agreeable letter from Mr. James Anderson, which, I trust, will be the commencement of a series devoted to intimate improving and confidential interchange of sentiments on the highest of all subjects. Received a box from London containing some relics and memorials of poor David, to be forwarded to Anster. I thank God for the peace and love and joy of this day.

"*August* 28.—Wrote James Anderson. Began this day to read the 'Life of Henry.'—O God, whatever I do may I do it to Thy glory, and may I look for acceptance only through the finished obedience of the Mediator.

"*Sept.* 3.—Went to the Presbytery; had a pleasant greeting with Macculloch. Did business with Mr. Kid and others. Mr. Wilkie, the celebrated painter, my old and intimate friend, dined with us, and I supped and spent the evening with him in Low's.

"*Sept.* 4.—Met Peter Cleghorn, and took leave of him and Mr. Wilkie in the forenoon. I said a little about my authorship to Mr. Wilkie, but feel that my interest has subsided strongly upon this subject, and may it do so with every earthly object.

"*Sept.* 5.—I am much impressed with the 'Life of Henry,' and the magnitude of his labours.—O God, give me grace to put forth all my strength in Thy service.*

"*Sunday, Sept.* 8.—I am advancing in my conceptions of the mighty importance of my office, and that every minute should be devoted to its labours. O God, give me health and firmness to carry my purposes into execution.

"*Sept.* 9.—Rode to Rathillet, and visited a son of Widow Crichton's, apparently in the last stage of consumption. O God, give me discretion and judgment and zeal in the management of these cases. May I pray with faith. I gave her sessional assistance. It may be the natural ungraciousness of her manner, but I am not sure that she received it well, and you may carry your offers of money to a degree that is offensive. Better not to be too forward in these offers. It is right to keep alive delicacy; and an exuberant facility in giving may induce an improper dependence among the poor. Presents in kind are not so liable to exception; and that most substantial of all benevolence, which has for its object the turning of many unto righteousness, is liable to no exception whatever. O God, may I devote my entire soul to the good work.

"*Sept.* 10.—Received Bible Reports, and am much impressed with the utility of these institutions. O God, may Thy work be my delight. Ground me in the faith, and give me the zeal to devote myself wholly to these things.

"*Sept.* 11.—I have some conceptions afloat on the subject of making efforts for the Bible Society. I was particularly dull in prayer this evening, and may I struggle to obtain some portion here of what is to be my joy hereafter, the light of the Divine

* "You may tell my father that I have at length come into his opinion that the peculiar business of his profession demands all the time, all the talents, and all the energy that any minister is possessed of."—Letter to his mother, dated September 5, 1811. (In connexion with this, see pp. 46, 47.)

countenance, and an intimate sense of what is godly and spiritual.

"*Sept.* 13.—I have begun Baxter's 'Call to the Unconverted,' and intend it for circulation.

"*Sunday, Sept.* 15.—Let me keep cool and moderate in my pulpit exhibitions. It would be desirable not to throw away my ability for the thoughts and exercises of the Sabbath evening.

"*Sept.* 18.—I finished my perusal of the New Testament a few days ago, and began it again at the rate of a chapter every week-day, with the particular view of committing the most remarkable passages to memory.

"*Sept.* 21.—J. H. came and spent the night. I did right in upholding my views on religion to him, but I did wrong in solacing my appetite for sympathy and justice by my statements about the P.'s. O God, give me that indifference to time and that faith to eternity which is satisfied by committing itself to Thee. I feel how deficient I am, how the atonement of Christ is the only foundation; but oh, give me the evidence of my interest in this atonement by the test and the consequence insisted upon in the Bible—'He that hath this hope in Him purifieth himself, even as Christ is pure.'

"*Sept.* 28.—Fell in with David Wilkie, the eminent painter, at Cupar, and went out with him to Cults, where I spent the day. Lord Leven, Dr. Martin, and a bevy of ladies called on Mr. Wilkie.

"*Sunday, Sept.* 29.—Preached at Cults to an attentive audience. I tried to impress my peculiar views on Mr. D. Wilkie. O my God, restore me to the light of Thy countenance, and unite me with Christ by faith! May I see in my own imperfections that there is no dependence on myself. I repair to that fountain which is opened in the house of Judah for sin and for uncleanness, and give me the evidence that I am saved from its punishment by saving me from its power.

"*Sept.* 30.—Called at Pitlessie on Mr. Lister. A flow of female company at Cults to see Mr. Wilkie's paintings. I left there at one, and walked to Cupar.

"*Oct.* 1.—Confined all day with bad weather. Have resolved to take my studies more easily, and not restrict myself so much to stated employments. Composition in the forenoon, and the study of the Bible in the original, are the only two exercises in which I propose to be pointedly regular. The reading of English I

leave at large; and I pray God that as my health improves I may give it to His service.

"*Oct.* 4.—In addition to my usual employments, I filled up the day with the reading of Marmion, and at evening never wanted warmth and liveliness in prayer to such a degree. My mind was greatly exhausted. Finished some days ago Baxter's Call and Henry's Life, and have begun Macknight's Credibility.

"*Oct.* 7.—Employed the forenoon in a critique of some verses which Mr. Mudie submitted to me. Erred in disclosing the affair to Charles. It was a breach of confidence. O that principle gave direction to all I did and said and wished! In this way only will my earthly business be made to have a savour of heaven, and the great bulk of my time have a reference to religion and God and eternity. O God, give me the victory.

"*Oct.* 9.—I am not in my element where work and workpeople are concerned. May I sit loose to the interests of the world, and give my heart here to that praise and love and contemplation of God which is to form my employment hereafter. The habitual estrangement of our minds from Him is the decisive evidence of our natural corruption and of our need of redemption by the blood of Jesus, and sanctification by that Spirit which He gives to all who believe on Him.

"*Oct.* 14.—Called on Janet Grieve. I imagine that my attentions had induced the expectation that I would pay their doctor's account. I conceive them able to pay it: I think myself right in not making the offer. The object of my kindness should not be to secure their good opinion by coming up to their expectations, but to do them good. Let the attainment of this object be enough for me, and let me not be discouraged by the want of gratitude or the want of applause. O God, refine and elevate and sanctify all my principles. Went to Dundee with Charles, and spent the evening in Mr. Duncan's.

"*Oct.* 15.—Called on Mr. Anderson, and walked much with him in the forenoon. Dr. Ramsay and Mr. William dined with us. Had much congenial discourse with James Anderson, who, I hope, is in the way of being a decided Christian. Met Mr. Mudie, who feels cold, I think, from the freedom of my critiques upon his poetry.

"*Oct.* 17.—Left Dundee after breakfast. Visited Janet Grieve.*

* On the evening of this day he wrote to his mother:—"I called and prayed with Janet

"*Oct.* 18.—Called on Janet Grieve.—O God, let me give my whole life to Thy service, and to the preparation of a people for eternity.

"*Oct.* 19.—Visited Janet Grieve twice. She died at three o'clock.

"*Sunday, Oct.* 20.—Mr. Gillespie and a number of his friends in church, on which I substituted an elaborate sermon in place of my lecture, and was not supported by the sympathy or intelligence of my hearers. Have still too little command of myself, and very much exhausted in the evening. . . . I have more of the quiescent spirit about me than I had, but let me cultivate the habit of reposing upon eternity.

"*Oct.* 23.—Alexander Robertson supped with us. How little are the thoughts and words employed about the things of eternity in familiar intercourse. Let me make this a distinct object, and mix discretion with zeal. Let me not be ashamed.

"*Oct.* 24.—I was defective in prayer this evening. I pray for the continued visitation of the Divine Spirit. I feel more than ever that my rest is upon the sacrifice, and my sanctification is the work of Him who, by His obedience, purchased gifts for all who believe on Him.

"*Oct.* 25.—Charles left me this morning for Flisk. Messrs. Duncan and Mudie called from Dundee, the former of whom spent the day with me. A most brilliant day, and a number of huntsmen in sight. There is a wisdom required of us in conversation about religion; but it is most lamentable that it should be so much excluded from the topics of familiar intercourse. Why should not the things of eternity form the most interesting subject of the converse and sympathy of immortal beings?—O God, give direction to this part of my conduct. I may at least divest myself of that playful familiarity which takes off from the effect of my principles. Let my manner speak seriousness and elevation, but let it at the same time be kind, and affectionate, and cheerful. This would be a great victory over myself."

In the course of this autumn, Mr. Chalmers's capacity for housekeeping, of which he was himself so confident, was extensively tried. In prospect of her approaching marriage, his sister Jane, who was his favourite housekeeper, had gone to Anstruther, and left him for a month or two in entire solitude at the manse.

Grieve this afternoon. She is in greater distress than I have seen her, but her faith and resignation make my attentions to her a pleasant exercise."

He was the sole manager of his domestic establishment when Mr. Duncan and Mr. Mudie came in upon him from Dundee. Retiring, shortly after they made their appearance, in order to hold a private consultation as to the important article of dinner, he found, to his dismay, that there was nothing whatever in the house but two separate parcels of salt fish. Having given particular directions that a portion of each should be boiled apart from the other, he joined his friends, and went out to enjoy the brilliant day, and the pleasant sight of the hunting field. They returned to the manse with racy appetites; the dinner was served—two large and most promising covered dishes flourishing at the head and foot of the table. "And now, gentlemen," said the host, as the covers were removed, "you have variety to choose among: that is hard fish from St. Andrews, and this is hard fish from Dundee."

Fifteen years afterwards, when preaching in Edinburgh to a vast assemblage, all hanging with breathless attention upon his lips, the autumnal hunting scene was thus reproduced:—"There sits a somewhat ancestral dignity and glory on this favourite pastime of joyous old England, when the gallant knighthood, and the hearty yeomen, and the amateurs or virtuosos of the chase, and the full-assembled jockeyship of half a province, muster together, in all the pride and pageantry of their great emprise; and the panorama of some noble landscape, lighted up with autumnal clearness from an unclouded heaven, pours fresh exhilaration into every blithe and choice spirit of the scene, and every adventurous heart is braced and impatient for the hazards of the coming enterprise; and even the high-breathed coursers catch the general sympathy, and seem to fret in all the restiveness of their yet checked and irritated fire till the echoing horn shall set them at liberty." Lord Elcho's huntsman was among the crowd, and afterwards declared that "he had difficulty in restraining himself from getting up, and giving a 'Vue-holla!'"*

"*Oct.* 26.—Walked with Mr. Duncan to Rathillet. Mr. Mudie came and dined with us; and both gentlemen left me after dinner for Dundee.

"*Sunday, Oct.* 27.—The people very attentive to my exposition of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard.† Spent the

* See Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. xi. p. 255; and the exquisite Biographical Notice of Dr. Chalmers read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, by the Very Rev. E. B. Ramsay, &c.

† This exposition is to be found in the Introductory Essay prefixed to Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.—See Works, vol. xiii. p. 117.

whole night by myself. Christ could spend a whole night in prayer. Let me not feel intervals of inoccupation, when I have the faith of the gospel, communion with God, and a recurrence of the mind to the sure though invisible objects of eternity as my unfailing resource.—O that my mind could at all times find satisfaction in the solitude of pious and devotional feelings, and feel enough to occupy it in that life which is hid with Christ in God.

"*Oct.* 28.—After dinner Mr. R., M., and two of Mr. R.'s cousins came in, and I entertained them till after supper. The society is not congenial; and, in general, those hours which you cannot devote to religious conversation may be considered as so many blanks in the existence of an immortal being. Oh, if I could have the right zeal and the right management upon this subject. How few, in your intercourse with the world, can be addressed directly on religion! Give me intrepidity,—give me superiority to shame, and give me wisdom in my walk with those that are without. What would I have done had these young men remained all night! I hope in the strength of God what I should have done. Let me at least give such hours to the exercise of the Christian virtues. Give me exemption from vanity, selfishness, and display. Give me the manner which conciliates, the kindness which procures affection, the light which shineth in edification before men, and which illustrates not myself, but my religion. Let me not press drinking so much. I have long had the vanity of being thought a good fellow. On the other hand, I may disgust by an appearance of parsimony.—O for discretion amid all these possibilities, and for that wisdom which is given to all who ask it in faith.

"*Nov.* 1.—Mr. Matthew supped, and asked the favour of a horse wintering in my field. As it is only one, and as I have been much obliged to Mr. Matthew, I acceded to the proposal, though it is perhaps one of those civilities that you are less disposed to grant, on account of the benefit received not being equal to the injury sustained by the poaching of my glebe in that wet season of the year. But let me count anxiety on these points one of those weights which I must throw aside. Had a most superior composition from James Anderson on our mutual subject—religion.

"*Sunday*, *Nov.* 3.—Rode to Dairsie, where I preached two sermons for Dr. Macculloch. There is one circumstance which I have to notice. I felt very blank and dissatisfied at the idea

that something in my sermon did not accord with the sentiments of the people I had an esteem for; and when I afterwards discovered that there was more congeniality than I had imagined, I felt a recurrence of all those pleasurable trains of feeling in which religion has a share, or seems to have a share. Is there no mixture of earthliness in all this—no dependence upon the approbation of men? Have not I one Master, and is not He enough for me?—O God, make me to feel the firmness of the ground I tread upon, and enable me to give all my mind to Thy Word. Above all, may I never recede by a single inch from my Saviour; and may I have a dependence on that within the veil which will sustain me in every trial of human opposition.

"*Nov.* 4.—After much conversation with my excellent friend, Dr. Macculloch, Mrs. Coutts, and the Collyers, whom I called upon at Vantage, I left Dairsie at two o'clock. I was much impressed with Maclaurin's sermon on the Cross of Christ, which I read in part to the Doctor. Called at Logie, and saw Mrs. Melvil: I hope in God that her illness will be sanctified by His grace. Had more intimate communion with God in solitary prayer than I had ever felt before; and my sentiment was a total, an unreserved, and a secure dependence on Christ the Saviour.—O may I enjoy His Cross, and may it be all my glory. May I view every spiritual blessing as the effect of union with Him by faith. He is laid before me as the one and the effectual Mediator. We are not only invited, but commanded to believe. Help our unbelief, O God; dissolve our hardness; enter into our hearts. May Christ be our all, and, under the influence of that which availeth, 'faith working by love,' grant that He may be to us power, and wisdom, and sanctification, and complete redemption.

"*Nov.* 5.—Very bad weather, and no intercourse with people abroad. For some time past there was a languor and a vacuity in my religious feelings, and I attribute the comfort and revival of my mind to the firmer apprehensions which I have obtained of Christ as the Head of the body, and the one Mediator, through whom come down all spiritual blessings upon those who take to Him.—O God, keep me firm in the faith. May I not let it go. May I hold fast my confidence, and the rejoicing of my hope, firm unto the end. Keep me by Thy power through faith unto salvation; and may I receive the end of my faith, the salvation of my soul. O what simple, but significant and impressive energy in the Bible! Give me to examine it with care and

with success. Read Muirhead's 'Account of William Burnet,' and rejoice that I derive clearness, and comfort, and instruction, from what I would have formerly repudiated as the most drivelling fanaticism.

"*Nov.* 8.—I went on to Naughton, where I dined. A great party there, and I maintained firmness better than usual. Let me be free of anxiety about the honour which is from men, and resign myself to the benevolence of the gospel, and I secure two capital ingredients of pleasant manners. However the day be spent externally, in heart and in substance let it be spent with God.

"*Sunday, Nov.* 10.—Preached all day. I pray for the capacity of earnest, distinct, and consistent addresses to the understandings of my people. But let me school it all down. I felt my distance from my Redeemer this evening, but was helped in prayer to a livelier apprehension of Him. O God, may I feel peace with Thee through Jesus Christ our Lord; and let every good sentiment which I utter not be in word only, but in power.

"*Nov.* 11.—Finished this day the perusal of Foster's 'Essays,' which I have read with great relish and excitement. His profoundly evangelical views are most congenial to me. O my God, give me of the fulness of Christ, and keep me through faith unto salvation.

"*Nov.* 12.—May I never lose sight of Christ, that hearing His words, and believing in Him by whom He was sent, I may pass from death unto life. I feel more strongly impressed myself with the importance of His Mediatorship.

"*Sunday, Nov.* 17.—Mr. Thomson has now got into his new church, and the whole office of preaching has devolved upon me.* May I give my most strenuous and unceasing efforts to the great work of preparing a people for eternity. The people attentive.—O God, may Thy Sabbaths be my refreshment and my joy. Much delighted with Porteus's 'Lecture on the Transfiguration.' Had too little command of myself in the pulpit.

"*Nov.* 19.—Left St. Andrews, and breakfasted with Mr. Roger. Got on to Anster to dinner. Found the family in a tolerable

* The Rev. Mr. Thomson was minister of the adjoining parish of Balmerino. While his church was building, the two congregations met in the church of Kilmany, and Mr. Thomson took the half, and during Mr. Chalmer's illness, the whole of the Sabbath services.

way. Let me maintain the temper of a Christian in the peculiar warfare to which I am here exposed."

The following extracts from two letters of a somewhat later date, addressed to a near relative, may help to give the reader a distinct idea of what this peculiar warfare was:—"*Anstruther, Friday Evening, quarter past ten.*—I have sat two hours with my parents this evening, and I trust have acquitted myself to their satisfaction, having answered their every question, and felt a real pleasure in meeting their observations, and helping forward the *crack* with observations of my own. I trust that God will give me His enabling grace, that I may conduct myself with that temper, patience, and attention which become me."—"*Saturday, six in the afternoon.*—I think I am behaving well. I can scarcely force myself to talk when I am inclined to be silent, but I may at least ward off the assaults of anger. Now, this I have done; and while the Eh's? and the What's? reciprocate in full play across the table, and explanations darken rather than clear up the subject, and entanglements of sense thicken and multiply on every side of me, and Aunty Jean tries to help out the matter by the uptakings of her quick and confident discernment, and confusion worse confounded is the upshot of one and all of her interferences—why, even then, I know that it is my duty, and I shall strive to make it my practice, to stand serene amid this war of significations and of cross purposes, and gently to assist the infirmities* which I may be soon called to share in."

"*Sunday, Nov.* 24.—Preached all day in Anstruther, and exerted myself to a degree that was most hurtful. I really must attempt a habit of self-command in the pulpit; my health requires it. What I want above all is delight in God, and an intimate feeling of peace and reconciliation with Him through the blood of Christ.

"*Nov.* 25.—Mr. Clarke had been receiving a most strange account of my sermons from Mr. Cockburn, who, in terms of admiration very uncongenial to my feelings, gave him a most mistaken and vexatious statement of the matter,—as if I had brought forward a formal recantation of all my old errors, had declared my conversion from the pulpit, and astonished the people with my own history and my own experiences. The days were

* All the three—father, mother, and aunt—were deaf, the first being also blind.

when all this would have galled me to the quick, and still it is unpleasant. I intended no reference to myself whatever, and the mistake I conceive to be founded upon the vehemence of the delivery, and his literal interpretation of the mere figure of egotism. Cockburn, however, has sent the thing abroad, and I am now fairly exposed to all the contempt which annexes to fanaticism. My business is to brave it all, never to relax a single sentiment founded on Scripture, and to steer myself by the guidance of conviction and the Divine Spirit through all that can oppose itself to the interests of the gospel.

"*Nov.* 26.—Called on Mrs. Smith before breakfast, and went over Cockburn's misstatement. The awkwardness a little alleviated from what I gathered in the course of the day; but let me not be anxious at all about it. Received a call from Mr. Carstairs, who has put down his name for a Bible Society, and the proposal is now fairly afloat. Was still feeble, and have done little or nothing in the way of study since I came to Anster.—O God, be Thou more present to my thoughts, and be Thou the portion of my heart and my joy for evermore.

"*Nov.* 28.—Left Anstruther, and dined at Denino, where I spent the night.

"My business is to suppress my own feelings as selfish, and to allure others to the service of Christ by a winning and amiable and conciliatory manner.

"*Nov.* 29.—Started from Denino before breakfast. Walked to St. Andrews. I am much struck with the banishment of religion from the thoughts and conversation. What is this, O God, but banishment from Thee? Recall me from this banishment; and whatever I do, may I do it in the name of Jesus.

"*Dec.* 7.—I am writing a sermon upon Romans v. 1.* Not much satisfied with my performance, but had a livelier glimpse this evening of the propitiation than I had before experienced; and the peace, and confidence, and delight in prayer which I felt while under it, convince me that this is the object which I must ever strive after and maintain.—Give me, O God, to hold fast my confidence and the rejoicing of my hope firm unto the end.

"*Sunday, Dec.* 8.—Let all vanity, O my God, be crucified within me. Let my sole aim be to win souls; and though I cannot at all times command a clear and enraptured view of Divine truth, let me fill up every interval with works which

* See Works, vol. x. p. 311.

bespeak the Christian. Bring me closer and closer to Him to whom Thou hast given all power, and committed all judgment. Fill me with His fulness; and may I have peace and joy with Thee through Jesus Christ my Lord.

"*Dec.* 10.—Let me be peculiarly on my guard against all selfishness and love of display; and, O my God, let me not satisfy myself with choking up the streams which flow from my vitiated heart. Apply the remedy to the seat and centre of the disease. Renew this heart; sanctify it by the faith that is in Jesus; and form it to Thyself in righteousness and in all holiness.

"*Dec.* 11.—Left Dairsie after breakfast, and walked to Kilmany. Read the 'General View of the Baptist Mission,' a most cheering and interesting work. Baxter's observations about the regulation of the thoughts are striking. I pray to be delivered from vain, and idle, and sinful thoughts.—O God, carry on my sanctification by faith, and may Thy good Spirit never abandon me.

"*Dec.* 13.—Finished my revisal of the article 'Christianity,' and have begun a series of regular sermons, in which I pray God for help and perseverance. My first is upon Romans x. 1.* Dined at Mountquhannie, and spent the night with them. Spoke about the Bible Society, of which Mrs. Gillespie has a high admiration, and other matters connected with theology.—O God, give me self-government; crucify all selfishness and vanity within me. May I labour for the interest of Thy kingdom in the world, and may the faith and sanctification of the gospel be making a decided progress over the corruptions of my heart. I offer my prayer for all this family, and may Mrs. Gillespie grow in rectitude of sentiment, and zeal for the good cause of vital religion.

"*Sunday, Dec.* 15.—Preached as usual. I have not a strong enough sense of the malignity of sin, and therefore an inadequate conception of the greatness of that salvation laid before us in the gospel.—O God, may He who is exalted on high, give me repentance and the remission of sin.

"*Dec.* 17.—Let me give more earnestness and application to the secret discipline of the inner man; and, O God, assist me in Christ to regulate my thoughts, and to go on joyfully, without perplexity, harassment, or fatigue. O God, I commit the good work to Thy power and Thy faithfulness. Erred this forenoon in taking up two hours in a most fruitless and fatiguing investi-

* See Works, vol. xxv. p. 5.

gation about annuities. I am much pleased with that part of Macknight's 'Credibility' which is on the prophecies.

"*Dec.* 19.—Had some very pleasurable processes of sentiment; but the great charm and the great solidity of all comfort lies in that security which is in Christ.—O God, give me to draw nearer and nearer to Him—to cultivate a more habitual intercourse with Him by faith—and to learn of Thee through Him, who alone can reveal Thee to us.

"*Dec.* 20.—Had been apprised by my man of business that my augmentation was to be pleaded on the 18th, and had made a number of provisions for obtaining intelligence of the result. Had attempted to fortify my heart against every species of disappointment, and submit to everything as from the hand of a wise and good Heaven. The precise kind of trial was what I did not anticipate—an intimation from Sandy that the business did not come on, and that, as the Court of Session rose soon, it must be put off for several weeks. This was the kind of disappointment that was fitted to bear hardest upon my sanguine temperament—too impatient under suspense, too much addicted to suspicions, and too prone to indulge in plans and calculations for futurity.—O my God, may I be grateful to Thee for sustaining me. Perfect that which concerns me. May the great elements of my being—my soul, my sanctification, my eternity—be enough for me. Raise me, O Lord, on the wings of faith, and make me Thine entire workmanship in Christ Jesus my Lord. Read the 'Life of Campbell,' and felt some embarrassment in the want of congeniality with the tone of his sentiments. Let this endear to me Thy law and Thy testimony; and, O God, enlighten me so as to understand Thy Scriptures, and make the word of Christ to dwell in me richly in all wisdom.

"*Sunday, Dec.* 22.—Was struck with an expression of the Psalmist, 'My soul *followeth hard* after thee.'—O God, in so doing, may I not fail or be discouraged; but may Thy right hand uphold me. Did not receive a letter from my agent today as I expected.—On everything connected with this subject, give me, O God, the victory.

"*Dec.* 26.—Had a call in the evening from A. Paterson, who had been reading 'Baxter on Conversion,' and is much impressed by it. Delighted to hear that it has also been read with impression by others. A. P. finds that he cannot obtain a clear view of Christ.—O God, may I grow in experience and capacity for the management of these cases. It is altogether a new field to

me, but I hope that my observations will give stability to my views and principles on this subject, and that my senses will be exercised to discern good and evil.

"*Dec.* 27.—I examined about twenty-four people. I should leave the answers more to themselves, and must study to construct my questions accordingly. I hope and pray that much good may be done in this way.

"*Dec.* 28.—Delighted to find the Edinburgh Review led to support the Bible Society.*

"*Dec.* 31.—Examined the west end of the village in church, and a few young people in my own house in the evening. Find that much may be done in this way, and that there is much to do. I find that I should not engage with more than ten or twelve at a time, to do them justice.

"As years roll away, let the impression grow firmer upon me, that while here I am not at home, but on a journey; and let me carry about with me the same faith, the same watchfulness, the same nearness of perception as to the things of eternity, as if I knew that in half-an-hour I were to be summoned by the last messenger."

* In a note to an Article on the Education of the Poor. See Edinburgh Review, vol. xix. p. 39. The purpose expressed in this note of entering afterwards and at large into the Bible Society controversy appears never to have been executed.

CHAPTER X.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. JAMES ANDERSON.

"I NEVER encountered a more vigorous intellect than that of James Anderson." Mr. Chalmers pronounced this opinion at a late period of his life, and after he had been brought into contact with many of the highest intellects of the age. "I never met with another whose powers in all their dimensions approached nearer to those of Dr. Chalmers." Such was the sentence of one well qualified to judge, who knew them both most intimately.* Mr. Anderson was the only son of a banker and opulent merchant in Dundee. Younger by about ten years than Mr. Chalmers, he must have been under eighteen when he was first introduced to the minister of Kilmany, then generally known as Mr. Chalmers the mathematician, about whose intellectual devoteeism strange rumours filled his own neighbourhood, and had reached Dundee. Congenial tastes at once linked them together in close friendship. Mr. Anderson was designed for business, and had already entered his father's office. Of a highly enthusiastic temperament, he had been early smitten with the love of science and literature. The pure fire burned in secret, and he delighted to replenish it by fellowship with a kindred spirit which was even more ardent than his own. He was one of the first to whom Mr. Chalmers communicated the great change which had taken place in his religious sentiments. That favourite and confidential communication was one of many means, all gently and judiciously applied, by which he sought to win over his young friend to the Saviour, and to that cause which had now become so dear to him; with what success the following correspondence will in part enable the reader to judge:—

"PLEASANCE, DUNDEE, *August* 8, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have not forgotten the more important subject to which you drew my attention, and which was to form the main topic of our letters. Little as I can trust to my own resolutions, I hope that Christianity is a study on which I

* The Rev. Mr. Bruce of Edinburgh.

am now to enter in earnest, and that this is the first of a series of letters which will bear the marks of progressive advancement. As it is to you I am indebted for the resolution of making religion an object of direct attention, allow me, my dear sir, at the outset, to return you my thanks, and to congratulate myself on the privilege I enjoy in your friendship. I trust that our connexion is such as to render unnecessary the assurance that I am not speaking the language of common intercourse, when I say, that I ever looked upon your friendship as the greatest boast of my life, and that, now it has taken a higher range, I annex to it a proportionate value. If I shall persevere—if I, from this moment, shall date the progress of settled religious principles, I will ever recur with gratitude to that hour when you exhibited these principles in all the attractions of former associations. It is not for want of similar appeals that I have hitherto regarded the subject with indifference; it is because these appeals were made in a tone of unsympathizing sanctity and unaccommodating rigour, and because there was no personal association to counteract the false repulsion which attends the first enforcements of religion. I am indebted to you for having made it a subject of familiar discussion,—for having thrown around it the attractions of science and of eloquence,—for having made your appeals in a spirit of fellowship, good humour, and philosophy. I hope the time will be when religion will stand in no need of auxiliaries, and when I shall love the gospel, how homely soever its attire; but it is not easy to get the better, all at once, of the squeamishness of an overweening refinement. . . . I have now got Wilberforce and Hannah More, and I am to begin immediately with the former. I foresee that I shall stand in need of all your assistance and encouragement. I have little strength of resolution, and am much the votary of present impression. I am every day in society, and have an ample relish for all its distractions. I am fired with the desire of literary attainment, and it will require a severe discipline to bring this passion within due limits. I want proper sentiments even in my thinking moments;—even at the moment I am writing you, I want that heart to religion which I have to other pursuits. I acknowledge readily the supreme importance of religion over human science, yet, I must own that, were the paths to lead to the same goal, I would travel in the latter. . . .

"There is one feeling more which I must notice, because it is one I did not anticipate. I feel a kind of demi-scepticism since

I resolved to make religion an ultimate pursuit. Formerly I felt the most confident security in the truth of Christianity; I now begin to be alarmed lest it may be false, and feel myself entering on the investigation with a suspicion formerly unknown. I, however, flatter myself that this does not arise from any secret wish to get rid of the subject. I would fain consider the feeling as akin to that of a juryman whose preconceived opinions vanish before the solemnity of an oath, but whose doubts only lead to more secure convictions.—I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *August* 28, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received your most agreeable letter of the 8th only yesterday, and hasten to convince you of my full sympathy and co-operation in the great objects of our correspondence. I am too well aware of its stimulating effect upon myself, not to be most anxious for having it perpetuated. The subject in its naked importance has every claim upon me, and I wish to give it my entire and undivided heart. My tendencies in that direction are getting more decided every day; and I hope that they will soon gather strength enough to maintain their constancy, even though I had nothing but the processes of my own mind and the sympathy of my humble parishioners to support me. But I can assure you, that I feel the prospect of your communications to be a fresh and additional impulse. It is something vastly superior to the enjoyment of an ordinary acquaintance. It is like falling in with a fellow-traveller to eternity. I trust that the sublime and imposing termination will fasten our hearts, and give a steadiness to our movements thitherwards.

"At the outset of such a career we may lay our account with a multitude of anxieties. I am not entitled to talk of my experience, or to address you in the language of admonitory wisdom. Viewed as an experimental Christian, I am still in my infancy. I have not yet reached that repose of heart which, in the beautiful language of one of our old prophets, is termed quietness and assurance for ever. But I am deceived if I am not feeling my way towards it; and I have to attest, that the ground is never firmer under my feet than when I rest my confidence in Christ, and make Him all my redemption and all my righteousness.

"But let me forbear any anticipation upon the interesting details which I trust will come before us in due time, and

occupy both our conversation and our letters in the prosecution of our common inquiries. Be assured, that by the blessing of heaven, the unsettledness of which you complain will give way to prayer and perseverance. Your demi-scepticism has received from yourself its best explanation; and I count it a promising symptom of the energy and greatness of your feelings upon the subject. I derive great comfort from Heb. v. 14. When our senses are exercised by use, we shall get the better of that restlessness of principle of which you complain, and which I have often felt. It is not two years since I would have blushed to give the advice which I am now to offer, and would probably have smiled at the man who should have offered it to myself—earnest prayer. It is not necessary to philosophize upon the subject. Prayer is the authorized instrument of communication betwixt God and man; and if you think of any better expedient, remember that God is the author of that expedient, and gives it all its efficacy and all its operation. Wisdom calculates upon the expediency of means; but prayer appears to me to be a higher reach of wisdom, inasmuch as it remounts to the upper principle which gives birth and movement and energy to all things. . . . I can assure you, that, from the complexion of your letter, I have nothing but encouragement to offer. Your scruples, your anxieties, your dissatisfaction with yourself, are all, I trust, the happy tokens of an *earnest commencement*. I do not promise that satisfaction with yourself will be the final result of all those interior movements which now agitate and exercise you. The nothingness of self will in time come to be the favourite and reigning principle. You will place all your sufficiency in the Captain of your salvation; and you will at last feel that the humility of the Christian faith puts the whole economy of the Divine government on its only right footing, when God is all in all, and His creatures occupy the place which belongs to them as His subjects and His instruments.—I am yours, with much regard,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNDEE, *October* 22, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I was so unlucky as to call on you on Thursday just as you had left Mr. Duncan's. I am sorry we had so little time together, for the impulse I receive from a single conversation is worth a month's reading. There is something so electric in the contact of one man with another, espe-

cially when their views are congenial, that each is doubly fitted for exertion. . . .

"To avoid these evils [the evils of Antinomianism] we ought to adhere to the rule, Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, for there truth appears in its native colouring. Indeed, I do not know how far it is safe to draw one's belief from didactic summaries, how unexceptionable soever. I should even suspect that a catechism, which gives the result of a profound Christian's researches in the Bible, might be pernicious as a first mover; it wants the spontaneity and development of the immediate oracles; like a plant in a hot-house, it may be pruned, and trained, and regularly expanded; but it has lost the hues, and the fragrance, and the *habitus*, of self-embowered and indigenous luxuriance. So much for Antinomianism.

"The next subject that occurs to me, and, my dear sir, it is the charm of familiar correspondence to be indulged in the even flow of thought, is the consolations of Christianity. There are several views to which I would wish to familiarize my mind on this subject. There is, first, the eternity of enjoyment which awaits those who adopt the gospel-plan of salvation—bliss ever during—bliss progressive and unassailable—bliss heightened by the recollection of doubt, insecurity, and suffering—bliss in concert with fellow-beings, who began with you their course on earth, and who are destined to be your companions in the career through unfathomable duration. There is next the good which a Christian may do. He who wins a family to righteousness stands higher in the scale of human benefactors than he who unshackles a continent from thraldom; for he adds more to the sum of universal happiness, if we estimate the effects in their duration. It is a heart-rending reflection to have lived in vain; and the success of every plan of mere intellectual exertion is fortuitous; but he who has for his object the promotion of the Gospel acts with the security of success, for he acts with the assurance of Divine assistance. It is a sentiment of Mr. Clarkson, 'that no virtuous effort is ever lost;' and his own bright career is a noble proof that virtuous effort, if steady, is invincible.

"A third view, which I think is fraught with delight, is the stability of the Christian spirit as a leading passion. When we are deeply interested in any future object, we are little at the mercy of any circumstance, however untoward, that does not endanger the ultimate advantage. Now, if we could always

make our thoughts bear upon eternity, how would it enliven the space between? Could we, in our journey through life, keep steadily before us, in a kind of intellectual *vista*, the enjoyments of a future state, how little would we care for the inequalities of the road, intrusion from the side-paths, or eclipses of sunshine? . . . .

"These are a few of the suggestions of my better moments: but, alas! it is seldom I can command the solace of their influence, for I am most frequently plunged in the misery of him whose reason and passions are asunder. But I shall not add to the tediousness of too long a letter by a detail of unpleasant and personal feelings. I conclude with renewed assurance of the happiness I enjoy in your friendship. It is painful to think that, in this wide world, there are so few who care for us; and a friendship, with the hopes of eternal consummation, is a possession past prizing.—O may the God of all friendship cement our union, and through the merits of Christ Jesus, enable us, when time is exhausted, to look back on these scenes of struggle from the realms of security, where friendship is everlasting, where the only change is in increase of love, and the only rivalry that of benevolence.—I am, my dear Sir, yours unfeignedly,

JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *November* 2, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 22d, yesterday, and I can assure you that I felt a very deep and a very pleasing interest in its perusal. There is one sentiment in it quite according to my own heart; and the felicity with which you have expressed it gives me a closer and more satisfying impression of it than ever—the critique which you pass upon catechisms, which, however correct in all their dogmata, may not be correct in their general effect upon the mind, because they want the *spontaneity* and *development* of the immediate oracles. My Christianity approaches nearer, I think, to Calvinism than to any of the *isms* in Church history; but broadly as it announces the necessity of sanctification, it does not bring it forward in that free and spontaneous manner which I find in the New Testament. It does not urge my affections in the shape of a warm and impressive admonition. It is laid before me as part of a system; and I am somehow restrained from submitting my heart to the fulness of its influence by the severe and authoritative qualifications which are laid upon it. There is so much said about the

dangers of self-righteousness, that I am afraid to trust myself with any attempt at righteousness at all; and for the simple obedience of love which the gospel teaches me, I either give up obedience entirely, or I find it prove fatiguing, because in addition to the simple feeling, I have also to give it its proper place in the fabric of orthodoxy, and to wield a most cumbersome machinery of principles and explanations along with it. I feel the influence of these systems to be most unfortunate in the pulpit. Were I to accommodate to the previous state of discipline and education among my hearers, I could not get in a single precept without spending more than double the time necessary for announcing it, in satisfying them of its due subordination to the leading principles of the system. Now I would ask, Is this ever done by Paul or any of the apostles? Do they feel any restraint or any hesitation in being practical? Is not this scrupulous deference to the factitious orthodoxy of Calvin a principle altogether foreign and subsequent to the native influence of Divine truth on the heart? With what perfect freedom from all this parade and all this scrupulosity do Christ and His apostles make their transition from doctrine to practice, and expand with the most warm and earnest and affectionate exhortation! No, my dear sir, our divinity is not of the right kind unless it be a fair transcript of that divinity which exists in the New Testament. I admit the doctrine of good works, not because it comes to me in the shape of a corollary to the demonstrations of the schoolmen, but because it comes to me in warm and immediate efficacy from 'If ye love me, keep my commandments.' I do not think I can be wrong in calling no man master but Christ; and at all events it is making faith in Him my security and my refuge. I summon up the conception of Jesus as my friend, and with such an image in my heart, I feel the intolerance of orthodoxy stript of all its terrors. I repair to the grand principle of faith as my refuge not merely against the anxieties of certain guilt, but against the anxieties of possible ignorance; and that very doctrine of the sufficiency of Christ which occupies so high, though not too high, a place in their systems, I convert into my defence and my protection when they frown condemnation upon me. That which availeth is, 'Faith working by love;' and if the love of Christ be shed abroad upon our hearts by the Holy Spirit, it is to be rejoiced in as the 'pledge and the earnest of our inheritance.' This is the attainment which we must strive after; and we have the highest authority for believing that

prayer and diligence and the exercises of patience and faith, are means which, if strenuously persevered in, are never resorted to in vain.

"Your sublime views of eternity are most congenial to me; and I can well understand the regret with which you complain that they are not more habitual to you. Nothing has convinced me more effectually of our fallen state than this habitual estrangement of the mind from those high themes of faith and of eternity, which, in its better moments, it acknowledges to be not merely of high but of exclusive importance. The God who gives us every breath, and whose sustaining hand upholds us every moment, should be ever present to our devotion and our thoughts. It is so in heaven; and if not so on earth, it is precisely because the Bible representation is true, that the moral constitution of our nature is unhinged, and that the banishment of Adam from the paradise of Eden involved in it the banishment of all his posterity from its exercises and its joys. We should love God 'with all our heart and strength and mind,' says the first commandment of the law; and there is not a truth in the whole compass of philosophy which rests more firmly on the Baconian basis of experiment, than that in the heart and life of every individual who comes into the world this commandment is fallen from. The law is for the direction of those who are able to keep it; but for us it serves another purpose. It instructs us, by its observed violations, in the melancholy but important truth, that all are 'guilty before God.' It compels us to the remedy laid before us in the gospel, and is the 'schoolmaster which brings us to Christ.' When you feel the wretched deficiencies of your own heart, take in a full impression of its unworthiness, and do not seek to protect yourself from the humiliating contemplation. The protection offered us in the gospel is protection against the terrors of the law, and not against the shame and the consciousness of having violated it. 'Be not afraid, only believe,' says our Saviour; and the experience of every day carries home to my heart, that the only applicable expedient for man in the actual state of his present being, is simply to take to Christ, to unite with Him by faith, to approach God through that Mediator who is able to save to the uttermost, to perfect our union with the Saviour by doing Him the honour of trusting Him, or taking Him at His word, and to look for sanctification, for heavenly mindedness, for conformity to the will and image of Christ, for redemption not merely from the punishment of sin, but also from

its power, for 'progressive virtue and approving heaven'—to look for these, and for all other spiritual blessings, as the promised effects of that union. If you come to the tranquillity of such final conviction as this, is it possible, I ask, not to view the great agent in the process of reconciliation as your friend? and can the heart of the Christian refuse the energy of His impressive voice—'Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you?' Virtue is not exploded; it is hung upon a new principle (2 Cor. v. 14, 15).

"I have only room for one thing more. Do not expect a uniform tone of elevation. Let your motto be—Though 'faint, yet pursuing.' Persevere in the exercises of patience and prayer, and in His good time, 'God will perfect that which concerns you.' Do write me soon. I can assure you that I prize your correspondence as a very great luxury and refreshment. I had many things more to say to you; and I can assure you, that the more active and frequent an intercourse by letters, I will esteem it the more. I shall attend to your direction about the mode of conveyance; and in the meantime receive the full assurance of my regard.—Yours truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNDEE, *November* 18, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—When you first seriously opened to me your change of sentiment respecting religion, I was (to express the thing with more force than elegance) neither *off nor on*. I possessed a vague reference to its importance, and a tacit conviction that it had not from me the attention it deserved; but its speculative importance sunk before my practical attachment to human pursuits, and my attention to it was always readily diverted by some of those lucky circumstances which are ever at hand to coincide with our inclinations. . . . I was, in fact, a practical Deist, excepting in a kind of tenderness for some tenets, and a reversionary outlook for final happiness. . . . When you engaged me to a serious attention to the subject, and when I promised to read Wilberforce, I consented, from the enthusiasm of the moment, and I continued, more for the sake of consistency than with a determination of heart. My struggles resembled that of a man in sleep, who is conscious of the recurrence of a frightful dream, but who in vain attempts to arouse himself, or even to continue to remember that the dream is not a reality. I have at length launched on the voyage, and have now the comfort to feel myself afloat. My convictions and resolutions are

more decided than they ever were at any former period. I trust to God that they are the earnest of good things to come. My commencement has, however, wanted *continuity*. I have been resolute by starts, and the intervals have been filled up in the same unprofitable manner as usual. This I believe brings me up to my present situation. I feel the growth of a new principle, but it is yet isolated and uninfluencing. I come at it with difficulty, and lose it with ease. Like the electric spark, it is transient, and requires favourable circumstances for its excitement. . . . My temperament of mind is very unfavourable to during advancement. I want equanimity. . . . A feverish susceptibility, partly complexional, and partly, I am afraid, from an indulgence in that worst of all dissipation, the romance of feeling, makes me the sport of every flitting excitement. I am of a temper exactly opposite to that which Hamlet assigns Horatio:—

> 'A man, who Fortune's buffets and rewards
> Has ta'en with equal thanks;—and bless'd is he
> Whose heart and judgment are so well commingled,
> That he is not a pipe for Fortune's finger
> To play what stop she pleases.'

I want that due admixtion of 'heart and judgment' which forms equanimity. I shall trouble you with one instance, which will show you what reason I have for alarm and watchfulness. Last year, about this time, I read Clarkson's 'History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.' It affected me so much, that I could not venture on it through the day, but always reserved it till after supper; and often at midnight have I detected myself, with the tears gushing from my eyes, raving through the room at the crimes developed, and driven almost to despair, because the trade did not now exist for me to abolish it; and yet, since last year, how many opportunities have I neglected when I might have done good with scarcely any sacrifice? . . .

"I take Wilberforce slowly, as I read the chapters twice. As I proceed, I feel more and more delighted with his assertion of the supremacy of Scripture; and the more I can bring my mind to the *juxtaposition* of my Bible and my duty, the more I feel confidence in my procedure. The *media* of mixed motives do at best but perplex. I am glad to acquire my rudiments in the school of Wilberforce, especially as the spirit of the times is so much inclined to make human ethics and metaphysics the ushers to religion. Even the best friends of Christianity are often inclined to be too chivalrous in this respect. They are too fond

of hairbreadth triumphs, and manœuvre too much with a diversity of arms. They, like Hector—

> 'Rejoice to shift their ground, remount the car,
> Turn—charge—and answer every call of war'—

while they ought rather to imitate Ajax Telamon, who cared not a whit for the graces and attitudes, but firmly planted himself behind his sevenfold buckler, and trusted to the momentum of sinews and of bones.

"Our *Telamonian* home-thrust ought, I think, to be this:—Christianity is either false or true; it has high pretensions, and it deserves a hearing; for 'if true, it is tremendously true.' Let us then investigate it,—let us here exert all our intellect and all our ingenuities; but, once convinced of its truth, let us submit implicitly to its decisions; let the evidences be the fulcrum of our faith, but let us not jostle the scales which the Almighty has suspended. . . .

"I shall expect to hear from you soon. I shall not be long of again writing you.—I am, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,

JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *December* 18, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been daily in expectation of a letter from you. It is true that you are not in my debt; but the circumstance of your last having been written before you received my intervening epistle, together with your kind intimation that you meant to write again soon, have led me to look for something more from you. I am resolved to keep you at it; for I can assure you that I feel my intercourse with you, taken in connexion with its peculiar object, to be one of the most interesting of my concerns; and in the extreme scarcity of people who have an open and decided attachment to the good cause, I feel an impulse and a refreshment in your communications which I cannot find in my immediate neighbourhood. Dr. Macculloch of Dairsie is a confirmed veteran in the school of Christ, but then he is at a distance; though in substantial sentiment I trust we are the same, there is a certain want of congeniality in the modes of expression; and though this should be deemed a *bagatelle* by every mind that is purely intellectual and spiritual, yet in this gross and imperfect scene it does operate as an obstruction. I complain of this to the good people of Dairsie, and tell them that I count it one of the obstacles which exist in this earthly taber-

nacle to the *communion of the saints*. It is doubtless a corporeal infirmity. The disembodied spirit will attach itself to the reality. We are the poor victims of association; and the disgust which we annex to the sign is part of that relentless dominion which these *vile bodies* exercise over us. I count it an evidence to be humbly rejoiced in and thankfully acknowledged, that I am getting sensibly above this prejudice—that what I formerly nauseated in the flavour and phraseology of Methodism, comes home more graciously to my heart—and that the sound faith and piety of many a Christian writer have at length reconciled me to certain performances, which I would within these few years have turned away from as the most low and drivelling fanaticism.

"Still, however, I want your co-operation, and beg you will not withhold it. In your habits of conception and language I meet with no impediment whatever to the fulness of our sympathy.

"I am very much interested in the progress of your sentiments. This, in the language of good but despised Christians, is called the communication of *your religious experience*. There is fanaticism annexed to the term; but this is a mere bugbear: and I count it strange that that very evidence which is held in such exclusive respect in every other department of inquiry, should be so despised and laughed at when applied to the progress of a human being in that greatest of all transitions, from a state of estrangement to a state of intimacy with God—from the terror of His condemnation to an affecting sense of His favour and friendship and reconciled presence—from the influence of earthly and debasing affections, to the influence of those new and heavenly principles which the Spirit of God establishes in the heart of every believer. This is what our Saviour calls 'passed from death unto life.' My prayer for us both is, that 'it may be made sure,' and that 'hereby we may know that He dwelleth in us, and we in Him, that He hath given us of His Spirit.'

"By the way, there is one anxiety which is apt to beset us upon this subject. When you read books upon the subject, you see a certain process assigned to a conversion, and in such a confident and authoritative way, too, that you are apt to conceive that this is the very process, and that there can be no other. I compare it with my own history, and my own recollections, and I am apt to be alarmed at the want of correspondence in a good many particulars. Scott's 'Force of Truth' is an example; Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul,' another; and last, though not least, the 'Pilgrim's Pro-

gress.' I pronounce them all to be excellent, and that there are many exemplifications as they describe. But the process is not authoritative, nor is it universal. The Spirit taketh its own way with each individual, and you know it only by its fruits. I cannot say of myself that I ever felt a state of mind corresponding to John Bunyan's *Slough of Despond*. Indeed I blame myself most sincerely, that I cannot excite in my heart a high enough conception of sin in all its malignity. I hope I have the conviction, but I cannot command the degree of emotion that I should like; and in the hardness of a heart not so tenderly alive as it ought to be to the authority of my Lawgiver, and the enormity of trampling upon Him, I feel how far, and very far I am at this moment, from the 'measure of the stature of the perfect man in Christ Jesus our Lord.' Now, what am I to infer from this? That I have not yet surmounted the impassable barrier which stands betwixt me and the gate of life? So one would suppose from John Bunyan; and so I would suppose myself, were it not for the kind assurance of my Saviour, whose every testimony is truth, and every tone is tenderness—'He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.' This is my firm hold, and I will not let it go. I sicken at all my own imperfect preparations. I take one decisive and immediate step, and resign my all to the sufficiency of my Saviour. I feel my disease, and I feel that my want of alarm and lively affecting conviction forms its most obstinate ingredient. I try to stir up the emotion, and feel myself harassed and distressed at the impotency of my own meditations. But why linger without the threshold in the face of a warm and urgent invitation?—'Come unto me.' Do not think that it is your office to heal one part of the disease, and Christ's to heal up the remainder. He is the Captain of your salvation, and I take Him as such. I plead His own promise, that 'Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.' I come to Him with my heart *such as it is;* and I pray that the operation of His Spirit, and the power of His sanctifying faith, would make it *such as it should be.* That abhorrence of sin which I now feel to be in a manner dead, I hope, through Him strengthening me, will be made to quicken and revive. Repentance is the gift of God; and I look to Him for the fulfilment of His gracious promise, that He who 'hath given us His own Son, will also with Him freely give us all things.' I see that this Son is 'exalted on high, to give repentance and the remission of sins;' and I trust that that

Being who has said, 'Without me ye can do nothing,' will enable me to 'do all things in the name of Jesus.' That very repentance which, in its gloomiest and most despairing form, is represented by some as an indispensable step to Jesus, I now see to be the daily and the growing exercise of the renewed Christian—that my abhorrence of sin is quickened by that very faith which protects from its terrors. In the deep and mysterious sufferings of Christ, I see the dreadful testimony of heaven against it, and feel that it should be the daily prayer of Christians that they may be enabled to put out from among them that hateful thing for which our Saviour died.

"I do not know whether this suits you exactly, nor have I any right more than others to make my process authoritative. There is nothing authoritative but the Bible, and I read, *con amore*, your well-expressed sentiment upon the exclusive reverence that is due to it. Your high-toned ambition after the purity of the divine life is the undoubted effect of faith after it is once formed, and the best leader to it before it has taken full and effectual possession of the heart. It will do what the law did formerly—it will serve the office of a 'schoolmaster to bring you to Christ.' When a man compares his miserable execution with his high conception of what is right, he is, as the Apostle most significantly expresses it, 'shut up unto the faith;' he is reduced to it as his only alternative; he makes the atonement of the cross his resting-place; he closes with Christ—derives all strength and nourishment from Him, as the branch does from the vine. The high tone of rectitude will not be chilled, but exalted at this step of the process. It will derive new energy from sentiments to which it was formerly a stranger—the confidence of success, the hope of the promised assistance, and the actual operation of that assistance on our hearts, redeeming them from all iniquity. 'He that willeth to do the will of God shall know of this doctrine whether it cometh from God.' A will and an ambition to be perfect, if firmly and consistently proceeded upon, will lead us to the humiliating acknowledgment, that in ourselves we are helpless and irrecoverable sinners. It will bring us to the foot of the cross, and lead us to take to Christ as our power and wisdom and sanctification and complete redemption.—Yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNDEE, *December* 8, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,— . . . My letters to you are not a faithful

picture of my general situation, for they are naturally the effusions of my better moments, and they of course wear an air of peace and of progress to which I cannot as yet lay claim. I have indeed never possessed hours of so unportioned bliss and serenity as some since I began to cleave to Christianity; for I can say, even now, that my most religious hours are my happiest; but they have hitherto been separated by periods of horrible disquietude and distrust. Sometimes I relapse into coldness and indifference, which, after a few struggles, leave me in a state of stupid torpor—a state of rest which arises from the absence of all tendency—a state of conscious petrifaction. At other times I am distracted by a thousand doubts, which flit before me in undefined mazes, and obscure all my prospects. Their very want of solidity adds to their terrors; their change of shape, and their exits and their entrances, only realize more strongly the unseen world of possibilities. And even in my best moments, I am apt to be assailed by doubts distinct in their character from the former, and, if I mistake not, rightly distinguished by the term *misgivings*. It is a kind of sinking at heart from the downward glance of unusual elevation. . . . I have been hitherto such a stranger to prolonged quiet and assurance, that, when I experience the quiet and assurance of religion, I become alarmed that Christianity is too good to be true, and that its security is the fever of enthusiasm. But there is one awful consideration which peculiarly presses on my mind, and is often like to overwhelm it. It is this:—If I am really on the right track, by what a complexity of causes am I so! . . . If my present determination to make Jesus my guide and my refuge, be the only one which can save me from eternal perdition, what an overwhelming thought, that this determination is one of a myriad of as probable contingencies! If, among the navies that darken the ocean, there be but *one* ark that shall outlive the storm, with what trembling step do I enter in,—with what tremendous ken do I inspect its identity! Such considerations are often like to overpower me. Oh, my dear sir, unite your prayers with mine, that I may arrive at settled convictions. I pray to God to lead me to all truth, and all joy and peace in believing; but my very prayers need forgiveness. Oh, my dear sir, if Christianity be really true, with what profound gratitude ought we to approach Almighty God for having, of His free-will, called us,—for having made so many physical and moral causes so unite as to produce our present tendencies; and

with what enlarged hearts of sympathy and benevolence ought we to look around us on those who as yet 'care for none of these things!' May God continue to be gracious,—may He lead us on from strength to strength,—and may He render us instrumental in 'winning sons and daughters to righteousness.' . . .

"*Sunday, December* 9.

"The above was written last night, when my mind was in a state of vacillancy and discomfort. I have this morning been reading my Bible, and I feel a reassurance of which I had little expectation. I begin to find the New Testament my best modulator; it alone gives that pitch to my temper which suits my existing capability. Books of devotion are accommodated to a given stage of advancement, perhaps the prevailing one of the author. By perusing them, I can work my mind up to their elevation; but the state is forced, and of necessity transient. But in my Testament I find everything in its proper bearing. . .

"I now begin to have a taste for its direct enforcements. I like to converse with it on the spot. I am ashamed to acknowledge that this is the most recent step in my progress. At first I used to read the precepts only; or, if I happened to turn to the doctrines, I found them so confused, and the reasoning so unintelligible, that I soon laid them aside. . . . At last, when the doctrines began to command my regard, I still liked to get at them by means of an interpreter, and was still averse from personal colloquy. This repugnance is now extinguished, and I delight in the excitement of naked contact. I now ardently desire to be able to read the original Greek with facility, and to pronounce the doctrines and precepts of Paul and James and Jesus, with the very *os rotundum* which originally breathed them.

"So important is the maxim, 'Drink deep, or taste not,' that I now begin to find what I considered the weakest parts of the Bible are the strongest. The obscurity of Paul, upon inspection, I find to arise out of the closeness and concatenation of his reasoning; and, above all, the want of *method and outline* in the New Testament, which lately struck me as a formidable objection, I now consider as corroborative of its peculiar character. My objection was this:—The Old Testament dispensation was more immediately of Divine origin. The tables of the law were given to Moses graven by the finger of God. The code was complete and regular and sacred. We hear of nothing lost—

nothing surreptitiously added; whereas the expansion of the New Testament scheme is much more fortuitous. No arm of terrors was bared to protect it; the propagators were exposed to the greatest dangers, and escaped by the greatest hazards; many of the most important precepts were elicited by chance—many more have not come down to us; many miracles are unrecorded—even whole epistles are lost; while it is by the greatest good luck that many false ones are not obtruded. All this, which I lately considered as a formidable objection, I now think a strong confirmation of the peculiar nature of Christianity. The religion of the Jews was a religion of diplomacy and legal enforcement: everything was decided by an appeal to laws, and accordingly the laws were arranged and numbered. But the religion of Jesus is a religion of principle, suggestive, by its very nature, of a stainless morality. Accordingly, there is not the same anxiety as to its outward 'form and pressure.' The internal principle is the essential, and with this everything harmonizes: *e. g.*, the scheme was not divulged amid thunders and tempests, for persuasion is the surest appeal to the heart. Its propagators were obnoxious to ordinary mishaps, for by their endurance they enforced the principle they promulgated. False teachers made their appearance, for their detection put the principle in action (1 John iv. 6). The precepts were not methodized, for they flow as corollaries from the principle. This latter circumstance in Paul's writings is very remarkable. After putting the doctrine of faith on its proper basis with an elaboration and a copiousness which set him before you in all the struggles of intellect, and with an apparent dread of omitting any applicable elucidation; after securing this point, he suddenly relaxes, and, with a great deal of *dégagement*, proceeds to throw off his miscellaneous precepts. . . . I shall expect to hear from you soon.—I am, my dear Sir, yours, JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *December* 23, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,— . . . I am charmed to understand the tranquillizing effect of the Bible upon you. Let me therefore recommend a small treatise, entitled 'Clarke's Promises,' in which he lays before you a list of all the promises annexed to particular duties, or adapted to particular situations. You have nothing of his own; it is a mere collection of texts. I lately took it up when under one of those visitations of perplexity and distrust which you describe, and it did what all my own intel-

lectual processes were unable to accomplish—it calmed and reassured me. Among the splendid galaxy of comfort which his page of quotations laid before me, I was particularly charmed with the two following :—

"'Commit thy works unto the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established.'—Prov. xvi. 3.

"'It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.'—Lam. iii. 26.

"Go on and prosper, my dear sir; and my fervent prayer is, that you be 'rooted and built up in Christ, and stablished in the faith.'—Yours, with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNDEE, *January* 30, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I feel a lively interest on this subject; but every day brings me mortifying proofs that even zeal on religious subjects does not imply *ultimate* Christianity—the regulation of the heart and the conduct. My progress here is imperceptible, although, without such progress, I know the Bible to be a dead letter. It is easy to declaim about the cause of Christianity; but the great concern of the individual is his own soul; and I am short, far short, of that spirit which delights in the sacrifice of which the world never hears, and which does all things in the simplicity of faith in Jesus. On perusing my Journal, I am discountenanced at the vacillation, and the coldness, and the folly it exhibits, and still more that, with this record before me, I still go on to accumulate its accusations.—Yours,

JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *February* 5, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,— . . . I can well understand what you state to me in your last, that zeal raised by the excitement of a particular object may be found to consist with a faulty or diseased constitution of the inner man. But on the other hand, I have to state to you, that the peace and the joy and the delight attending what you have so aptly denominated the *closer intimacies* of the Christian, appear to me to be founded not on the complacency of the heart in its own virtues, but on the confiding repose of an humble and acquiescing spirit when it commits all to the sufficiency of Christ its Saviour. It is peace and joy *in believing*. Its plea is not that its sins are few, but that the mercies of God in Christ are great. The rejoicing of its hope lies not in its own attainments, but in the frankness and kind-

ness and liberality of the invitation. Where sin abounded, grace much more abounds; and the giving up of all in quiet and thankful confidence to a Mediator and High Priest, forms the starting-point from which I date its only sure and effectual progress in the accomplishments of the Christian. I see all this, though, like yourself, I have not attained to it. I do not yet *hold fast* my confidence; but I pray both in your behalf and in my own, that we may, in the good time of an all-wise God, reach this most desirable consummation. In the meantime, 'it is good for a man to hope and quietly to wait for the salvation of the Lord.'

"I conclude with an extract from Baxter. He is treating of an extreme case, though both of us perhaps may feel in some degree the application to ourselves:—

"'As we have need to call the thoughts of careless sinners *inwards*, and turn them from the creature and sin upon themselves; so we have need to call the thoughts of self-perplexing melancholy persons *outwards*, for it is their disease to be still grinding upon themselves. . . . When you are poring on your hearts to search whether the love of God be there or no, it were wiser to be thinking of the infinite amiableness of God, and that will cause it whether it were there before or not. So, instead of poring on your hearts to know whether they are set on heaven, lift up your thoughts to heaven, and think of its glory, and that will raise them thither, and give you and shew you that which you were searching for. Bestow that time in planting holy desires in the garden of your heart which you bestow in routing and puzzling yourselves in searching whether it be there already. We are such dark confused things, that a sight of ourselves is enough to raise a loathing and horror in our minds, and make them melancholy. But in God and glory there is nothing to discourage our thoughts, but all to delight them if Satan do not misrepresent them to us.'

"So far Baxter. My prayer to God is for your soul's health. I long to see you; and in the meantime rest assured, that my friendship and correspondence with you fill up a mighty space in the circle of my concerns.—Yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

In the course of a few months Mr. Anderson's religious convictions became so strong, and his zeal so irrepressible, that he resolved to relinquish business, and devote himself to the Chris-

tian ministry. With the view of preparing for the sacred office, he repaired to Edinburgh, and in the session of 1812-13, enrolled himself as a student of moral philosophy. It was only the third winter after the appointment of Dr. Thomas Brown as Mr. Stewart's successor, and the excitement had not yet subsided which attended the first delivery of that brilliant course of lectures, in which the most subtle metaphysical analysis robed itself in the drapery of a most fascinating eloquence. Mr. Anderson's excitable spirit was thrown into the tumults of a new, and, in some respects, conflicting mental agitation. Rushing with eager footstep into the fresh regions of speculation which were open to him, he even pressed beyond the boundaries which his new guide had traced. His genius had earned for him the highest university honours, and raised the brightest expectations both of his eminence in society and usefulness in the Church; but, although he still survives, it pleased God to disappoint these hopes by one of those sovereign and distressful dispensations of His providence, for the full explanation of which we must wait "till time is exhausted, and we can look back on these scenes of struggle from the realms of security." *

* The reader will find a continuation of this correspondence with Mr. James Anderson in "A Selection from the Correspondence of the late Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D." Constable & Co., Edinburgh. 1853.

CHAPTER XI.

REGULAR AND EARNEST STUDY OF THE BIBLE—FORMATION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY—CONSTITUTION OF THE KILMANY BIBLE ASSOCIATION—THE ACCUMULATION OF LITTLES—JOURNAL OF 1812—HIS MARRIAGE.

Richard Baxter, who at this period was a favourite author with Mr. Chalmers, has left behind him this impressive testimony—"To tell you the truth, while I busily read what other men said in their controversies, my mind was so prepossessed with their notions, that I could not possibly see the truth in its own native and naked evidence; and when I entered into public disputations, though I was truly willing to know the truth, my mind was so forestalled with borrowed notions, that I chiefly studied how to make good the opinions which I had received, and ran further from the truth. Yea, when I read the truth, I did not consider and understand it; and when I heard it from them whom I opposed in wrangling disputations, or read it in books of controversy, I discerned it least of all; till at last, being in my sickness cast far from home, where I had no book but my Bible, I set myself to study the truth from thence; and so, by the blessing of God, discovered more in one week than I had done before in seventeen years' reading, hearing, and wrangling."

His own intuitive sagacity suggested to Mr. Chalmers what experience had taught Baxter. From the beginning of his religious course, he was most sensitively afraid lest the truth, as God had revealed it, should come to him distorted or mutilated, because coming in the form in which it was presented by human systems or in theological controversies. His primary and most earnest effort was to derive his Christianity immediately from the Divine Oracles—to lay his whole being broadly open—to take off from the sacred page the exact and the full impression of Divine truth, in the very forms and proportions in which it was there set forth. Early in the year upon which we are now entering, we find him writing to his younger brother Patrick:—"I have been too long of answering your letter, from the perusal of which I obtained the truest satisfaction. It would give

me great pleasure to hear that you had read the books recommended in my last, and how you liked them. I look upon Baxter and Doddridge as two most impressive writers, and from whom you are most likely to carry away the impression that a preparation for eternity should be the main business and anxiety of time. But, after all, the Bible should be the daily exercise of those who have decidedly embarked in this great business, and if read with the earnest sense and feeling of its being God's message—if perused with the same awe and veneration and confidence, as if the words were actually coming out of His mouth—if, while you read, you read with the desire and the prayer that it might be with understanding and profit, you are in a far more direct road to 'becoming wise unto salvation' than any other that can possibly be recommended to you. There is no subject on which people are readier to form rash opinions than religion. The Bible is the best corrective to these. A man should sit down to it with the determination of taking his lesson just as he finds it—of founding his creed upon the sole principle of 'Thus saith the Lord,' and deriving his every idea and his every impression of religious truth from the authentic record of God's will."*

His regular and earnest study of the Bible was one of the first and most noticeable effects of Mr. Chalmers's conversion. His nearest neighbour and most frequent visitor was old John Bonthron, who, having once seen better days, was admitted to an easy and privileged familiarity, in the exercise of which one day before the memorable illness, he said to Mr. Chalmers—"I find you aye busy, sir, with one thing or another; but come when I may, I never find you at your studies for the Sabbath." "Oh, an hour or two on the Saturday evening is quite enough for that," was the minister's answer. But now the change had come, and John, on entering the manse, often found Mr. Chalmers poring eagerly over the pages of the Bible. The difference was too striking to escape notice, and with the freedom given him, which he was ready enough to use, he said, "I never come in now, sir, but I find you aye at your Bible." "All too little, John, all too little," was the significant reply.

How much time was devoted to this study the earlier journals do not enable us to ascertain. On the 29th September of this year he makes the following entry:—"I finished this day my perusal of the New Testament by daily chapters, in which

* From a Letter dated May 21, 1812.

my object was to commit striking passages to memory. I mean to begin its perusal anew, in which this object shall be revised, and the object of fixing upon one sentiment of the chapter for habitual and recurring contemplation through the day shall be added to the former."

That he might come into immediate contact with the truth in the very words in which it was first made known, he recommenced his study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. "I visited him," says his old neighbour, Mr. Smith, "in the year 1811. At that time he informed me that he had determined to devote three years to the study of the New Testament in the original language, and he asked me what were the books best adapted to give him assistance, his knowledge of that class of books being then but limited. As his zeal was burning with a pure and ardent flame, I have little doubt that he put into execution the resolution which he had formed." The Journal which follows tells how the purpose was fulfilled.

At the very time when Mr. Chalmers came to know the power and preciousness of the sacred volume, the enthusiasm on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had been instituted a few years before, was at its height. "The men who then lived are now rapidly passing away, but those who yet survive certainly owe it to themselves, in connexion with the generations they are so soon to leave, to inform them fully of the deep sensation then felt, and the joy with which the simple proposal respecting the sacred volume was then hailed throughout the kingdom. . . . The formation of this Society produced an effect altogether unprecedented; indeed the mere announcement ran throughout every denomination in the kingdom, and conveyed an impulse at once the most powerful and the most extensive under which the Christians of this country had ever come."*

It was the first great Christian enterprise which won the sympathies and enlisted the public advocacy of Mr. Chalmers. In design so simple and comprehensive—to take the pure and unmixed seed of the word, and scatter it wide as the human family; in spirit so catholic—offering a common meeting-ground to all Protestant Christendom, the first presented since the days of the Reformation—an evangelical alliance of the widest scope, and with a distinct and definite work to do—the Bible Society "rose in his estimation as the most magnificent scheme that ever was

* "Annals of the English Bible," by Christopher Anderson, vol. ii. p. 610.

instituted for bettering the moral condition of the species." A glow of delighted anticipation was kindled over the pages which described its rapid progress and brightening prospects—a glow which he thus sought at once to express and to communicate. "The whole surface of England is in a blaze of enthusiasm; the Society already enrols among her children the purest, the most enlightened, the most venerable names in our sister Establishment; she is drawing around her all that is great in the politics, and all that is liberal in the theology of England. The nobles of the land are throwing in their splendid donations, and the poor widow is casting her mite into the treasury of Christian beneficence. The Bible Society of London has given an impulse to the whole population of Christendom; and the general demand is for the law and for the testimony. Every eye is withdrawing from the paltry modifications of sect and of system, and pointing to that light which beams pure and unvitiated from the original sources of inspiration. To have circulated the book of God in 127 languages—to have put no less than two millions and a half copies in the hands of the great human family—to have originated many new translations, and to have revived or put into fresh circulation many old ones—to have sent forth emissaries to every quarter of the globe, and that, too, at the very time when the din of hostility was loud among the nations—to have found a way for its peaceful embassies among all the regions which they occupy—to have plied its enterprise with so much vigour when war rung its alarms all over Europe—to have made its silent progress, and moved on magnificently in the prosecution of its great task, when the panorama of armies, and fleets, and shifting monarchies, was fastening almost every eye, and the general mind of the world was nearly all taken up with the strife and the eagerness of its restless politics:*—these are noble doings,

* It was while England was at war with Holland, Spain, France, and America, that the first Bible Society was formed: a very limited association, confining itself exclusively to the object of providing our own soldiers and sailors with the word of life. The first ship among whose crew the Scriptures were thus distributed was the Royal George, which had 400 copies of the Society's Bibles on board "when Kempenfelt went down with twice four hundred men." The British and Foreign Bible Society was instituted in 1804. At the bombardment of Copenhagen, two shells entered the buildings which contained many thousand copies of the Scriptures, supplied by the London Society. These buildings were nearly burnt to the ground—that part only escaping in which the Bibles were deposited. The Bibles which so narrowly escaped were destined for Iceland, an island in the strange condition of having 50,000 inhabitants, nearly all of whom could read and write, yet almost entirely without printed books, the want being supplied by transcription. When the British Society turned their attention to it, they found that there were not fifty Bibles in the island. "It is a singular circumstance in the history of European literature, that letters highly flourished in Iceland between the 10th and 14th century. At a period when every art and science seemed to be expelled from the Continent, they still continued to exist in no inconsiderable degree in

and to my eye they constitute one of the finest and most imposing spectacles in the moral history of the species."

And it was not to mere eloquent expressions that his advocacy was confined. While striving in the pulpit and through the press, at county meetings, and before church-courts, to vindicate the cause of the Bible Society, and to raise it above reproach, his chief efforts were directed to the establishment of parochial associations. Impressed both by the principle and the results of a system of penny-a-week subscriptions, which had been recently pursued by the "Aberdeen Female Servants' Society for promoting the diffusion of the Scriptures," admiring this system as one which brought in every class of the community as contributors, and had already proved itself to be pre-eminently productive, he resolved to apply it to his own parish, and to recommend it in every quarter where his influence could effectively be employed. When the Kilmany Bible Association was formed, the subscriptions were strictly limited to a penny a week —those who desired to give more doing it, either in the way of donation, or by entering the names of different members of their families as contributors. At the very first proposal of this scheme, it was objected to it, that it was imposing a burden on the poor. In the first sermon which he preached on behalf of the Bible Society, this objection was indignantly repelled. "'What,' say some, 'will you take from the poor?'—No: we do not take; —it is they who give. It is you who impute to them a grossness and a want of generosity which do not belong to them. You have the indelicacy to sit in judgment on their circumstances and their feelings. It is you who think of them so unworthily, that you cannot conceive how truth and benevolence should be objects to them; and that, after they have got the meat to feed, the house to shelter, the raiment to cover them, there is nothing else that they will bestow a penny upon. They may not be able to express their feelings on a suspicion so ungenerous, but I shall do it for them.—We have souls as well as you, and precious to our hearts is the Saviour who died for them. It is true we have our distresses, but these have bound us more firmly to our Bibles; and it is the desire of our hearts that a gift so precious should be sent to the poor of other countries. The word of God is our hope and our rejoicing: we desire that

this barren and inhospitable island. The first edition of the Bible in Icelandic is said to have been finished in the 15th century; and if so, they enjoyed this precious treasure in their own tongue previous to any nation in modern Europe."—Second Report of the Edinburgh Bible Society.

it may be theirs also; that the wandering savage may know it and be glad; and the poor negro, under the lash of his master, may be told of a Master in heaven who is full of pity and full of tenderness. Do you think that sympathy for such as these is your peculiar attribute? Know that our hearts are made of the same materials with your own, that we can feel as well as you, and out of the earnings of a hard and an honest industry we shall give an offering to the cause; nor shall we cease our exertions till the message of salvation be carried round the globe, and made known to the countless millions who live in guilt and who die in darkness.—Think of the poor widow, my brethren, and learn from her that neither the exercise nor the reward of charity is confined to the higher orders of society: and, to encourage you still more to the support of the good cause, though your individual offering be small, the number of individuals among you is great, and the accumulation of your littles will form into a mightier sum than all the united gifts that the rich have yet thrown into the treasury. What, do you not know that a penny a week from each householder in Britain amounts to half-a-million of pounds sterling in the year, and that this is a sum larger by sixteen times than any yearly income which the Bible Society has received from its wealthy and numerous subscribers? Yes, my brethren, though much has been done, there is much to do; and you, by the steadiness with which you keep up your liberality, by your not being weary in this work of well-doing, by the manly and Christian perseverance with which you hold fast by so righteous a cause, by the example which you maintain of a vigorous and well-conducted system, may not only extend the number of subscribers to your own society, but may encourage the formation of similar institutions in the neighbourhood around you. I long to see the day, nor do I despair of seeing it, when every parish shall have a Christian society,—when not a district of the land shall be left uncultivated, but shall yield a produce to the cause of the Saviour, —when these lesser streams shall form into a mighty torrent to carry richness and fertility into the dry and desolate regions of the world,—and when Britain, high in arms and in political influence, shall earn a more permanent glory, by being the dispenser of light and power, and the message of Heaven to the remotest nations."

To trace his progress, let us return to the Journal of 1812:—

"*Sunday, Jan.* 5, 1812.—Went over to Balmerino after breakfast, and preached. Dined at Naughton; and gave the evening to Sabbath exercises, though a good deal intermingled with worldly subjects.—O God, make me wise and useful in conversation, and, above all, improve my gift of prayer; and give me a power and a variety of expression to suit all cases, and correspond to all the different sentiments of faith and piety. Must aim at the improvement of this faculty; and I implore the blessing of heaven upon the endeavour.

"*Jan.* 6.—I am out of all patience with Macknight, who is really a most tedious and heavy writer.

"*Jan.* 7.—I mean to give my main strength this year to the composition of sermons.

"*Jan.* 8.—I am always pleased with Macknight when he assumes the capacity of a Scripture critic in his 'Credibility.' His exposition of some prophecies in the Revelation is highly interesting, though perhaps a little fanciful, and too far pursued in some things.

"*Jan.* 9.—Understand that a Bible Society has been formed at Rathillet; and this is in several respects a very interesting trial, on various principles, to myself. I had conferred with Mr. Johnston* previously upon the subject, and there was great apparent frankness and cordiality betwixt us; there was latterly, however, a falling off from this, and it has terminated in the institution of a separate society, without my knowing, or being at all consulted about it. This want of confidence is unpleasant, and tends to affect my personal feelings of friendship towards Mr. Johnston. At the same time, I must make allowances for the peculiar footing on which he stands with his people; and the fact that his people were greatly more disposed towards the measure than mine, must form a great abatement to those unpleasant feelings, which arise from Mr. Johnston's desire to secure a credit and a distinction in the business which he was so far entitled to. So much for the question, as it affects us individually. But let this never be an obstruction in the way of public utility; and in as far as my future attempts for the Bible Society are concerned, I do think that this separate society gives a sectarian form to the thing, which must operate to its prejudice. What we ought to have done should have been to frame our regulations, and choose our office-bearers in concert. It should have appeared at the very outset as a liberal and catholic

* The minister of the Secession Church at Rathillet.

combination—that would have served as an effectual example to other parishes. The members of a meeting-house combining to form such a society, does not form that kind of example. Let me, therefore, wait the progress of events. The great point is to serve the institution in the most effectual manner. If, in point of fact, there is a general disposition to support the society in the present form, good and well; if not, a parish society may still be formed—and a greater fund is raised, I believe, from a number of separate institutions than from a general one. Let me further reflect that I have not been so zealous or active as Mr. Johnston—that I have not the title to claim distinction in this business, and that soreness on this ground should be done away. In the meantime, let me be guarded and mild; and I pray God for grace to help me *in the time of need.* Finished Macknight's Credibility, and began Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.

"*Jan.* 10.—Mr. Johnston called. He has chosen all the office-bearers out of his own people; and I insisted on the sectarian complexion which was thus given to the whole affair. It has landed me in some perplexity.

"*Sunday, Jan.* 12.—Preached as usual. Mr. Morton came upon me before sermon, dined, and left me in the evening. I asked Mr. Bonthron, Mr. Edie, and Robert to dine along with him. I am not altogether satisfied with this;—bad in point of example; and, oh! at what a distance from the themes of the eternal Sabbath was the conversation of our company.—O God, give light and direction from on high. I pray for a continued direction of mind to the things of eternity.

"*Jan.* 15.—Married my dear Jane to Mr. Morton. Breakfasted in Anster, and rode in cavalcade to Mrs. Morton's, Flisk, where we dined: but I was so overpowered with drowsiness, and had so little sleep last night, that I was in a state of perfect apathy.

"*Jan.* 20.—Had a numerous marriage-party to dinner; and kept it up with music and dancing to betwixt one and two in the morning. Was in a divided state of purpose about family worship in the former part of the day, and had it not in the evening.

"*Jan.* 23.—I took a hurried adieu of my dear Jane, whose departure from Kilmany threw me into repeated fits of tenderness."

The tenderness of this adieu was greatly heightened by the thought of the distance to which his favourite sister was about

to be withdrawn. Mr. Morton's family lived in the neighbouring parish of Flisk; but he had himself resided for some years in England, and had now settled near Dulverton, in Somersetshire. But in Mr. Chalmers's regrets our readers will scarcely share, inasmuch as this separation originated that most familiar and most affectionate correspondence by which our following pages will be largely enriched. For some time before her marriage, his sister had been in very delicate health, and he trembled for the effect of all the visiting which awaited her in Scotland, followed by the fatigue of a tedious journey of three or four days' length. He was especially apprehensive of Edinburgh, where he could reckon up no less than six-and-thirty cousins. To give her the full benefit of the principle,—forewarned, forearmed,—he wrote to her a few days after her marriage:—"Would it not be well that your visit to St. John Street were of as private and domestic a nature as possible; and could not a previous letter to Mr. and Mrs. Cowan make it be understood by all your friends that as your main object was to get forward with as little fatigue and exhaustion as possible, you would confine yourself to receiving calls, and entreat them to save you the fatigue of having large parties at their house on your account? I beg it to be understood all along that everything I advance is in the humble form of a suggestion. I have therefore further to state it to you, as my opinion, that there is the greatest call upon you to keep on the defence against the exactions of those who will multiply days and dinners upon you, though your health, and convenience, and substantial enjoyment should perish in this wretched round of insignificance and folly. After Mr. Morton left me, I fell in again with Mr. Gillespie, who said the most civil things of you, apologized for not including you in his invitation to Mr. Morton, asked if I could name a day for you dining at Mountquhannie, and said that Mrs. Gillespie would call, if she knew the when and the where. I took it upon me to evade all their civilities in the most graceful manner possible; and with that attention to one's real wishes which ever accompanies true politeness, he surrendered his proposal to our accommodation, and did not, like people who have nothing of politeness but its heartless exterior, fasten himself upon you like a horse-leech till he had got the thing out of you that he wanted. By the way, you will perceive that it does not lie within the limits of human strength to comply with every invitation. Do you your uttermost, you will leave people disappointed, or, to speak more correctly, affecting

to be disappointed. Since people then are sure to be disappointed at all events, is it not worth all the difference between taking things easily and overstraining matters, just to make the number of these people a little greater than you at one time counted on? Mr. Morton will forgive all this interference. He will put it to the true account—my love for you, and my ardent wish to remove every obstacle to your comfort."

A few days after this letter was written, the intelligence reached Anstruther and Kilmany that the Court of Session had granted a much smaller augmentation of his stipend than he had anticipated. Knowing the affectionate interest which Mrs. Morton took in this affair, he wrote to her at Anstruther:—"As it is very likely that your disappointment was greater than my own, I hasten to mitigate the pain thereof by assuring you, that though the augmentation granted be considerably less than I expected, I, upon the whole, feel quietly and pleasurably thereanent. It is true I have got £60 a year less than I asked and had some reason to look for, but then it is £60 a year more than I at present enjoy. The only effect then of this decreet of the Court of Teinds is, that it has added to my determination not to marry, and in so far I am obliged to them. I never intended to save money, and with my income as it is, I shall be able to live easily, indulge in a good many literary expenses, and command an occasional jaunt to London. My agent advises a reclaiming petition—a sort of last effort for a greater augmentation, and I believe that I shall make the experiment." The making of the experiment carried him to Edinburgh a short time before his sister's arrival. "My object in writing at present," he says in a letter to her, dated 1st February, "is to inform you that the scarlet fever has broken out in Mr. Cowan's of the Canongate. I supped in St. John Street, and the near connexion of the two houses and families did not occur to me; but it occurs to me now, and I think that you should write to Mr. Alexander Cowan, and take his friendly opinion upon the propriety of your exposing yourself and Helen to infection. It would be the very perfection of false politeness if Mr. Cowan were kindly and hospitably to insist on his dear and much-loved friends to take up their abode with him, and, even though a scarlet fever should be the consequence, to look upon that as a mere bagatelle in the way of those established gentilities whose claims nothing can be suffered to supersede. He is too sensible a fellow, however, for that, and I am

happy to think that parties either within or without doors are not particularly wished for in the present instance. I met the ——, and they insist upon your not using the Edinburgh folk ill. I would rather undertake to eat one of Andrew Gray's fat bullocks in a month than be forced to eat my way for a month through the invitations of this multitude whom no man can number. Give my compliments to papa, mamma, brothers, sisters, aunt, and if there be any cousins or second cousins within the reach of your hearing, you may offer the kindest expressions from me. My voice, when tuned to the subject of cousins, is something like Charles's bagpipe, softened by distance." The formidable visit was rendered not only a harmless but most agreeable one, through the kind consideration of his relatives in Edinburgh. Mr. Chalmers accompanied the marriage party as far as Carlisle, and on reaching Kilmany, wrote to Mr. Morton :—"I waited in Edinburgh till I learned the fate of my reclaiming petition. It was given against me. . . . I left Edinburgh on the Thursday, and, by the way, you may tell Jane that I wrote to Mr. Cowan from Hawick, that I called on the ——s, that I had two charming *tête-à-tête* at St. John Street; and, in a word, that I did not leave Edinburgh till I had succeeded in re-establishing the most entire cordiality of my feelings with every cousin and second cousin that I got within scent of." We have, however, somewhat anticipated the Journal, to which we must return.

"*Jan.* 24.—The decisive information at length came that I had only got three chalders of augmentation where I asked and had some reason to look for six. Let me struggle against the disappointment. O God, give me that great gain which lies in godliness with contentment. In waiting for the intelligence, I disappointed a party who expected me at an examination. This must never be repeated.—O God, save me from dreaming indolence—from unproductive reverie—from delusive procrastination—from languor, heartlessness, or discouragement in the great work of gaining sons and daughters unto righteousness.

"*Sunday, Feb.* 9.—Preached for Mr. Thomson this afternoon in the New Greyfriars. Dined at Mr. Thomson's with Dr. Fleming.

"*Feb.* 10.—Breakfasted in Mr. Cowan's. Went to the Lancaster School on the Calton Hill with Mr. Andrew Thomson. Left Edinburgh in the coach for Carlisle with the marriage party. Supped at Hawick, and wrote a hurried letter to Dr. Charters. Arrived at Carlisle by six in the morning next day. While I

transport myself to this new scene and this new situation, let me carry all my habitual principles along with me, and think that it is the same God who reigns over all, and the same Son of God by whom the worlds were created. O God, let me never be thrown off my guard by fatigue, or variety, or anything that threatens to loosen the reign of principle in my heart.

"*Feb.* 13.—Sauntered all forenoon with Dr. Charters. There is a greater want of congeniality betwixt me and the Doctor than formerly, though still I can perceive that there is a substantial agreement of opinion upon a number of points. We are not called upon to judge, but we are called upon to have the charity which believeth all things. Am reading in the 'Life of Baxter,' by himself.

"*Feb.* 14.—Dined and spent another congenial evening with Dr. Charters. I would fain hope that vital Christianity has influence and operation on those minds which appear to me under the disguise of a language and mode of conception that differ essentially from my own.

"*Sunday, Feb.* 16.—Preached at Wilton, and my principles on the incompetency of reason to decide upon the subject of revelation from previous and independent materials of its own, are evidently most troublesome and offensive to Dr. Charters. I was commented on with passion and severity in the evening; and while this opposition on his part establishes my opinion as to the insecurity of his speculations, let me also convert it into a trial of principle and charity. I feel more and more my deficiency considered as a candidate for heaven.—O God, may my soul and its interest be the uppermost considerations of my heart. Sanctify me by Thy Spirit. Call me effectually. Work in me the work of faith with power. May this faith work by love, and may the love yield obedience. O God, perfect in me the faith, the repentance, and the new obedience of the gospel.—I am delighted with the Doctor's parish library, and have some floating conceptions of a similar institution in my parish. Let me not implicate myself by any vow. Let me wait quietly the progress of events; and in the meantime, O my God, fill me with charity and zeal for good works.

"*Feb.* 19.—My reclaiming petition thrown out this day, and a final end put to all my hopes of a greater augmentation. Extinguish all covetousness, and let patience and good-will have their perfect work in my heart.

"*Feb.* 21.—Was powerless all day. Had intended to prepare

myself for the opening of the Dundee Bible Society on Monday, but was quite incapable.—'You may tell Jane that such has been the effect of James Anderson's communications relative to a Bible Society, that a general meeting of the inhabitants was held in Dundee on Monday last, and a most respectable association formed. I have done nothing yet in my small way, but I have no doubt that an institution will soon be formed in the parish. I see that they are forming at a prodigious rate in England. I wish you could get Buchanan's 'Christian Researches in India' to your library at Dulverton. It is, in the first place, a most entertaining book; and in point of incident, adventure, variety, and agreeable information, possesses all the attractions of a book of travels of the very first stamp; and in the second place, it leaves a most decided impression in favour of Bible Societies, and lets you into the entire practicability of throwing in Christianity among the half-civilized nations of Asia. I know not a book better calculated to rescue these societies from all those imputations of fanaticism which have been so plentifully thrown upon them both in this neighbourhood and in other parts of the island. . . . I have been left to myself since I came here, and am strongly disposed to persist in this scheme of solitude. I shall be happy to see friends at all times, but what Jane understands me to allude to is, that I am determined that no wife shall break in upon the quietness of my retirement. This is a subject on which she and I have all along differed.'—Extract from letter to Mr. Morton, dated 29th February.

"*Sunday, March* 1.—Preached as usual. Alexander Paterson, who called on me yesterday, called on me to-night also. He tells me that he has obtained more comfort, and gives me very cheering accounts of the growth of seriousness among his acquaintances. I had a very near and intimate perception of my Saviour this evening, and felt, what I have long been in want of, joyful communion with God. O Heavenly Father, keep me alive to Thee through Jesus Christ, and may the love of Thee be shed abroad in my heart by the Holy Ghost.

"*March* 11.—Had a letter from Dr. Charters full of misconception about my sermon, which is evidently matter of offence to him.

"*March* 12.—Recurred to vigorous composition. I am reading the 'Life of Doddridge,' and am greatly struck with the quantity of business which he put through his hands. O God,

impress upon me the value of time, and give regulation to all my thoughts and all my movements. I abandon plans, and cast my care on Him who cares for me. May I be strong in faith, instant in prayer, high in my sense of duty, and vigorous in the execution of it. When I detect myself in unprofitable reverie, let me make an instant transition from dreaming to doing.

"*March* 13.—Started at seven, and composed a great deal both in the morning and forenoon. Felt the tension of perpetual solitude and hard study.

"*March* 14.—I am much impressed with the reality and important business style of Doddridge's intercourse with God. O Heavenly Father, convert my religion from a name to a principle. Bring all my thoughts and movements into a habitual reference to Thee. May I call on Thy name, in deed and reality, that I may be saved.

"*March* 16.—Have carried my Journal to the termination of a second year, and from its varying complexion, it appears that there lies a vast and indefinite field before me—much to aspire after in love to God, in the steadiness of my faith, in the clearness of my views, in the Christian purity of my conduct. O God, may I build a right superstructure on a right foundation. May I make mention of that name than which there is none other given under heaven whereby men can be saved. Work in me that which is well-pleasing in Thy sight, and make me altogether a new creature in Christ Jesus my Lord. Recall me from my habitual estrangement; correct the miserable wanderings of my heart; form Christ in me, and may He be to me the anchor of hope, and the steady unfailing principle of sanctification. O Lord, give me to be cleansed more and more. Seal me as one of Thine own, and naming the name of Jesus, may I depart from iniquity.

"My health last year was variable. But I fall miserably short of what I might do and ought to do. The following is a list of my performances:—

"Read Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies; Prideaux's Connexion; Macknight's Credibility of the Gospel; Baxter's Call to the Unconverted; Scott's Marmion; Hannah More's Practical Piety; Life of Matthew Henry; Buchanan's Researches; Buchanan's Sermons; Doddridge's Life, by Orton; and Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.

"In addition to my ordinary supplies for the pulpit, wrote last part of my review of Hints on Toleration; the last part of my

performance on Christianity; a speech for Dr. Playfair, part of which I delivered at the Synod; a sermon on Hebrews vi. 19; another on Luke x. 26; another on Romans xv. 1; and about two sheets of devotional composition. In all about seventeen sheets—a very small proportion indeed.

"Read more than the New Testament in English, and the Greek to the end of the Acts, as also a Greek grammar. At family worship read Isaiah, Psalms, Job, and Proverbs.

"Let me set more value on my time, and let my future Journal be more directed to the particular record of my way of spending it. O God, give me a more decided bent of heart to the service of Thee in Christ Jesus.

"*March* 17.—Rose at eight. Spent nearly an hour in the Bible and prayer, an exercise in which I experience much wandering. Wrote for the Bible Society till half-past eleven. Spent two hours and a half in the great business of renewing my covenant with God. Walked to Kinneir: returned at four to dinner. Translated a chapter of the Greek New Testament. Read three tracts for distribution, and had Robert Edie over to spend an hour and sup with me. Then had a little devotional reading over Baxter's 'Practical Directory.'

"The following is the record of my dedication to God, taken in short-hand after the solemnity was over:—

"Begin with taking a view of my state previous to entering into the covenant. Find it an unsheltered and condemned state. Was convinced, but not lively in my apprehension of it, and was far short of transport or vivacity in any part of this service. Prayed that faith might be wrought in me. Thought of faith in Christ, and had some joyful moments when I thought of the promises annexed to it. Found that it was not by looking to myself, but to Jesus, that I obtained light and direction. I then thought of being sanctified by faith. This turned me to myself. I read with delight the promise of the Spirit to those who believe; but when turning to myself and to my sanctification, I felt a dulness and insipidity, and when I prayed I did it with langour. O that I could fix a full and unqualified look upon Christ—there lies efficacy and comfort and sanctification. After this I made my dedication. I counted the cost of it, and perhaps underrated the difficulties of the Christian warfare. I concluded with a solemn dedication of myself to God as my Sovereign, to Christ as my Saviour, and to the Holy Ghost as my Sanctifier, and prayed for strength and direction and support from on high

that I may be enabled to keep my vows to the Lord. Rose in comfort and peace. Let me bear up, hold fast Christ, even though He should be clouded from me; confess Him with the mouth to be the only Saviour, feel Him to be my anchor, and never, never let Him go.

"*March* 19.—Let me not record all my performances through the day. This leads to repetition. The deviations from the regular system do better for being recorded.

"*March* 23.—Had a most agreeable letter from Mr. Gillespie relative to the Bible Society. Though I feel serene and assured on the subject of reconciliation with God, my mind does not employ itself sufficiently in thinking of Him and rejoicing in Him.

"*March* 24.—I wrote again for the Bible Society, and have begun Calvin's Institutes in Latin.

"*March* 26.—Walked to Logie, where I missed Mr. Melvil. Understand from Mrs. Melvil that he has spoken to some of his people about the Bible Society. I have been in some degree of heaviness for some time under the suspicion of coldness and resentment on the part of my brethren for my operations in this line. A few days will bring it all out; and let me observe whether in this instance also the reality comes up to, or falls short of the anticipation. There are two verses in the Bible which comprise the whole morale of a man's conduct in these circumstances—'Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong;' 'Let all your things be done with charity.'

"*Sunday, March* 29.—Preached as usual. Mr. Gray of Dundee and Misses Balfour of Dundee in the church. Spent an evening of entire solitude. I perhaps give too much of my Sabbath evening to reading, and too little in the way of direct intercourse with God. I should have my pulpit preparations in a state of readiness by Saturday night, so that the whole of Sunday morning may be devotionally spent. Have begun to give family prayers on the Sunday morning.

"*April* 6.—Spent a devotional forenoon, which was in part interrupted, and of which the following is the record:—

"Begun at twelve. Was fatigued and feverish, but my emotions pleasurable, and I did obtain a nearness to God. Prayed for my sanctification in general terms. Read the Bible and Clarke's 'Promises,' and descended in my next prayer to the particular duties. Mr. C. interrupted me, and I felt that my mind was wholly in business while he was present. When he left me I felt the infirmity, and recurred, as my next topic of pious and

aspiring meditation, to my peculiar business as a minister. Have not that lively repentance for my past misconduct and negligence that I would like; but let me press on to the things that are before. Prayed to God that He would make me an able minister of the New Testament. My physical sensations partook of the pleasurable delirium of an incipient fever, but I trust that my confidence is building upon God in Christ, and that my dependence is upon the Spirit, as the revealed instrument by which I am made to apply the remedy, and to go on in the sanctification of the gospel. Let me not be high-minded, but fear. Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall. At two o'clock I went out and visited people in the village. Returned, and offered my intercessions for parish friends, enemies, relations, and the Church of Christ; and I pray that God would not suffer me to be deluded by the formality of an external service, but, oh settle in my heart the faith of Christ working by love. O God, give me to rejoice in Thee, and lift my affections from earth to heaven. May Thy law be my delight, and may I never shrink from the cross of discipline and duty. Purify my heart, and may the following passages be my direction and my joy:—Phil. iv. 6; Luke vi. 35.

"*April* 14.—Started before eight. Read a chapter of Greek. Left Kilmany on horseback for Kirkcaldy. Was annoyed with the peculiarities of my horse on the road, and gave way to an old habit of vehemence on the subject. This must be carefully guarded against.* Arrived at Kirkcaldy in time to dine with the clergy. After dinner felt a diseased anxiety about my public appearances. This is selfish and unchristian. Let me prefer my brethren; and the very excellent extempore powers of business and expression manifested by many of them prove how much

* What most provoked him with his horse was the frequency with which it threw him. At first he was much interested by noticing the relative length of the intervals between each fall. Taking the average length, and calculating how far a dozen falls would carry him, he resolved to keep the horse till the twelfth fall was accomplished. Extremely fond of such numerical adjustments, he was most faithful in observing them. In this instance, however, the tenth fall was so bad a one that his resolution gave way, and he told his servant to take the horse to the next market, and sell him forthwith. "But remember," he said, "you must conceal none of its faults;" and going through the formidable enumeration, he closed by bidding him be sure to tell that it had ten times thrown its present master. "But who," exclaimed the other, "will ever think of buying the horse if I tell all that beforehand?" "I cannot help that," said Mr. Chalmers; "I will have no deception practised, and if nobody will buy the horse, you must just bring him back again." The sale was not attempted; or, if it was, no purchaser appeared. The horse was finally transferred to his neighbour, Mr. Thomson of Balmerino, in exchange for one of Baxter's works. It served its new master quietly and faithfully for many a year, and no vicious disposition ever showing itself, it was plausibly conjectured, that, in the first instance, the peculiarities were not so much in the horse as in the singularly restless and energetic horsemanship of its rider.

preference they are entitled to. Supped in the inn after the Synod. Sat till two in the morning. Let me have a savour of divine things. It was wrong to sing the song which I was requested to do. Slept in Mr. Balfour's.

"*April* 15.—Breakfasted in Mr. Martin's. Dr. Martin spoke to me about the song of yesternight, and I thanked him. Met with forty clergy on the subject of the Bible Society. Things went on harmoniously. I animadverted on the home supplies, and what I said was approved of. I still hanker too much after the praise of men, and am carried away by the love of distinction.

"KILMANY MANSE, *April* 21, 1812.

"I went to Kirkcaldy to the Synod on the 14th, and we had a meeting of forty clergymen on Tuesday the 15th, for the formation of a Fife Bible Society. To render this society as productive as possible, every encouragement is held out to the formation of parish societies, dependent on the county one. There is one formed at Anster, and one at Kilmany, and I believe four more in different parts of the country. We have no less than 160 subscribers, which, at a penny a week, comes to £35 a year. If the same proportion were followed all over the county, it would yield a revenue of £3000 from the single district of Fife—a sum as great as all Scotland has yet furnished. . . . I mean to be at Anster once a month; and what enables me to make this out is a horse purchased for me by Mr. R. Martin, the possession of which confers an immense addition upon my locomotive faculties, as I can get to Anster now in four hours. . . . In the other column I give you a short poem of James Anderson's, published in the Dundee newspaper—An Address to the Members of the Bible Society of London. Write it over yourself on a separate paper.

Thrice honour'd band! though poet's lyre
Have never tuned a lay to thee,
Thy silent deeds my soul inspire
Beyond poetic minstrelsy.
Thrice honour'd band! though Fame decree
Her clarion blast to triumph's son,
Yet are thy sons more dear to me
Than heroes famed for battles won.

Far Iceland shall thy love revere
While Hecla rears her threatening steep;
And, ages hence, thy gift shall cheer
The gloom of Lapland's winter sleep;
And Russia's slaves, that hourly weep
Beneath oppression's ceaseless load,
Shall, taught by thee, in freedom keep
The hallow'd day of freedom's God.

And when yon tribes have ceased to rove,
And learn'd in letter'd towns to dwell,
When cultured field and blossom'd grove
On Volga's fruitful banks shall swell—
Then oft the Kalmuck sire may tell,
As round his knee his children smile,
How that dear Book they love so well,
Was sent them from the Western Isle.*

"*April* 22.—I am hesitating about my sermon for Dundee. Kept up till twelve, and awake till two. My frequent cogitations about the Dundee exhibition argue, I am afraid, a devotion to the praise of men. Force me wholly into Thyself, O God.

"*April* 27.—Preached in the Cowgate. Was much fatigued, and feel the vanity of display, I am afraid. Dined with Mr. Thomson. Dr. Duncan of Ratho, and Mr. Tait of Tealing, of the party.

"*Sunday, May* 3.—Is it right to fatigue myself thus, or soar so selfishly and ostentatiously above the capacities of my people? O God, may I make a principle of this; and preach not myself, but Christ Jesus my Lord.

"*May* 5.—Took horse at twelve, and rode to Essie to dinner. Was fatigued, and had no interval for prayer. Spent the night

* These lines close a letter containing an account of the Bible Society's operations in Iceland, Lapland, and Russia; and suffer loss by being disjoined from the narrative to which they refer. Perhaps the following lines which close another of Mr. Anderson's communications, and which are annexed to a description of the horrors of Juggernaut, can bear the dislocation better. At any rate, they are worthy of being preserved:—

Hark! hark! the horrid yell!
Methought that loosen'd fiends unfurl'd
Their banners o'er the eastern world,
And from the tented welkin hurl'd
The hissing brands of hell!
Hark! Coromandel's bays rebound
The swelling, sinking, dying sound!—
Hark! hark! it roars again!
I mark the mingling crowds appear;
Their thrilling thunders reach mine ear
With accents human-toned and clear—
Oh! 't is the voice of men:
Loud to their wooden god they raise
The clamours of polluted praise!

Soon are the rites begun:—
Before the throne foul deeds of shame
The very human shape defame,
Till Moloch's Brahmin priests proclaim
The Idol's pleasure won!
Then round their god the nations throng,
And drag his cumbrous car along.—

Nor pause the rites the while;
For now the eager crowds adore
Some self-devoted pilgrim's gore,
And hastily their god explore,
To catch his seeming smile!
Aside—unmoved—their British lord
Surveys the deeds that gain afford.

But while such deeds are done,
Shall Scotia's darling sons survey
Our bloodless plain, our smiling Tay,
And hear our psalms on Sabbath-day,
Nor pity India's son?
Shall yon blue mountain summits be
The bounds of Scottish sympathy?
Or, shall a Scotsman know
That his, by God's decree, the power
To sweep from earth fell Moloch's tower,
And in its stead to rear a bower
Where freshening flowers may blow:
And, knowing, dare one hour confine
The treasures of the Book Divine?

Mr. Anderson's Letters on the Bible Society were inserted in the Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser, in the numbers for January 31, February 7, 14, March 6, 20, April 3, 10, 17, 24.—1812.

with Mr. Miller's family. Let me watch with perseverance for the Spirit, and feel my dependence upon it.

"*May* 6.—Started at six. Left Mr. Miller at seven. Breakfasted at Forfar with Mr. Bruce. Rode on to Brechin, where I visited the tower, and fell in with Mr. Dow, supervisor at Montrose, who rode with me to Fettercairn. Dined by myself; and Mr. Keyden arrived in the evening. Have not yet succeeded in prevailing on Mr. K. to have family worship; and was not vigorous for devotion in the evening.

"N.B.—Where there is no time or opportunity in inns, I can set myself to the great business of intercourse with heaven on the road.

"*May* 7.—Rode with Mr. K. first to Stonehaven, whence we walked to Dunottar Castle. Rode after dinner to Aberdeen, where we arrived at supper. Commanded an interval of time at Stonehaven; and I have to thank God for the experience that prayer and meditation have a salutary influence in keeping from gross and presumptuous sins. Let me, amid all this variety, carry along with me that all is referable to God.

"*May* 8.—Got into bad humour with our barber this morning, and delivered myself up to unchristian peevishness and violence. Visited both colleges, and walked through the streets of Aberdeen. Left it at two, and rode to Stonehaven, where I courted my former opportunities. Dined, and had a most delightful walk up the Carron, and along the shore. I met with Mr. Thomson, minister of Fetteresso. I have much before me in the way of habitual and constant dependence on the Spirit of God, through Christ Jesus. O for the love of God shed abroad in my heart!

"*May* 9.—Left Stonehaven after breakfast. Called on Mr. Walker at Dunottar—a pleasant, cultivated man. Rode to Glenbervie, where we were detained to dinner by Mr. Thom. Left them after dinner, and drank tea at Fordoun. Mr. Leslie, another example of pleasant manners and cultivated information, with an apparent want of evangelical sentiment and earnest piety. A lesson to me of the value I should set upon mere unsupported urbanity and polish. Rode to Fettercairn by Drumtochty.

"*Sunday, May* 10.—Preached all day at Fettercairn. The people very attentive in the afternoon particularly. My mind is veering more to faith in Christ as the foundation and the resting-place, though far, and very far, from that entire devotion to the

things of eternity which a mind thoroughly renewed by divine grace must experience. Mr. Adamson, the schoolmaster, dined with us; and it is most difficult to maintain a savour of Christianity with the people I am amongst. Let me love Thy people, O God, and court their society. Had some earnest and particular conversation with Mr. Keyden, and prevailed upon him to have family worship in the evening.—O my God, may I be washed, and sanctified, and justified, in the name of Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God.

"*May* 11.—After breakfast wrote half a sermon for my people. Rode to the Burn with Mr. Keyden, where I was much pleased with the banks of the North Esk. Drank tea with Mr. Adamson, and resisted their proposal for punch after it with a degree of ill humour. The state of my health was not favourable to complacency; but, O God, may I struggle against all that is physical and earthly. Found myself in an unfavourable state for devotion in the evening; and most unluckily neglected the proper time for urging family worship upon Mr. Keyden. Did not insist till after supper, when he urged that it was too late. I am far, and very far, from watching for the Spirit, with all perseverance.—O my God, I pray, in the name of that good Saviour whom Thou hast revealed, that Thou wouldest complete the sanctification of my heart.

"*May* 12.—Started at eight. Rode to Castletown to breakfast. Am delighted to find, from the testimony of the Brodies, that Dr. Leslie is a great favourite in his parish, and a subscriber to the Bible Society. When I came home I composed a little of my sermon, and spent the remainder of the forenoon with Mr. Keyden in a little miscellaneous business. After dinner, rode to the top of Cairney Mount; and was in closer alliance with Christ through the evening than I had been for some time, though, O God, how distant, upon the whole! O may the great end of Christ's dying, the just for the unjust, be speedily accomplished in me, viz., to bring me unto God. Got family worship performed again at Mr. Keyden's, and am delighted to hear him say that he intends to continue the system.

"*May* 13.—Started before five. Went on to Montrose with Mr. Keyden, where we breakfasted. Left Montrose at eleven. Called in at Marytown, from which place Mr. Ferguson walked with us for about half an hour. Took the old road to Dundee, and, with the exception of a blunder which took us about four miles out of the way, got on most pleasantly by Carmylie and

Monikie. Fed our horses at Monikie, and dined at a house within seven miles of Dundee. We arrived, after a long ride of forty-five miles, about half-past nine. A sense of divine things was not constantly or affectingly present with me all this day. O my God, sanctify, and guide, and uphold me.

"*Sunday, May* 24.—Intimated my sacrament this day. I am now preaching on the sacrifice, from Romans iii. 24, 25, and have to bless God for the near and confident and satisfying views that I obtained this evening of the great remedy. I feel that a firm prospect of heaven is a sanctifying sentiment; and let me never cease to pray for the Spirit to make good my sanctification.

"*May* 27.—Visited Mrs. D. and R. D. I am deficient in the article of conversation on these occasions. O that I could get fairly into contact with the souls of my parishioners!

"*May* 30.—How grateful should I be to God for health and activity, and delicious weather. O may I not be idle, but may it be my meat and my drink to do the will of God.

"*June* 1.—Rose at eight. Spent the forenoon in devotion, of which the following is the record:—Invocation for God's blessing and direction upon the exercise. Feel the force of God's entreaty and His command to believe in Christ, and am elevated by a joyful confidence. Read the promises to prayer, and prayed for acceptance through Christ, and general sanctification. Not rapturously near, but feel serene and confident. Prayed for knowledge, for the understanding, and impression, and remembrance of God's word—for growing in grace, for personal holiness, for that sanctification which the redeemed undergo. Thought of the sins that most easily beset me: confessed them, and prayed for correction and deliverance. They are—anxiety about worldly matters, when any suspicion or uncertainty attaches to them; a disposition to brood over provocations; impatience at the irksome peculiarities of others; an industriousness, from a mere principle of animal activity, without the glory of God and the service of mankind lying at the bottom of it; and, above all, a taste and an appetite for human applause. My conscience smote me on the subject of pulpit exhibitions. I pray that God may make usefulness the grand principle of my appearances there. Read the promises annexed to faithful ministers; and prayed for zeal, and diligence, and ability in the discharge of my ministerial office. Prayed for the people—individually for some, and generally for all descriptions of them. Prayed for friends individually and relations. Read the pro-

mises relative to the progress of the gospel, and conversion of the Jews. Prayed for those objects. Through the whole of this exercise felt calm, and I hope confident. I have not felt much rapture, nor have I that near sense of the presence and glory of God which I aspire after. Let my maxim be, 'Faint, yet pursuing;' and let me look up in Christ for all those spiritual blessings, which can only be enjoyed in perfection on the other side of time, and of the grave. Concluded the whole with a prayer for God's blessing upon the exercise. Examined two intending communicants, and feel more satisfaction in the work than I used to do.

"*June* 4.—In the evening I examined three intending communicants, two of whom were so ignorant that I have referred them to another evening, and even at a loss what to do with them. O God, give me Thy directing wisdom. Save me from irritation in the work. Let me think how much Christ did to enlighten ignorance; and let the servant of God be gentle, apt to teach, patient.

"*June* 6.—O God, arm me with wisdom and principle. And, oh how grateful to Thee, my Creator, if a measure, which beyond all others exemplifies the truth, that it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps, shall, under the direction of the Supreme, be found to terminate in domestic happiness to myself, and in the accession of another's piety and another's enthusiasm to the great work which I am intrusted with.

"*June* 16.—This is one of my dedication days, and the following is the record of it:—Prayed for a fixed intentness of thought upon God. Recurred often to the reigning object of my heart, and gave myself up to the plans and calculations which have this world for their object. Dedicated myself to God, as my Creator and Judge. O may I feel the weight of this dedication, and the dreadful sentence that hangs over my falling back from it. Thought of myself as a sinner, and of the alarming nature of an unqualified dedication to God, with the twofold condemnation upon him of sinned and sinning. Prayed again. Made confession with my mouth; and, from the agitations of penitence, threw myself into the arms of Jesus Christ, to whom I dedicate myself as one of His redeemed, accepting Him as my alone Saviour. Felt the power of the prevailing affection give way to the exhilarating thought of my Saviour. I look up to Him, and pray that through Him I may be able to do all things. Suffered an interruption in seeking a concordance for the passage

—'He that will do the will of my Father, shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.' Thought of Christ as my sacrifice, and tried to bring up my mind to the doctrine of the Cross, in all its peculiarity. Prayed. Professed to receive Christ as my propitiation, and made a dedication of myself to Him accordingly. Thought of the service which this laid me under to Him. Recollected several passages to that effect, and acquiesced in them accordingly. Prayed for a life and a heart worthy of the holy name by which we are called; and that I should love and obey Christ. Thought of my own insufficiency for this; repaired to the agency of the Spirit; dedicated myself to the Holy Ghost as my sanctifier; and prayed that God would give me His Spirit to reform me, and make me a new creature in Christ Jesus our Lord. During the whole of this last interval was much occupied with that affection which has taken so exclusive a hold of me. I pray that God may moderate and restrain it. Give me self-government; and may all these things issue to my good, and to His glory. Had much comfort; but I am afraid that a great deal of that buoyancy was due to the feeling of independence which it inspired upon the subject that has thrown me into so much agitation. O God, may the fruits of this dedication grow every day, and be more abundant. May I think of the awfulness of Thy judgments. May I not abuse Thy covenant; and I pray for the Spirit which Christ purchased by His obedience —to be made wholly such as Thou wouldst have me to be. Concluded with a general prayer on the subject of the dedication, and craved the pardon of God for its manifold defects.

"*June* 29.—O my God, pour Thy best blessings on ——. Give her ardent and decided Christianity. May she be the blessing and the joy of all around her. May her light shine while she lives; and when she dies, may it prove to be a mere step, a transition in her march to a joyful eternity."

This impressive prayer was offered up for her to whom he had been recently engaged—in union with whom thirty-five years of unbroken domestic happiness were enjoyed. The career which lay before him was very different from that contemplated at the beginning of this union. In her who should afterwards form a suitable companion to him, it required qualities which are rarely combined. He always recognised it as Heaven's greatest providential gift that he was united to one whose presence graced the society in which he moved, upon whose judg-

ment in the details of life he placed implicit confidence, and whose wisely compliant and affectionate disposition made his home one from which he always went out revived and reinvigorated, and to which he always returned to find peaceful and pleasurable repose after toil, or most soothing sympathy amid trials. Miss Grace Pratt was the second daughter of Captain Pratt of the 1st Royal Veteran Battalion. She had resided for some time with her uncle, Mr. Simson, at Starbank, in the parish of Kilmany. The expectation of her speedy removal from that neighbourhood may have somewhat accelerated a movement which landed in so happy a result. His sister's marriage, and his disappointment about the extent of his augmentation, had so recently afforded to Mr. Chalmers the opportunity of reiterating his firm resolution never to marry, that he might perhaps have felt the awkwardness of so suddenly announcing, not only that his old purpose was abandoned, but that his new one was both formed and executed. From any awkwardness which an explicit announcement might have created, he thus felicitously saved himself in communicating the intelligence to Mrs. Morton :—

"Kilmany Manse, *July* 2, 1812.

"My dear Jane,—You know that, when you left Edinburgh, I was engaged with a process before the Court of Teinds, and that the issue of that process was not just so favourable as I could have wished; since which period I have been carrying on another process before another court, and, after the delay of some vexatious forms, and some tedious and unlooked-for evasions, I have the joy to announce to you that the issue has been in the highest degree triumphant. I had really no time for answering your letter. My whole time was occupied with the business of the lawsuit, and with a most constant and fatiguing attendance upon the forms of court. I had to draw out the summonses; I had to plead repeatedly in person. When I met with any discouraging appearance on the part of the judge, I had to renew my appeal, and betake myself to another line of argument. I had to frame replies and duplies, and thought at one time that I would be cast upon the necessity of resting the whole merits of the cause upon a reclaiming petition. The memorials I had to write out and give into court were innumerable. At length appearances began to dawn more favourably upon me. Anxiety brightened into hope, and hope now reposes in all the certainty of the long-wished and well-fought-for decision. No-

thing now remains but to carry forward the decision into accomplishment as speedily as possible. Instruments have already been taken in the clerk's hands; papers have been exchanged between the parties; and all the formalities of signed, sealed, and delivered, have been duly attended to. When Kings, Lords, and Commons pass an Act of Parliament, they cause it to be proclaimed at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh. The court at which I have been pleading has far more exalted pretensions. Unlike every other court of judicature in the country, it neither imitates the supreme court of the nation, nor does it suffer any appeal to her; and the deliverance which it has given in my favour must be proclaimed twice, and within less than a quarter of a mile from my own residence. The officer who reads the proclamation is bound to proclaim the truth, and nothing but the truth; and yet it is very strange that no man can look to him who may not say, in the rude impertinence of the Scotch accent, that it *lies*.* Lastly, the two distinct days on which the court requires proclamation to be made, are the 26th of July and the 2d of August; and the day on which it has decreed the full infeftment of Mr. Chalmers in the property pleaded for and won, is Tuesday the 4th of August.—I ken, Jane, you always thought me an ill-pratted† chiel; but I can assure you, of all the *pratts* I ever played, none was ever carried on or ever ended more *grace*fully.

"I would like to know what you make of the above communication, and what you think of it. I shall only say, that it has rejoiced my friends—that it has revived the heart of my old and venerated father—that Mr. Manson threatens a long screed of poetry on the subject—that it has brought up my aunt to Kilmany, where she has been for days exercising her peculiar talent for redding up—and lastly, that it has made my mother quite eloquent upon her favourite subject of napery inventories and dredge-boxes. God bless you, my dear Jane.—Yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*July* 3.—Rode before breakfast to Starbank, and got acquainted with Captain Pratt, who expresses his own approbation and that of other friends.

"*July* 10.—Staid all this day at home in Sunday preparations, and visits to people in the village. Sandy arrived in the evening, and told me the happiness of my Anster friends in the

* *Lees* was the name of the parish-clerk who read the proclamation of marriage.
† *Scotice* for "mischievous."

prospect of my marriage. The pleasure of this intelligence is greatly qualified by the accounts of my venerable father, who, from my mother's letter, seems to be hasting to the grave.

"*July* 15.—Reached Anster after nine, and found my father greatly better than I expected.

"*Sunday, July* 19.—Preached for Dr. Jones at Lady Glenorchy's in the forenoon, and for Dr. Fleming at Lady Yester's, in the afternoon. Dr. Stuart, Dunearn, heard me at the latter place; and, with high compliment, was very free, and, I believe, very just in his criticisms. Went in the evening to hear a George Barclay, a Baptist minister. Got introduced there to Dr. Stuart, and spent an hour with him in the evening.

"*July* 30.—O my God, fit me for the duties of my new situation. Give me patience, and steadiness, and wisdom. May the Christian spirit ever animate me; and, dismissing all anticipations of heaven upon earth, may I betake myself soberly and determinedly to the duties of the married state.

"*August* 3.—Spent an hour this forenoon in devotion, of which the following is a very short and general record:—Prayed for the blessing of Heaven upon the ensuing devotion. Prayed for my own personal religion, and that of her to whom I have devoted my affections. Prayed for the special blessing of God upon our union, and for the direction of His wisdom. My thoughts wandering and unsettled; but had some refreshing and exhilarating glimpses of the Saviour, and of His perfect sufficiency. Concluded with a prayer for the blessing of God upon the whole service. Read a little of Baxter.

"*August* 4.—Married this day at Starbank, and went to Kilmany with our party in the evening.

"*August* 5.—Let the happiness of those around me be a perpetual and a reigning object. Have now family worship twice a day, and I pray that God would give my dear wife a serious and decided bent of the heart to His service. We read in conjunction after dinner. I have been sadly deficient in useful and regular exertion for a long time back. Let me now recur to it gradually.—O my God, draw me to Thy love and to Thy service. May I grow in the exercise of the domestic virtues, and may I study peace, and cheerfulness, and kindness.

"*August* 6.—Have recurred to my English chapter and hour of fair writing. Rode before dinner to Charlton, where I made two visits.—O my God, save me from all delusion, and may my offering to Thee be sincere and unmingled. The book we read to-

gether is Brydone's 'Tour.' Let me attend to others while they read—a most useful exercise."

"KILMANY MANSE, *August* 7, 1812.

"MY DEAR JANE,—I offered you a history in my last delivered in enigmatical language for the purpose of giving a little exercise to your faculties. I look with eagerness for your explanation of it." "*August* 13.—I have received yours, and I find that I have underrated your capacity. You are right both as to the event and the person, and I now proceed to give you a number of particulars. You know that their uncle Mr. Simson's death left the ladies no other alternative than going up to England to live with their father, Captain Pratt, stationed near Harwich. . . . Opportunities, which I felt to be resistless, occurred, and I obtained a final and favourable deliverance on Friday the 26th June. In the meantime, Captain Pratt arrives in Scotland to take up his daughters. Everything was previously arranged for their departure, and you may easily conceive how the change of plan was a fine subject for the gossips, and rather an awkward and difficult matter of explanation to the young ladies. Captain Pratt and I met at Starbank on Friday the 3d July. Plain, frank, and gentlemanly, he stated his own high satisfaction with the arrangement, and that of the nearest friends. On Monday the 13th, I took the ladies to Edinburgh by the way of Burntisland, where lives Mr. Young, distiller, married to an aunt of the young ladies, of a most respectable family, and what is better than all, he keeps up family worship, and countenances religion in its pure and evangelical form. You will observe, all the while, that Sandy was of mighty use to me. He has been at Kilmany for nearly two months. I got him introduced to Starbank immediately after the settlement took place. You may well conceive him to be a prodigious favourite. . . . My great anxiety was that our marriage should be as private as possible, and, for this purpose, my aunt left me after completing the preparations. The event took place before dinner at Starbank. Dr. Greenlaw was the clergyman, in his 90th year. He made a most laughable mistake, which converted a business that is often accompanied with tears, into a perfect frolic. It made me burst out, and set all the ladies a-tittering. In laying the vows on Grace, what he required of her was that she should be a loving and affectionate husband, to which she courtesied. We dined and drank tea. Sandy left us about half-an-hour before our departure, so as to be in readiness to receive us at Kilmany.

The whole of our chaise party consisted of Grace, her sister, and myself. Sandy broke the bread, presented the tongs, and had supper ready for a small party of four; and I think that I have managed the matter most philosophically, when, instead of the fuss and noise of company, or the parade of a fashionable jaunt, I have got her translated at the very outset of our connexion into all the quietness and security of domestic retirement. We have had a flow of forenoon callers, but not a single invited party. Miss Pratt lives with us, and makes a most pleasant addition to our small family. I had invited James Meldrum to spend his vacation with me, and, upon my marriage, there was a disposition on the part of Mrs. Meldrum to look upon the engagement as dissolved. This I could not submit to, and told her and Grace, that if I had conceived matrimony to be that kind of thing, which was to detach my heart from any of its old feelings or old friendships, I never should have entered into it. James is accordingly with us; and the perfect cordiality with which all my friends are received and entertained by the lady of the house, has made her dearer to me than ever. I have got a small library for her; and a public reading in the afternoon, when we take our turns for an hour or so, is looked upon as one of the most essential parts of our family management. It gives me the greatest pleasure to inform you that in my new connexion I have found a coadjutor who holds up her face for all the proprieties of a clergyman's family, and even pleads for their extension beyond what I had originally proposed. We have now family worship twice a day; and though you are the only being on earth to whom I would unveil the most secret arrangements of our family, I cannot resist the pleasure of telling you, because I know that it will give you the truest pleasure to understand, that in those still more private and united acts of devotion which are so beautifully described in the 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' I feel a comfort, an elevation, and a peace of which I was never before conscious."

"*August* 12.—Peace, harmony, and affection reign in my abode; but, oh let me never cease my anxiety for my own soul and for hers.

"*August* 13.—Scampered on horseback before dinner. Walked in the afternoon with my dear G. to the top of Forest Hill. I am giving lessons to Grace upon botany. O my God, send eternity with impression into our hearts.

"*Sunday, August* 16.—It were desirable that Sunday should be spent in devotion and Scripture, and let me afterwards make this a distinct object. Have recurred, after a long interval, to the Sunday part of my scriptural course. O God, make me more present with Thee in thought. Give me to go through my public services with earnestness and intentness of spirit. May my family exercises be kept up with vigour and delight; and, oh may the dear partner of my heart grow in grace and in sanctification. She supports me in all the forms of devotion. O God, enter her heart, and make it wholly Thine.

"*August* 19.—On a review of the day, I was mortified to find how little God was present to the mind. O God, let me never think to wipe away the forgetfulness of the day by the prayers and acknowledgments of the evening. Give me to press forward, and to carry it towards Thee with a sincere and perfect heart. Enlighten, convince, and convert me, O my Father.

"*Sunday, August* 23.—Preached twice to-day to a numerous audience. I am reading the 'Marrow of Modern Divinity,' and derive from it much light and satisfaction on the subject of faith. It is a masterly performance, and I feel a greater nearness to God, convincing me that Christ is the way to Him, and an unconditional surrender of ourselves to Christ the first and most essential step of our recovery. O my God, make me every day wiser unto salvation.

"*August* 24.—Finished the 'Marrow.' I feel a growing delight in the fulness and sufficiency of Christ. O my God, bring me nearer and nearer to Him.

"*August* 28.—Crossed over to Edinburgh, where I called on Dr. Brewster and others. I am beset with petitions for public sermons, and will probably consent to a few of them.

"*Sunday, August* 30.—Preached in the forenoon, and heard Dr. Jones in the afternoon.

"*Sept.* 3.—I have begun a few lectures on chemistry to the people of the house.—O my God, sustain me in the patience and zeal and activity of the Christian life.

"*Sept.* 4.—Have recurred to severe reading and my Greek chapter. Composed half a sermon in the forenoon.

"*Sept.* 7.—This being the first Monday of the month, I gave the forenoon to devotional exercises, of which the following is the record:—Prayed for God's blessing upon the service. Felt assured and comfortable. Wandered a good deal after this. Felt a cordial reception of Christ, and had some lively actings and

exercises of faith in Him. Expressed this reception in prayer; and asked through Him for repentance, for a sense of God's holy law, for sanctification, and all those spiritual blessings which are poured in abundance upon those that believe. Felt a certain degree of gloom and disgust at the withdrawment from the world, and familiarization with heavenly things, which religion implies. Prayed that God would give me grace to help in the time of need; prayed for heavenly-mindedness, and that God may be the satisfying portion of my heart; I again prayed for the grace of patience and contentment with my present lot; that I may endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ Jesus; that patience may have her perfect work. I then prayed in reference to my peculiar conduct as a husband; that I may conduct myself with wisdom; that I may love my wife; and that we may encourage and support one another in the great concerns of a Christian family. Prayed for the comfort and salvation of my parents; for all my relations, acquaintances, and the world at large; for a more frank, sincere, and single-minded deportment towards all; and for the extension of the gospel over the earth. I again prayed for the forgiveness of my long-continued neglect and indolence as a Christian minister; for a more zealous activity in the time to come; for a more awful and affecting impression of the importance and responsibility of my situation; that I may watch for souls as one who is to give account; and that I may be more constant and more zealous amongst them. Prayed also that the Spirit would be great among the people themselves. I then concluded with a prayer for the Divine blessing upon the whole, and that I may keep the subject of my speculation in habitual remembrance.

"*Sept.* 9.—A most prosperous day as to study. Got a large parcel of tracts and reports, which occupied a great part of the evening. O my God, make the good seed grow and be more abundant.

"*Sept.* 10.—Have instituted a sale of tracts at John Lumsdain's in the village. Had Robert Edie to sup with me.—O how grateful should I be to God for the happiness I enjoy! and how should I improve it to the sanctification of myself and those around me.

"*Sept.* 11.—After dinner our family walked up to Logie, and drank tea. Finished Brydone's 'Tour' at our public reading, and began Buchanan's 'Christian Researches.'—O my God, begin the good work of sanctification in my heart, and carry it on.

"*Sunday, Sept.* 12.—Preached as usual, the congregation

particularly attentive in the forenoon.—O my God, give me the right impression of my subject. May I be born again by Thy Spirit, and may I watch thereunto with all perseverance. O God, keep me habitually in Thy grace; and save me from the many relapses of error and forgetfulness which I experience. Started at seven, and was engrossed with preparations; let me henceforth give the whole of Saturday to this work, and keep Sunday in reserve for devotional exercises. I am generally so fatigued in the evening as to require indulgence. If I cannot keep up the high tone of the day, let me, after my Bible, give myself to tracts, reports, &c.

"*Sept.* 21.—I should have had a dedication on the 17th, but forgot it; had it this day. Prayed God for His blessing; then made three several dedications of myself to Him, as having a right to all my services—to Jesus Christ as my Saviour—to the Holy Spirit as my sanctifier. Made these the subject of three separate prayers; and though not articulate, I hope that God suggested and approved the aspirations, and will do for me exceeding abundantly beyond what I ask or think, according to the power that worketh in me. Prayed for God's blessing upon the whole, and never felt myself so much at home in these contemplations, as when I had a firm faith in Christ, for which the Bible gives me every warrant, and holds out every invitation.—O God, carry me on in my course heavenwards.

"Had a letter from Dr. Charles Stuart, to which I must pay attention, respecting the heavy loss incurred by the Serampore missionaries through fire.

"*Sept.* 24.—I am disposed, from Calvin and my own writing, to be more passive to the influences of heaven in the work of sanctification.—O my God, I submit to Thee in all things; enable me to walk in the way of Thy commandments.

"*Sept.* 29.—Was a little mortified at the specimen which the 'Instructor' has given of my speech for the Bible Society, and feel that vanity and envy are not subdued in my heart.—O God, interpose Thy Divine Spirit.

"*Oct.* 5.—Gave an hour to my monthly act of devotion, of which the following is the record:—Began with lively actings of faith in Christ; professed that faith, and prayed for the increase of it. Prayed for sanctification by it. Confessed my distance from the complete restoration of the Divine image in my soul, and sent up aspirations, the object of which was, that God would make Christian sentiment and Christian sanctification

a real process within me. Thought of my personal faults, and made a more detailed confession of them—my vanity or love of applause—my angry impatience at what is irksome, transporting me to many violations of the Christian temper, and particularly to a most habitual violation of the fifth commandment—my distrustful apprehension as to temporal abundance—and, above all, my habitual estrangement from Divine things. Prayed for forgiveness and reformation; and feel that I do not bring the right elements to bear upon the case of a corrupted soul, without the atonement that saves it from punishment, and the Spirit that cleanses from pollution. Thought of my relation to the people around me as their Christian minister. Confessed my inactivity, my want of zeal and perseverance amongst them. Prayed for forgiveness; for a high impression of the importance of my charge; for more constant and unremitting action amongst them; for the extension of my zeal beyond the limits of my parish; and for charity, combined with energy, in those more public affairs which have for their object the management of societies, and the propagation of the gospel through the world. Thought of my habits of intellectual perverseness. Prayed for the correction of them; for a more fixed and undivided attention to the subject I attach myself to; for a more retentive memory, that my ambition of reading much may give way to the desire of a more complete and digested acquaintance with the objects of my study; and, above all, for a clearer understanding, a more faithful remembrance, and a readier application of Scripture. Thought of those with whom I stood personally related or connected—first, of my wife: prayed for her, and for my dutifulness to her; the same for my servants, for my visitors; that my conversation may minister grace and useful edification; for those at a distance—for my parents, that they may be happy in me; for my other relations, and the general circle of my acquaintances.—May my conduct to them all bear evidence to the power of Christianity within me. Concluded with a prayer for the Divine blessing, and that God would make religious impressions permanent and habitual to my heart.

"*Oct.* 7.—Rode to Starbank, thence to Mountquhannie, where I gave a lesson on geography. I am meditating the transmission of our penny society produce to Dr. Stuart. Felt at times the application of religious principle to the scene before me.—O God, make this application more habitual and constant.

"*Oct.* 14.—Have begun a sermon on Psalm xli. 1, for the

Destitute Sick Society, Edinburgh, and I am collecting passages out of former discourses for it.

"*Oct.* 15.—Heard sermon from Mr. ——, and dined with the Presbytery. Was guilty of several fits of impatience, and feel my weakness.—O God, may I take a firm hold of the Saviour, that He may strengthen me to do all things. Give me the charity that endureth, and banish from my heart suspicion and anger. Reproach myself for the praise I gave to Mr. ——'s sermon, which was entirely destitute of the unction of the gospel. As an exposition of duty it was instructive; but let me supply the deficiencies of my testimony by taking an early opportunity of stating to Mr. —— the undeniable fact, that out of Christ it is never performed, and that it is through Him alone that we can gain strength for the performance.

"*Oct.* 20.—Was much impressed with a tract, entitled 'The Christian indeed.' Feel the want of discipline of heart, and my estrangement from God; and pray that He and His love and His law may weigh habitually upon me. Count this one of the most noted days I have spent, as to a great step accomplished by the inner man.—O God, may I keep my heart with all diligence. I look to Thee in the face of Christ, and do Thou give me more exalted notions of His power and dignity and offices. Give me to maintain nearer and more affecting intercourse with Thee. May I have my conversation in heaven. In company could discover some risings of vanity and self-consequence in my heart. Still feel the power and urgency of yesterday's impressions. I am disturbed about my want of clearness as to the understanding of sin; but I look unto Jesus, in the hope that through Him all my deficiencies will be made up. Let me every day respect His prayer. Perfect, O God, that which concerns me: call me to a right understanding of Thy truth: raise me to the love and enjoyment of Thee; and may the good seed hasten to maturity, and yield fruit in abundance.

"*Sunday, Oct.* 25.—Served tables for Mr. Thomson, and preached in the afternoon to a very crowded audience. I am doubtful whether my habit of composition should not be let down to the bulk of the people. I have much to reproach myself for the selfish love of applause.—O my God, follow with Thy rich blessing all the services of this day, and crucify all that is vain and unchristian within me.

"*Oct.* 26.—Preached a missionary sermon in the evening. My love of applause broke out again. Disappointed at the

smallness of the collection. Was fatigued; but as I am told that I was more than heard in the large Steeple Church of Dundee, let me preach with more composure and self-command. O my God, make this appetite for applause to depart from me. Form me by Thy grace; and all I ask is for Christ's sake.

"*Nov.* 5.—Was unwell on Monday, and had my devotional forenoon this day. The following is the record of it:—Prayed for a blessing on the whole exercise. Felt my union with Christ; and prayed that, emptied of self, I might be filled with the fulness and the sufficiency of the Saviour. Prayed for the greater elements of my soul's health, for the increase of my faith in Christ, and establishment in Him; for sanctification, for a growing delight in God, for the perfect love which casteth out fear, for a sense of the obligation of His will, for a more correct and clear view of the evil of sin, for those principles which lead us to shun all that is opposed to the will of God, and dispose us to all obedience. Descended from the greater elements to the more particular applications; and, with the maintenance of the right attitude for discharging our duties, viz., looking unto Jesus for the promises of the Spirit, prayed for the keeping of my heart with all diligence, for the regulation of my thoughts, for victory over the temptations of actual life, for the charity which maintaineth patience amid all that is irksome and provoking in those around us, for freedom from anxiety about worldly matters, for liberality to the poor, for a perpetual desire and diligence to be useful, for freedom from the love of applause, and, finally, for an example, pure in all its points, and calculated to gain converts in every quarter of society. Prayed for the repentance and remission of my sin of negligence in holy things, as a minister of the gospel; for my parish, and for the more attentive and conscientious discharge of my engagements amongst them. Prayed for my relations and friends. Prayed for the propagation of the gospel; and concluded with a prayer for the Divine blessing on the whole exercise."

"Kilmany Manse, *Nov.* 5, 1812.

"My dear Jane,—Instead of filling up valuable space with apologies, I shall just say, that it is my wish and purpose to be more punctual in future; that though my wife engrosses a large part of my heart, and is worthy of a still larger, she has not dispossessed you by a single inch out of my affection; that I have room for you both; and trust I shall ever look upon correspondence with you as a point not merely of duty, but supreme and

much-loved enjoyment. I have now had three months' experience of matrimony; and, as I know you will be anxious for my comfort, I can tell you that all my apprehensions founded on discrepancies of temper or want of congeniality between me and the partner of my fate, have turned out to be so many bugbears; that my affection is every day receiving new accessions to its strength and its steadiness; that I meet with nothing but the most cheerful and delighted concurrence; and what you must know to be of particular importance to me, that she interests herself in the success of my professional exertions; that I am getting nearer to the state of her soul, by intimate and close conversation on the greatest of all concerns; and I trust in the Hearer of prayer that she will rise from the first elements of repentance and faith to the joyful hopes and new life of a confirmed disciple. Poor Mr. Johnston of Rathillet is dying; I saw him to-day for the first time. Mrs. Johnston was much overpowered. He, poor man, is so low that I am not sure if he recognised me. His son James, from Glasgow, was in the room; and what with the deep affliction of the wife and son, and the moving spectacle before me, I never was so melted into a sense of the vanity of all that is human."

"*Nov.* 6.—Mr. Johnston died this morning, at eight o'clock."

Soon after receiving this intimation, Mr. Chalmers despatched the following letter to Rathillet:—

"Kilmany Manse, *Nov.* 6, 1812.

"Dear Mrs. Johnston,—The mournful intelligence of poor Mr. Johnston's death reached me from the village this morning; and, with my warmest sympathy for you all, I offer my prayers that you may be supported in this the day of your visitation; that God may sanctify your cup of discipline, and that we may all take warning from an event so deeply affecting to the whole neighbourhood.

"I can say for myself that I count myself to have sustained a heavy personal loss in the death of your truly excellent husband, and shall long have to regret the want of that society which I loved, and of that conversation which often guided and supported me in the great and common objects of our faith and ministry.

"I would not have obtruded so soon upon the deep and overpowering grief of your family, had it not been for a wish, in

which Mrs. Chalmers joins me, that you would take all the accommodation which our house can afford. Would it not be better that you should be relieved as much as possible of the press of nightly visitors to which the various friends of your family, and the very high and general esteem in which Mr. Johnston was held, must necessarily expose you? I beg you would make over as many of them to us as possible; and it occurs to Mrs. Chalmers that if any of your sons or your daughters would take up their abode with us for some time, it may be of some use in diverting their thoughts from the melancholy which oppresses them.

"I again offer my warmest expressions of friendship and condolence, and pray that one and all of us may be strengthened and improved under this dispensation of a good but mysterious Providence.

"Do not put yourself to the trouble of writing. I shall call to-morrow; and, in the meantime, should there be any visitors upon you to-night, I beg that you will avail yourself of our house.—Yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

This letter is the best voucher for the very great regard in which Mr. Johnston was held by Mr. Chalmers, and the best memorial of the affectionate intercourse which had subsisted between their families. On the Sabbath after his interment, Mr. Chalmers referred from the pulpit to the great loss which the neighbourhood had sustained; and in alluding to the benefit which he had personally derived from his society, he used, as was his custom when expressing his obligations to others, language which created a false impression—that he attributed his own change to his conversations with Mr. Johnston.*

"*Nov.* 10.—Have begun to compose prayer in a more scriptural style with the assistance of 'Henry on Prayer.' Resumed Calvin, but have taken to the English translation.

"*Nov.* 16.—Left home with my dear wife this morning for Flisk, where I preached. Dined at the manse with a large Cupar party, and spent the evening in Mrs. Morton's. Hesitated betwixt a plain and an elaborate sermon for the people, and decided on the former. Pray that I may be strictly conscientious

* "Mr. Johnston was a man of refined taste and great conversational powers. I was always given to understand that his conversations with him on religious subjects had been greatly blessed to Mr. Chalmers, although he never had occasion to make such an avowal to me. But it was evident that he held him in high esteem, and greatly valued his society."—MS. Memoranda, by the Rev. Dr. Brown of Brampton.

in this department of conduct. Felt long and frequent vacuities of religious sentiment, and feel my need of wisdom among those who are without. O my God, do Thou allay my hunger and thirst after righteousness, by filling me.

"*Nov.* 17.—Left Flisk after breakfast. Feel long and dreary intervals of estrangement from God, with occasional gleams of faith. Felt impatience at Rathillet and other places.—O my God, establish the operation of Thy whole law in my heart, and let my walk be with Thee. Rose in gratitude to my heavenly Father for the peace and comfort of our home.

"*Nov.* 19.—Mr. Tait spent the day with me. Had much congenial conversation with him, and pray that I may be supported in exhibiting the same marked and decided testimony.—O God, give me to devote more of my zeal for the eternal interests of the people in my neighbourhood.

"*Nov.* 20.—Was provoked with Thomas taking it upon him to ask more corn for my horse. It has got feeble under his administration of corn, and I am not without suspicion that he appropriates it; and his eagerness to have it strengthens the suspicion. Erred in betraying anger to my servant and wife; and, though I afterwards got my feelings into a state of placidity and forbearance upon Christian principles, was moved and agitated when I came to talk of it to himself. Let me take the corn into my own hand, but carry it to him with entire charity. O my God, support me. Had our first invited party this day, and have resolved, from my experience of it, to be more aloof from secular people. Mr. F. was peculiarly offensive with his contempt for the Bible Society.—O my God, enable me to hold out a firm and consistent testimony.

"*Nov.* 26.—I have a high call of duty for rising earlier—that I am losing acquaintance with God, and must devote more time and more earnestness to the work of intercourse with Him.—O may this consideration be effectual in overcoming my indolence.

"*Nov.* 30.—Exercised on the subject of forbearance with Mr. Edie, who prolongs the stay of his two young horses on my glebe before the term. Wrote him a civil intimation on the subject; and, O my God, carry me in triumph through this sore and difficult temptation. Mr. Anderson dined and drank tea. Let me carry it with the meekness of wisdom as to my favourite plans about Bible Societies. A slight tendency to err in conversation upon this subject.

"*Dec.* 1.—The staigs were returned to the glebe after my intimation, and gave rise to much internal conflict.—O my God, discover to me the evil of my heart, and may faith and charity have the rule in it. Called on Mr. Edie, and found that they did not belong to him, but to Mr. Mather. This gave instantaneous relief, and leaves a lesson behind it. Let me always speak in a case of fancied injustice. If thine enemy offend thee, rebuke him; and if he still hold out, let that be an after consideration.

"*Dec.* 3.—Yesterday rebuked Mr. Mather, and then granted him the favour he had taken.

"*Dec.* 9.—My dear wife much better. May my gratitude be indelible. Neglected my monthly forenoon of devotion on the first Monday, and had it to-day. The following is the record:—Thought of God, and endeavoured to possess my mind with the idea of the reality of His power, wisdom, knowledge, truth, and mercy—how all these attributes met in the dispensation of the Gospel. Prayed, and sent up adoration to God as the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and invoked His blessing upon the solemn exercise. Thought of the fulness, and absoluteness, and certainty, of the promises that are made in Christ. He who believeth in Him shall be saved. Had actings of faith. Prayed for the increase of it, and for the Spirit to give me the love of God, to teach me the evil of sin, and to make me altogether such as God would have me to be. Thought of the practical application of the general truth of the Gospel to conduct. Felt the small operation of religious principle as an element of influence upon my hourly and familiar movements. Prayed for the abiding influences of religious principle upon me, for the glory of God and the will of Christ being the grand principles of my behaviour, for my sins being subdued, and my duties being performed,—and at last gave way to aspirations, which I hope God would receive as the effusions of a soul hungering and thirsting after righteousness. O my heavenly Father, do Thou fill it. Prayed for my wife, relations, friends, acquaintances, the parish, and general interests of the Gospel. Concluded with a prayer for God's blessing upon the whole exercise.

"*Dec.* 15.—Went to the Presbytery. Understand that there is to be a motion for a petition against the Catholics. I shall resist it. Reflected, on my return, how absent I was from God, and pray that His law and His Spirit may be ever present with me. No composition or severe reading this day. Have thought

of the subject of the record that God calls us to believe, and which He says we make Him a liar by not believing, namely, that He hath given us eternal life, and that this life is in His Son. So long as we have not the assurance of this eternal life through Christ, are not we short of the belief required?

"*Dec.* 16.—Confined to the house with bad weather. Read much at Reviews. Calvin highly interesting on faith; and I commit myself to God in Christ Jesus.

"*Dec.* 18.—Again prevented from riding by the weather. Began a short-hand speech on the subject of the Catholic Claims. —O God, give me to be wise, and calm, and skilful in this argument.

"*Dec.* 22.—I had asked John Bonthron to supper yesternight, and told him with emphasis that we supped at nine. He came at eight this night, and all forbearance and civility left me, and with my prayers I mixed the darkness of that heart which hateth its brother. This is most truly lamentable, and reveals to me the exceeding nakedness of my heart. All my works gone through with cheerfulness, because there is nothing in them to thwart a natural feeling, or a constitutional tendency, can never be received as evidence of good, while self-denial is so little practised,—while duty is shrunk from the moment it becomes painful,—while gentleness is unfelt, and, with my profession of faith that God for Christ's sake hath forgiven me all, I in fact can forgive nothing, and suffer the most trifling incidents of life to hurry me away from all principle and all charity. Oh, why was not this present with me at the time of offence?—O my God, enable me to watch for Thy Spirit with all perseverance, and may that Spirit bring all things to my remembrance.

"*Dec.* 24.—A. Paterson called, and gave me agreeable accounts of the growth of seriousness in the parish.

"*Dec.* 31.—Left Anstruther by myself after breakfast. Felt outbreakings of impatience at the slow rate of my horse.—O my God, make me to feel the rapidity of my pilgrimage. As years roll over me, may I find my repose in eternity; and give me to be more attached to my Saviour, and more acquiescing in the whole of His will concerning me. O heavenly Father, carry on my sanctification; and, though separated at present from the dear partner of my home, I remember her before Thee. Protect and save her, and may she grow in the faith of Christ, and in the experience of its power and of its comforts."

CHAPTER XII.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW ON MISSIONS IN INDIA—THE SERAMPORE MISSIONARIES—DR. CAREY—SERMON AT DUNDEE—VISIT OF ANDREW FULLER—EXPERIMENT OF EXTEMPORE PREACHING—JOURNAL OF 1813.

"The first number of the 'Anabaptist Missions' informs us that the origin of the Society will be found in *the workings of Brother Carey's mind, whose heart appears to have been set upon the conversion of the heathen in* 1786, *before he came to reside at Moulton.* These workings produced a sermon at Northampton, and the sermon a subscription to convert 420 millions of Pagans. Of the subscription, we have the following account: 'Information is come from Brother Carey that a gentleman from Northumberland had promised to send him £20 for the Society, and to subscribe four guineas annually.' 'At this meeting at Northampton, two other friends subscribed and paid two guineas apiece, two more one guinea each, and another half a guinea, making six guineas and a half in all. And such members as were present of the first subscribers, paid their subscriptions into the hands of the treasurer, who proposed to put the sum now received into the hands of a banker, who will pay interest for the same.'—*Baptist Mission Society,* No. i. p. 5."

This passage is taken from an article on Indian Missions which appeared in the "Edinburgh Review" for April 1808. The extracts which it contains form part of that "perilous heap of trash" presented to the reader by the Rev. Sydney Smith, while executing his chosen office of "routing out a nest of consecrated cobblers;" the simple exhibition of which was deemed by him "quite decisive both as to the danger of insurrection from the prosecution of the scheme [of Indian Missions], the utter unfitness of the persons employed in it, and the complete hopelessness of the attempt while pursued in such circumstances as now exist;" for "why," in mingled mirth and scorn, he asks, "why are we to send out little detachments of maniacs to spread over the fine regions of the world the most unjust and contemptible opinion of the Gospel? . . . Let any man read the 'Anabaptist Missions;'—can he do so without deeming such men pernicious and extravagant in their own country, and without feeling that they are benefiting us much more by their absence than the Hindoos by their advice?" When the *workings of his mind* began, of which the witty reviewer makes such pleasant use, Carey was a journeyman shoemaker in the small hamlet of

Hackleton, a few miles from Northampton; and when, as a "consecrated cobbler," he removed to the neighbouring village of Moulton, it was to preach to a small congregation of Baptists for a salary under £20 a year, and to teach a school besides, that he might eke out a scanty livelihood. To Sydney Smith, as to nine-tenths of the British population at that time, it looked ridiculous enough that such a man should not only trouble his own mind, and try for years to trouble the minds of others, about the conversion of 420 millions of Pagans, but that he should actually propose that he himself should be sent out to execute the project. He succeeded at last, however, in obtaining liberty to bring the subject before the small religious community of which he was a member; and on the 2d October 1792, at a meeting of the Baptist Association at Kettering, it was resolved to form a Missionary Society; but when the sermon was preached, and the collection made, it was found to amount to no more than £12, 13s. 6d. With such agents as Carey, and collections like this of Kettering to support them, Indian Missions appeared a fit quarry for that shaft which none knew better than our Edinburgh Reviewer how to use; and yet, looking somewhat more narrowly at the "consecrated cobbler," there was something about him, even at the beginning, sufficient to disarm ridicule; for, if we notice him in his little garden, he will be seen motionless for an hour or more, in the attitude of intense thought;* or, if we join him in his evening hours, we shall find him reading the Bible in one or other of four different languages with which he has already made himself familiar; or, if we follow him into his school, we shall discover him with a large leather globe of his own construction, pointing out to the village urchins the different kingdoms of the earth, saying, "These are Christians—these are Mahommedans—and these are Pagans, and these are Pagans!"—his voice stopped by strong emotion as he repeats and re-repeats the last mournful utterance. Carey sailed to India in 1793. Driven, by the jealousy of the East India Company, out of an English ship in which he was about to sail, he took his passage in a Danish vessel, and chose a Danish settlement in

* "Long before any measures were adopted for the establishment of a foreign mission, his sister was witness to the extreme anxiety of Mr. Carey on the subject. Again and again has she observed him in the attitude of intense thought, the subject of which, as it afterwards appeared, was the state of the heathen world. She has often seen him standing motionless for an hour or more in the middle of a path in his garden, abstracted from outward objects by the workings of a mind that had begun to devote itself to a vast and newly contemplated project."—Cox's "History of the Baptist Missionary Society," vol. i. p. 5. See also "Annals of the English Bible," by Christopher Anderson, vol. ii. p. 591.

India for his residence; yet he lived till, from that press which he established at Serampore, there had issued 212,000 copies of the Sacred Scriptures in forty different languages—the vernacular tongues of 380 millions of immortal beings, of whom more than 100 millions were British subjects, and till he had seen expended upon that noble object, on behalf of which the first small offering at Kettering was presented, no less a sum than £91,500.

Even at the period in Mr. Chalmers's history at which we have now arrived, and when his eyes were fixed with intense interest upon Carey and his coadjutors, they were carrying forward nineteen different translations of the Holy Scriptures, and expending upwards of £10,000 per annum, one-half of which was the fruits of their own personal labour, upon the great work in which they were engaged. On the 11th March 1812, that work suffered a disastrous check. A fire broke out in the printing-office at Serampore. In a few hours reams of paper, and printed sheets, and founts of various types, and several complete editions of the Scriptures, were consumed. The intelligence reached England in the course of the summer, and such sympathy and liberality were excited, that in fifty days upwards of £10,000, the estimated amount of the loss, was contributed. The feeling of interest spread throughout all the churches. It was felt even in the remote parish of Kilmany, whose minister was revolving in his mind whether or not he should propose that some of the funds of his own parish association should be devoted to repair this loss of the Serampore missionaries, when an application came to him from Dundee to preach the annual missionary sermon there, the committee of the Dundee society having resolved that the collection should be devoted to that very object upon which Mr. Chalmers's own sympathies were so intently fixed.

This sermon, the first which was delivered on any public occasion after the great change, was preached on the 26th October 1812. At the request of the Missionary Society, it was printed and published at Dundee, in January 1813. Its sale was so rapid, that a month or two afterwards it was republished by Mr. Whyte of Edinburgh; and before the end of the following year four editions of it had been circulated. This, with another sermon, and a review of Foster's "Essays," which appeared in the May number of the "Christian Instructor," comprised all that he published during 1813, a year almost exclusively dedicated to those private and parochial duties, the record of which, subjecting it to increased abridgment, we once more resume.

"*Jan.* 1, 1813.—Made a solemn dedication of myself this forenoon, of which the following is a record:—Prayed for the spirit of grace and supplication. Dedicated myself to God, and prayed for strength from on high to fulfil my dedication vows. Renewed my dedication to Christ as my Saviour. Prayed for my establishment in Him, for the continuance and increase of faith, for an interest in His redemption; and, at the conclusion of my prayer, felt a delightful sense of His sufficiency and fulness. Having the hope, may I purify myself, even as He is pure. Dedicated myself to the Holy Ghost, my sanctifier. Prayed for a cordial acquiescence in all the duties which such a dedication implies, watching for the Spirit, appealing to Him as my guide and helper at all times, acknowledging Him as the only effectual source of all good and virtuous exertion, and emptying myself of myself, that I may be filled with His fulness, and that His power may rest upon me. Prayed for a closer walk with God, for having His will and authority more constantly present with me, for dying unto all sin, and living unto all righteousness. Prayed for a blessing upon the whole, for an entire application of the Gospel remedy to my heart, and that God, who knows what is in me, would accommodate Himself to my necessities, and deliver me entirely from that disease of a ruined nature which Christ came to heal.

"*Jan.* 6.—Had my monthly exercise of devotion this forenoon. The following is the record:—After many wanderings, composed myself to a prayer for the Divine Spirit accompanying this exercise. Felt nearness to God in Christ Jesus. Acknowledged God; prayed for friendly intercourse with Him; acknowledged Jesus as the only channel by which this intercourse could be carried on; desired to be in Him, emptied of self, and satisfied with His fulness. Prayed for spiritual blessings through Christ, that I may be enabled to cultivate a habitual dependence on the Spirit, and to watch for it with all perseverance. Felt aspiring desires after that which is good. Thought of my faults, and prayed for forgiveness and reformation, for the more constant operation of religious principle over the whole of my life; for more patience and forgiveness and forbearance with those around me; for the love of God, for a freedom from worldly anxieties, for the correction of my intellectual perversities, and, in particular, for a more retentive memory.—O God, do Thou fill my hungering and my thirsting after righteousness. Thought of my connexions; prayed for my dear wife, relatives, acquaintances at

large; for my conduct to all; for my parish in general, for some sick in it, for my conduct among them; for Bible Societies and public courts, and my conduct in them; and, finally, for the general spread of Christianity in the world. Felt many intervals of wandering through the whole of this exercise. O God, give me a more intense direction of mind to divine things. Repeated my ordinary morning prayer. Concluded with an humble petition for God's forgiveness of what was amiss, and His blessing on the whole exercise. Felt clear and pleasurable. Had a fuller sense of Divine things than usual; and pray that God would give energy to my practice as well as clearness to my sentiments.

"*Jan.* 14.—My missionary sermon has reached Anster; and I pray that I may feel an indifference to human praise.—O God, may Thy approbation be enough for me.

"*Jan.* 15.—Began my review of Foster. Extinguish my love of praise, O God; and now that my sermon is afloat on the public, let me cultivate an indifference to human applause.

"*Jan.* 26.—Called on Dr. Brown,* who gives a high testimony to my article on 'Christianity.'—O God, let me not be seduced by the love of praise.

"*Jan.* 27.—Left Anster with my wife. Called on Dr. Brown, who again gives me praise for my sermon, and is anxious for conversation on religious subjects. Let me write him a full and a firm testimony.—I pray, O God, for his peculiar Christianity.

"*Jan.* 29.—At night received letters giving a good account of the sale of my sermon.—O my God, may Thy praise and Thy approbation be uppermost in my heart.

"*Feb.* 1.—Had my monthly devotion this forenoon. The following is the record of it:—Prayed for the blessing of God upon the exercise, and that He would draw near to me. Had closer fellowship with Him than I sometimes have. It is the presence of the Mediator which gives to that fellowship delight and confidence. Gave myself to meditation, but took to wandering; upon which I again prayed for fixedness of thought upon God. When I rose from this prayer, felt how connected the duty of prayer was with the duty of watching. Without formally going over the faith of Christ, I proceeded on it; and made an immediate approach to God through Him for spiritual blessings. Prayed with fervour for the graces and accomplishments of the Christian character, for the increase of faith, for a closer alliance with the Saviour, for heavenly-mindedness, for the love of God, for the increase of know-

* Dr. James Brown, then living in St. Andrews.

ledge in divine things, and for a clear understanding and faithful remembrance of the Bible. Thought of my perversities; but still had my relapses into other trains of thought and speculation. Confessed my offences, my forgetfulness and estrangedness from God, my keen sense of what is irksome or injurious, my love of human applause, my want of forgiveness and brotherly forbearance, my worldly calculations and the pleasure I annex to them. Prayed for the forgiveness of all, and the amendment of all. O to this prayer may I add watchfulness; and let it be a constant principle with me to annihilate self, and to lay myself out for the accommodation of those around me. Made intercession for the usual objects of them. Felt the straining of meditation to be unsatisfactory without Christ. May my rest be on Him, and may He guide me peacefully in the right way. Concluded with a prayer for God's blessing on the whole exercise.—O that I may watch as well as pray.

"*Feb.* 11.—Calvin's observations on self-denial, on bearing the cross, on sinking and annihilating self in the will of God, are most interesting.

"*Feb.* 12.—Have my evening family worship at nine, that I may give a clear and vigorous mind to the exercise. Finished Parkhurst's 'Greek Grammar.'

"*Feb.* 17.—Almost exclusively with my visitors. I lament the secularity of the general run, and feel myself oppressed with scruples on this subject. Prayed for direction; and, in point of fact, did not get fairly alongside of them in conversation, though I did my best for them at family prayers. Find, however, that my attempts are apt to fail, when I have respect to man in this exercise. Let me address myself to the one Hearer. No chapters nor study of any kind. I find it a main advantage to command some retirement for God on such occasions as the present; let me make a particular object of this.

"*Sunday, Feb.* 21.—Preached as usual. Prayed in my morning devotion against the encroachments of worldly feeling and worldly calculation. Succeeded to a degree calculated to awaken gratitude, and failed to a degree calculated to inspire humility. Should feel more in the house of God the awful reality of my business.

"*Feb.* 25.—There are many topics of anxiety afloat just now. —O my God, give me the victory. May my trust be in the living God; and grant that I may beware of covetousness. O that I could attain to the quietness of faith. I look to Thy

Spirit for the endowment. Err in dwelling with pleasure on my future prospects. This is idolatry. Be Thou enough for me.—Mr. Fleming reports the applause given at Edinburgh to my article.

"*Sunday, Feb.* 28.—Preached as usual. Was more with God to-day than usual. Had no rapture nor overpowering clearness. But can these at all times be expected? Might there not be a calm hold of Christ, and understanding of His promise, and determined abiding by Him, though there is little elevation accompanying it?

"*March* 1.—Read Calvin's 'Institutes' before breakfast. Had my monthly devotion, and the following is the record of it:—Thought in the general, and prayed in the general. Felt Christ to be my all: prayed in the faith of Him, as a member of His body; and felt nearness and reconciliation. Prayed for living water, which is God's Spirit. Thought of my vague and imperfect knowledge of God. Prayed to be rescued from the power of ignorant and superstitious fancies; that my conceptions may be a fair copy of the information in the Bible; that I may submit to be taught by it, and stick to it firmly; that I may grow in the wisdom necessary to salvation, and that all the defects of my memory and understanding may be rectified. Thought of the more detailed and practical application of the greater principles. Prayed for strength from God through Jesus Christ, for the resting of His power upon me, for the cure of my infirmities, some of which I enumerated, and for the victory in all things, through Him who is both my Saviour and Sanctifier. Felt that rest in Christ and assurance of justification through Him gave a solidity and a power to my petitions which no other sentiment could confer. Delivered a prayer of intercessions. Concluded with a prayer for a blessing on the whole exercise. Through the whole, I found myself more established on the true foundation, that is Christ Jesus. O may I watch as well as pray, and be of the number of those who worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in the Lord Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh. Through the whole of this day felt the inefficiency of mere speculation in religion. Had little joy or spiritual light, had a weight on me; and without any luminous or satisfied feeling, entertained a general sense of my own unworthiness, and looked at the Saviour. Though I walk in darkness, let me trust in Him. Let me wait for God; and feeling that moods and frames are not at my control, let me feel

my dependence on the Spirit. Much impressed with Calvin and Cecil.*

"*March* 2.—Felt high elevation and joy this day. The delightful weather and full health had doubtless a share; but I trust that Christ is forming in me, and that will explain all, and give birth to all. Much delighted with Calvin on imputed righteousness. Feel this, that there is a power beyond natural reason in the work of bringing home conviction to the heart; and the feeble grasp which mere inference gives me of a truth tells me the need and the reality of that teaching which the Holy Ghost teacheth.

"*March* 4.—Rode after breakfast to the westward, where I visited in four places; thence to Cupar, where I transacted all my business. Committed myself to God before entering into it; let this be a habit, but let me take care that it be a habit of the mind. Found myself withdrawn from God by the cares and calculations of life. Got a parcel from Dr. Stuart, and gave myself to the Baptist Report, to the exclusion of my evening devotion. May not even the keen interest I take in the news of the gospel's spread be a principle separate from the love of God?

"*Sunday, March* 7.—Rode after breakfast to Cults, where I preached. I feel that I do not come close enough to the heart and experience of my hearers, and begin to think that the phraseology of the old writers must be given up for one more

* Some precious thoughts in Cecil's "Remains," such as—"No man will preach the gospel so fully as the Scriptures preach it, unless he will submit to talk like an Antinomian in the estimation of a great body of Christians; nor will any man preach it so practically as the Scriptures, unless he will submit to be called by as large a body an Arminian. Many think that they find a middle path, which, in fact, is neither one thing nor another, since it is not the incomprehensible but grand plan of the Bible. It is somewhat of human contrivance; it savours of human poverty and littleness."—"The right way of interpreting Scripture is to take it as we find it, without any attempt to force it into any particular system. Whatever may be fairly inferred from Scripture we need not fear to insist on. Many passages speak the language of what is called Calvinism, and that in almost the strongest terms. I would not have a man clip and curtail these passages to bring them down to some system. Let him go with them in their full and free sense, for otherwise, if he do not absolutely pervert them, he will attenuate their energy. But let him look at as many more which speak the language of Arminianism, and let him go all the way with them also. God has been pleased thus to state and to leave the thing, and all our attempts to distort it one way or the other are puny and contemptible."—"We should take care not to discourage any one who is searching after God. If a man begins in earnest to seek after Him, if haply he may find Him, let us beware how we stop him by rashly telling him he is not seeking in the right way. This would be like setting fire to the first round of the ladder by which one was attempting to escape. We must wait for a fit season to communicate light. Had any one told me when I first began to think religiously, that I was not seeking God in the right way, I might have been discouraged from seeking Him at all. I was much indebted to my mother for her truly wise and judicious conduct toward me when I first turned from my vanity and sin." The above extracts are taken from a *Commonplace Book* commenced at this time by Mr. Chalmers, but containing only one more entry, quoted at a subsequent date.

accommodated to the present age. Dined with Mr. Wilkie, and returned in the evening. Let me never leave secret prayer till I have obtained a state of mind so charged with Divine principle as to fit for going into the world. Instead of which, do I not hurry the conclusion, think that I have discharged a duty, shake myself loose of the business, and go back with a mind emptied and unfurnished of all that I had been before in possession of?

"*March* 9.—Got a letter of congratulation from Mr. Burder, secretary to the Missionary Society, on the score of my sermon. I think it likely that it will go to a second edition.

"*March* 11.—Mr. Brewster spent the evening, and had some conversation with him about my sermon. I fear that the sinful love of distinction still hangs about me.—O my God, forgive and cleanse. Let me be fearfully vigilant over this and every other part of my conduct. Let me make a point of bringing forward nothing in conversation for the purpose of signalizing myself.

"*March* 12.—Rode to Charlstone, where I visited three people. One of them, on his deathbed, preferred a complaint against neighbours. I was offended at a reference to such a subject; felt the fruitlessness of my prayer among a set of envious and unbrotherly people; and flung the reference away from me with characteristic impetuosity. Was this right? No: 2 Tim. ii. 24. I should have taken up the case; I should have entered into the feeling, for it was so far justifiable; I should have mildly but impressively stated the insignificance of the matter, and particularly to one on the eve of eternity. Above all, I should have pressed home the charity and forgiveness of the gospel, and insisted on them as necessary evidences of a saving change in the heart. Felt a deadness all day to Divine things; but, O my God, give me to be fervent in spirit.

"*March* 13.—Went to Rathillet to assist at a meeting for the poor. Mr. L. made a most unjustifiable appearance, and behaved with great personal rudeness to myself. I felt and brooded over it afterwards, and am sorry to say, I suffered it to take entire possession of me. I find that there are moments of helplessness, that I cannot see my way, and I abandon myself in general confidence to God. I intend rebuking him tomorrow; but let me keep anger under control, and cultivate forgiveness.

"*March* 14.—Preached as usual, and I think to a very at-

tentive audience. Was still occupied with vexation about Mr. L., and God was shut out of my heart even on His own day. I mentioned the matter to Mr. Gillespie; but was not this seeking my relief in man, when I should have kept by God? God was merciful; He found out a way when I could not. Mr. L. felt the impropriety of his conduct, and came forward with an apology. I was mild, but I told him of his fault. He heard, and, O God, grant that I may have gained him. In the whole of this conduct I felt myself under the strong dominion of principles merely human—the feeling of an affront—the sense of disgrace in the sight of men—the anxiety to recover myself in their eyes; and even when I was mild, were not the fear of man—the unpleasantness of an open collision—the constitutional love of peace, and the instinctive compassion for penitental regret, the main principles of my conduct? O my God, how little of Thee and of Thy law in all this! but in this darkness about my duty and my condition, let me keep by my Saviour, and never cease my dependence upon Him who is the light and the life of men.

"*March* 16.—On the review of last year, I look back upon a life chequered with frailty and sin, but I trust aspiring after righteousness, and feeling restless and uneasy under relapses. If in anything I have made sensible improvement, it is in feeling the more immediate connexion which subsists betwixt the practical virtues and the faith of Christ—leading me to cultivate union with Him, and dependence upon that Spirit which is at His giving.—O my God, give me to redeem the time; give me to make an entire business of my sanctification; and in all the duties of the redeemed Christian may I abound more and more. But above all, establish me thoroughly on Christ, that I may believe on Him to the saving of my soul—that I may be grafted in Him as my vine—that I may rest in Him as my foundation—that I may partake in Him as my righteousness. Believing, may I love—loving, may I obey.

"In addition to my ordinary supplies for the pulpit, wrote a speech for the Bible Society, since published; a sermon on Gal. iii. 23; do. on John iv. 10; do. on Rom. x. 17, since published; do. on 2 Tim. i. 10; do. on 2 Thess. iii. 1; a review of Foster's "Essays;"* and a speech on the Catholic question;—in all about eighteen sheets.

* The sermon on Galatians iii. 23, will be found in Works, vol. vii. p. 339; the sermon on John iv. 10, in Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 107. Particular attention is invited to this

"*March* 17.—Made a dedication of myself. The following is a record of my dedication:—Prayed for the blessing of God on the whole exercises. Acknowledged the sovereignty of God, and made an entire dedication of myself to His service. Felt the relapses of wandering and worldly speculation; felt much comfort in the command to believe in Christ; acknowledged Him as my Saviour, and dedicated myself to Him as the alone Rock of my confidence. O the fulness and the sufficiency that lie in Him! Grant, Lord, that we may be made partakers of that fulness. Acknowledged my entire dependence on the Holy Ghost as my sanctifier. Prayed for His controlling influences over my heart, thoughts, and conduct.—O my God, renew me in the spirit of my mind. Prayed for the application of all this to my conduct; felt the rapidity of my years; prayed for the correction of my infirmities, and, above all, for a more close and constant walk with God. Concluded with a prayer for God's blessing on the whole exercise. Felt more confidence in Christ when I thought of His sacrifice in the plain and obvious view of the thing as laid down in the Bible.—O that I could sit humbly at the feet of Christ, and listen to His sayings with the docility of a child! O my God, soften and prepare me for a willing subject of Thy kingdom.

"*Sunday, March* 21.—Was fatigued by exertion; and instead of following after God by hard straining of the mind, I gave myself to quietism, and feel that looking up for the Spirit through Christ Jesus is the only effectual attitude for obtaining love to God, and filial confidence in Him. My mind relapsed at times to its worldly perplexities; but, O God, may faith overcome, and may Thy Sabbaths be seasons of rest from all that is anxious. Let me withdraw my heart from the creature, and fix it in close and immediate dependence upon the Son of God. Felt the repose and charm of the peculiar doctrines. Stablish me in Christ, and may I lead a life of faith upon Him.

"*March* 22.—Have finished the three first books of Calvin's 'Institutes,' but find the subject of the fourth heavy and uninteresting.

"*March* 24.—Began Marshall on Sanctification, and promise myself great enlargement and solidity from this performance.

"*April* 5.—I must give up a number of intended preparations

sermon, as unfolding the doctrinal change of sentiment which had been effected in the author's mind. The sermon on Romans x. 17, will be found in Works, vol. xi. p. 315. The sermon on 2 Tim. i. 10, in Works, vol. x. p. 215. The Review of Foster's "Essays," in the "Christian Instructor," vol. vi. p. 327, and Works, vol. xii. p. 225.

for the Synod; and what are these preparations?—uncertain in their object, and having a great share of vanity in their principle. O my God, make me more humble. May I count myself little among my brethren, and be satisfied to be so counted; be content with the want of extempore power, and not suffer my ambition of display to make business and anxiety so thicken around me.

"*April* 7.—Neglected my monthly devotion on Monday, and had it this day. Felt more of my own impotency, and the necessity of quietly waiting in dependence on the Saviour, that I may be filled with His fulness. Prayed to God for a blessing on the exercise. Began at the root of all intercourse with God, through the Mediator. Prayed for establishment in Him, and not being able to articulate, my heart was opened to the view of His sufficiency of excellence. O God, do Thou, who knowest the mind of the Spirit, put Thy Spirit in me, that what I pray for, though not expressed in language, may be according to Thy will, and obtain acceptance in Thy sight. This interval wandered most shamefully into other subjects. In my next prayer did not articulate. Its subject was a right state of mind in reference to God. Felt the Saviour to be the channel through which I was to get this, as well as every other blessing. Prayed for freedom from anxiety about worldly matters, seeing that God was my friend, and for His will being the constant principle of my conduct.—Thought then of my conduct in reference to others, and prayed for the regulation of it by the principles of Christian charity, and, above all, by a supreme regard to the good of souls. Intercessions for my parish, for forgiveness for myself, and ability and judgment as its minister, for our Church; forgiveness for myself for that vanity and ambition of display which have hitherto actuated my conduct in Church courts, and for this anxiety being entirely swept away, that I may give an humble and a single heart to the good of the Church; for my friends, and family, and dear wife; and finally, for the progress of the gospel in all lands. Prayed for a blessing on the whole exercise, and for the forgiveness of what was amiss in it. I have to lament the wanderings of my mind into what is vain and worldly, and I count it an evidence of my small progress in the tastes of a Christian, that even the very hours which I had consecrated to God should be so much invaded by the distractions of the world. O my God, pity and forgive me.

"*April* 15.—Crossed to Edinburgh.

"*Sunday, April* 18.—Heard Drs. Campbell and Fleming. Dined in Dr. Jones's. Preached in the evening for the 'Destitute Sick.' Much annoyed by Dr. Stuart having wrested from me the publication of my sermon, and that after I had refused a deputation from the Society.

"*April* 26.—Stole a few intervals for writing a fair copy of my Catholic speech for the Dundee newspaper.* Went to church in the evening, and had a meeting of people signing their names to the Indian petition.†

"*April* 27.—Let me record that I never experience a more sensible improvement in divine things than when I resign myself in quiet dependence to the Saviour. O my God, give me to be more alive through the day to a sense of religion.

"*May* 3.—I gave an hour in the forenoon to devotion, of which the following is the record:—At the commencement felt my heart strongly occupied with my misunderstanding with ——. Prayed against this, that my main anxiety may be about

* This speech, intended originally to have been delivered before the Synod of Fife, was broken down into three letters which, under the signature X., appeared in the Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser, in the numbers for May 7, 14, 21.—1813. Without entering into the political part of the question, these letters were occupied with the injury which it was imagined that the removal of the Catholic disabilities would inflict upon the interests of religion. The arguments adduced are the very same which many years afterwards were embodied in the celebrated speech on behalf of Catholic Emancipation which he delivered in Edinburgh. And when, upon that occasion, he was publicly charged with a change of principle, the present able editor of the Spectator defended his old friend by referring to these very letters, which had been published while the Dundee newspaper was under his management. I am indebted to Mr. Rintoul for my first information as to the existence of these letters, and to Captain Scott of Dundee for kindly placing at my disposal a file of the newspaper in which they appeared.

† The charter of the East India Company was at this time being renewed: and as the House of Commons seemed disposed to commit the power of excluding all missionaries from India for twenty years longer into the hands of the Court of Directors, who had all along shown themselves inimical to the introduction of Christianity into our Eastern possessions, Mr. Wilberforce appealed to the religious feeling of the country. This appeal was answered by nine hundred petitions—a number at that period almost unprecedented, and the result of the parliamentary struggle was the concession that the Board of Control should be authorized and required to grant licences to fit and proper persons to go to India.—See "Life of Wilberforce," ch. xxviii. "I remember being much struck with this about some sixteen years ago, (written in 1829,) when the question of Missions to India was discussed in Parliament, and a great deal of evidence was taken on both sides of the controversy. The preponderance of the testimony was altogether on the side of the missionary cause, and it was found accordingly that its success was not incompatible with the safety of the British interests in that distant region of the globe. Among other witnesses, Warren Hastings was examined, and nothing could exceed the utter incompetence of his evidence, discovering as it did a glaring misapprehension of all the facts of the case, and evincing him to be an utter stranger to transactions which took place in his own vicinity, and throughout the country where he both resided and reigned. Yet nothing could be more natural than his total misinformation on the matter, and it was really not to be marvelled at, that in the multiplicity of his official cares, a matter so fractional as the incipient efforts of a few missionaries, among the mighty population who were under him, should altogether have escaped his observation. The confidence that marked his hostility to the enterprise is not so easily justified: but it is the very confidence, coupled with the very ignorance, discovered by many who bring home from India the most hostile representations of the missionary cause, and claim the authority of having been residents on the spot."—Dr. Chalmers's Posthumous Works, vol. ix. p. 111.

God, and not man, and that I may be so filled with charity and forgiveness, as to be in a state of preparation for bringing my gift before the altar.—Prayed for God's blessing and presence through the whole exercise.—Prayed for the correction of my defects, my want of taste for spiritual and divine objects, my distance from God, my want of those impressions of reality and importance which should accompany the whole of my intercourse with Him; prayed for the correction of my faults in reference to my brethren of mankind, and, in particular, for grieving the Holy Ghost, whose fruits are long-suffering and gentleness, by clamour, and wrath, and bitterness.—Prayed for the substitution of right principles in place of those wrong ones which obtained in the case of ——, and that I may be without uncharitableness to man, on the one hand, and a sinful fear of man, on the other. This led me to a train of feeling and speculation about this affair which I indulged in, even on my knees, and the result was a plan which I think it would be advisable to adopt in reference to ——, and that is, a full and explanatory letter. O God, forgive me what is wrong in this wandering, and, as I prayed for wisdom, am I to take this plan as Thy suggestion, and to proceed upon it accordingly? My beginning acquaintance with God as He lays Himself before me in the Old Testament is, I hope, putting to flight my metaphysical difficulties about sin. I am proceeding more upon first principles, and not consuming my time and strength so much in speculating about them. Thought of my relative duties.—Prayed for a due discharge of them, and for the welfare and prosperity of those who are the objects of them. This carried in it intercession for parish, Church, family, friends, and acquaintances. Thought of the general interests of Christianity: prayed for its extension, for the removal of the obstructions which now lie in its way, for the prosperity of religious societies. Concluded with a prayer for forgiveness, and for a blessing on the whole exercise.

"*May* 5.—This day is an epoch in my life. My dear Grace had a daughter, and I have to bless God for an answer to my prayers in giving her a safe and easy delivery.—O my God, perfect her restoration to health, and carry her in safety through the remainder of her trials. I dedicate this child to Thee, and pray for wisdom and ability, as well as zeal, in the great work of bringing her up in Thy nurture and admonition. Insert the following as a memorandum, which may interest my daughter when she comes to understand it:—

"Born about five minutes before two in the afternoon, and I was employed at the time in correcting for the press the second paragraph about the contempt incurred by missionaries, in my sermon on Ps. xli. 1.

"*Sunday, May* 6.—Preached as usual. A number of people from a distance, and my house crowded in the interval. Felt some good visitations upon my soul, and, O my God, do Thou continue them. Give me to repose from all that is worldly on Thy Sabbaths. O that I could henceforth resolve to forsake all for Christ, and resigning myself in faith to His guidance, may I obtain strength for the doing of all things. O my God, give me to bear usefully upon my dear wife's heart; and may I maintain the uniform tone among all around me of an heir and a candidate for immortality.

"*June* 7.—This day had my monthly exercise of devotion, of which the following is a record:—Prayed for a greater acquaintance with God. Have perhaps laid too much stress upon my fancy and my feelings of clearness and comfort. God bids us draw near to Him: simply do it, and He in His good time will give an answer to our prayers. It is by faith that we see God and have a near view of Him. But is it not an exercise of faith, when our minds are beclouded and our vision dark, still to trust and to wait and to look in His good time for an answer to our prayers? Made Christ the object of my next prayer: prayed for a thorough establishment in Him. When I reflect upon the high terms in which the transition is described, from being out of Christ to being in Him, as a passage from death to life, from darkness to light in the Lord, from darkness to marvellous light—how much have I to attain to if I do not see this light; but I wait for it, I pray for it, and I determinedly fix mine eye upon Christ as the alone quarter from which I am to obtain it. Then prayed for the Spirit. O that I could ever and anon appeal to the promise of the Holy Ghost, and feel the accomplishment of this promise upon me in all the varieties of my business. Prayed against the sins which do most easily beset me—anxiety about worldly matters—coldness and reserve to those against whom I conceive prejudice or disgust—a want both of the meekness and firmness of wisdom in the management of those whom I conceive to have treated me with petulance or ingratitude—and, above all, a habitual forgetfulness of my obligations to a life of religion. Remembered before God my various connexions—wife and family, including servants, relations, acquaintances,

parish, Church of Scotland, and the general interests of Christianity.

"*June* 13.—Served one table at Dairsie, and preached in the evening on Phil. iv. 13,* with a hurtful degree of violence.

"*June* 14.—Dined in Dr. Macculloch's with a party; Drs. Campbell and Macdonald there; and I, overborne by fatigue and that awkwardness which always clings to a man in the presence of those with whom he was awkward formerly, felt silent and embarrassed. Give me to prefer others, and be content with an humble and inferior place among my brethren. Rode to Logie, and got home in the evening. I should feel grateful for the comfort and affection of home; but, O God, I confess, over the head of the sacrifice, my guilt.

"*June* 23.—Rode to Moonzie, where I preached. Was weakened and chillish. Feel very unspiritual often on these occasions. The landscape in full glory: this is to be burned up, but God remaineth.—O that I could cleave to Him and to the hope of that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

"*June* 28.—Walked to Moonzie, where I heard sermon, and dined with a large party. Have to record a greater degree of vigilance, and a heart more constantly alive to divine things. It is most apt to abandon me in company.—O that God were present with me, and that He were the inspiring principle which gave rise to the play of kind affection. Let the second law be ever present with me. Delighted with the tenth chapter of Hebrews; and pray for a fixed and realizing sense of the sure efficacy of the sacrifice.

"*Sunday, July* 11.—Preached as usual. Miss Collier expressed her satisfaction, and gave me the testimony of another to the good I had done. I have to record that I felt sweetened and drawn to Miss Collier by this.—O my God, search me, and root out all that is sinful in the love of praise.

"*July* 19.—Had a conversation with Mr. K. about missionaries and others whom he has a contempt for. There is wisdom as well as zeal necessary on these occasions. We went, a numerous body, to Fincraigs, where we dined. Mr. F. said that the supporters of the Indian petitions were idiots. I of course am one of these idiots. I do not know if he is aware of the fact that I promoted a petition. But I took him up, and argued the cause, I trust, in the meekness of the gospel, and certainly reduced him to silence. I believe my wisdom will be to abstain from all

* See Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 143.

positive advances to him, and should he ask the reason, to tell him frankly of the rudeness and impropriety of his conduct.—Save me from all uncharitable brooding, O God; and give me to consider the Author and the Finisher of my faith.

"*July* 23.—After breakfast, Messrs. Anderson and Bruce* came and spent the forenoon with me. Had much conversation with the former, and have to entreat of God that He would forgive any selfishness, or vanity, or indifference to others that I may have betrayed to him. O keep me steadily in Thy truth amid all the varieties of human speculation.

"*Sunday, August* 1 (*Sacrament*).—I extemporized two table services at Balmerino, and have to thank God for carrying me through the performance. I am too much given to beat down error upon these occasions, when the more suitable and appropriate exercise would be to excite the direct affections of such a solemnity—the love of Christ, a woful sense of our relapses from that love in the world, and the gratitude which should be the principle of a habitual love with the Spirit to keep it in operation. Is there not vanity and a regard to men and an appetite for their good opinion in all that paltry anxiety about sermons, and do not these principles require the severest castigation?

"*August* 3.—Had my monthly devotion. Waited for God's Spirit. Prayed in the general for being altogether such as He would have me to be. Referred to God's knowledge of my necessities, and prayed for the accommodation of God's grace and Spirit to them. Felt a general confidence that He would lead me by the right way, even though it should be a way that I at present see darkly and know imperfectly. In my next prayer carried a more immediate reference to Christ, and felt the simplicity of putting faith in Him. I never feel more sure and satisfied than when my thoughts are that way.—O God, stablish me in Him thoroughly, and enable me to close with Him, and to embrace Him as He is offered to me in the gospel. The burden of my next prayer was, that as I had professed to put faith in Christ, I might henceforth live to Him, and count living to Him my sole business. Prayed for the removal of those weights which hinder the prosecution of this business; for a more fixed and steady application of mind to the things of God; for the Spirit to help mine infirmities—my irksomeness, my impatience, my suspicion, my selfishness, my idleness.—O God, may I not be slothful in business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. My

* Mr. James Anderson and the Rev. Mr. Bruce now of Edinburgh.

last prayer was an intercessory one, in which I included my dear wife, the other members of my family here, the family at Anster by name, and that at Heelbridge, some of my acquaintances to whom I had promised my prayers, or by whom I had been applied to, my parish, the Church of Scotland, and all other Churches, the general spread of Christianity, the prosperity of the societies for that object; and finally prayed for my wise and right conduct in reference to all with whom I am connected.

"*August* 4.—Went to Dundee. Was introduced to Mr. Fuller and his companions. Heard Mr. Fuller preach in the evening. Returned to Kilmany with Mr. Christopher Anderson.

"*August* 5.—Mr. Anderson left me for Dairsie and Cupar, where Mr. Fuller preached. The party came out to Kilmany, and spent the evening with me.

"*August* 6.—Rose early this morning to enjoy the conversation of Mr. Fuller. The party left me for New Inn. I accompanied them in the chaise, and got out at Letham, and returned to Kilmany in the afternoon. I have much to gather from the three last days:—(1.) I am still ashamed of the testimony of Christ, and would have felt this had I walked the streets of Cupar with the Missionaries.—O my God, forgive and cleanse. (2.) But still the slave of men, and ambitious of their testimony. Was it incumbent on me to go both to Dundee and Cupar? Why think my presence of so much importance? Cannot I labour in my own sphere, and leave it to others to labour in theirs? (3.) God was very kind in conducting this affair to so pleasurable a termination; a most comfortable meeting with these people, and Mr. Fuller's conversation, in particular, has left an impulse behind it. Let me henceforth attempt to extemporize from the pulpit; let me decline all extra engagements; let me redeem time, and give a steady and systematic direction to my efforts.—O my God, may I henceforth maintain a more decided tone of piety to Thee, and of usefulness to Thy cause."

This visit of Mr. Fuller was one of the incidents in his Kilmany life, to which Mr. Chalmers always looked back with pride and pleasure. He could not refrain from referring to it when introducing a remark of Mr. Fuller's into one of his theological lectures: "It has been exceedingly well said," he remarked, "by the judicious Andrew Fuller, on whose last visit to Scotland in 1813, I felt my humble country manse greatly honoured by harbouring him for a day and two nights within its walls—

it has been exceedingly well said by this able champion and expounder of our common Christianity, that the points on which the disciples of the Saviour agree, greatly outnumber, and in respect of importance very greatly outweigh, the points on which they differ."* The candour, the ardour, the simplicity, the originality, the power, the gentleness—all of which he found so singularly associated in his new acquaintance, made a profound impression upon Mr. Fuller. Though he did not live to see it, having died before Mr. Chalmers's removal to Glasgow, he was already measuring the width of that sphere of influence which he was fitted and destined to fill. "I never think of my visit to you but with pleasure," he wrote to Mr. Chalmers a few weeks after his return to Kettering. "After parting with you I was struck with the importance that may attach to *a single mind receiving an evangelical impression.* I knew Carey when he made shoes for the maintenance of his family; yet even then his mind had received an evangelical stamp, and his heart burned incessantly with desire for the salvation of the heathen; even then he had acquired a considerable acquaintance with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French; and why? because his mind was filled with the idea of being some day a translator of the Word of God into the languages of those who sit in darkness; even then he had drawn out a map of the world, with sheets of paper pasted together, besmeared with shoemaker's wax, and the moral state of every nation depicted with his pen; even then he was constantly talking with his brethren on the practicability of introducing the gospel in all nations. I saw in my dear friend Chalmers a mind susceptible of strong impressions, a capacity of communicating them to others, a thirst for knowledge, an openness to conviction, and a zeal for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ. My desire and prayer was—O that the impress he receives may be that of truth unalloyed with human mixtures, and that the zeal of his heart may have a scriptural direction! To what innumerable influences are we exposed—from friends, from enemies, from conversation, from books, from connexions, from interests! The Lord direct our hearts into the love of God and the patient waiting for Christ."

It was only in one respect that Mr. Fuller's desires and anticipations were to remain unfulfilled. Under the very strong conviction that his use of the manuscript in the pulpit impaired the power of his Sabbath addresses, Mr. Fuller strenuously urged

* See Posthumous Works, vol. ix. p. 425.

upon his friend the practice of extempore preaching, or preaching from notes. "If that man," said he to his companion, Mr. Anderson, after they had taken leave of Kilmany manse—"If that man would but throw away his papers in the pulpit, he might be king of Scotland." Mr. Chalmers was perfectly willing to make the experiment, and he gave full time and all diligence to the attempt; but it failed. He read, reflected, jotted down the outlines of a discourse, and then went to the pulpit trusting to the suggestions of the moment for the phraseology he should employ; but he found that the ampler his materials were, the more difficult was the utterance. His experience in this respect he used to compare to the familiar phenomenon of a bottle with water in it turned suddenly upside down: the nearly empty bottle discharges itself fluently and at once; the nearly full one labours in the effort, and lets out its contents with jerks and large explosions and sudden stops, as if choked by its own fulness. So it was with Mr. Chalmers in his first efforts at extempore preaching. A twofold impediment lay in the way of his success. It was not easy to light at once upon words or phrases which could give anything like adequate conveyance to convictions so intense as his were; and he could not be satisfied, and with no comfort could he proceed, while an interval so wide remained between the truth as it was felt and the truth as his words had represented it. Over and over again was the effort made to find powerful enough and expressive enough phraseology. But even had this difficulty not existed—even though he had been content with the first-suggested words, he never could be satisfied till he had exhausted every possible way of setting forth the truth, so as to force or to win for it an entrance into the minds of his hearers. So very eager was he at this period of his ministry to communicate the impressions which glowed so fervidly within his own heart, that even when he had a written sermon to deliver, he often, as if dissatisfied with all that he had said, would try at the close to put the matter in simpler words, or present it in other lights, or urge it in more direct and affectionate address. But when the restraints of a written composition were thrown away, when not at the close only, but from the very beginning of his address, this powerful impulse operated, he often found that, instead of getting over the ground marked down in his study to be traversed, the whole allotted time was consumed while yet he was labouring away with the first or second preliminary idea. After a succession of efforts, the attempt at

extempore preaching was relinquished; but he carried into the study that insatiable desire to effect a secure and effective lodgement of the truth in the minds of others, which had so much to do with the origin of all that amplification and reiteration with which his writings abound. In preparing for the pulpit, he scarcely ever sat down to write without the idea of other minds, whom it was his object to impress, being either more distinctly or more latently present to his thoughts; and he seldom rose from writing without the feeling that still other modes of influential representation remained untried.

"*Sunday, August* 8.—Began to extemporize this day, and carried it to the extent of my two lectures and part of my sermon.

"*Sunday, August* 15.—Threw off a sketch of a sermon this morning, and seldom addressed a more cultivated audience.—a number of gentry, and Professor Hill and his wife. Felt discouraged, and did not acquit myself to my satisfaction. This want of freedom prevented even a complete and edifying view of the subject.—O God, save me from all vanity. Was it right to apologize to Mr. Hill for my exhibition? No. Let me henceforth carry a prepared sermon with me, but let me persevere a little more in my extempore efforts. At all events, let me extemporize my lectures. There is a rapidity and impatience in all my processes which prevents that complete and connected view of my subject which is favourable to extemporizing.—O God, give me to be more calm and judicious.

"*August* 17.—Had a party of Johnstons and Balfours at dinner, with the dissenting clergy. Delighted with Ebenezer Brown. I should keep my appetite for praise under severe castigation; and I let Mr. Brown know that I could not extemporize.—O God, keep me humble, and may I not refuse to be among the least of my brethren.

"*Sunday, August* 22.—Had a double preparation for my sermon; that is, a sketch of one, and the other fully written. Took to the latter on seeing Dr. Jones from Edinburgh make his appearance, who preached for me in the afternoon, and with whom I spent a very pleasant day; but, O God, forgive me, and suffer me not to forget in all time coming that it is Thy day.

"*August* 23.—Went to Dundee with Dr. Jones, where I made a variety of calls. I hope that his free, and unshackled, and

scriptural divinity, will help to overthrow the spiritual tyranny of systems over me.—O my God, may I count no man master; but make me a little child, and may I take my lesson as the Bible offers it to me.

"*August* 24.—Had a walk to Forret-Hill with Dr. Jones and Sandy. The Doctor left me after breakfast. He teased me to make a separate publication of the article 'Christianity.'

"*August* 26.—Walked out after breakfast, and studied on my return till dinner-time. This perhaps an improvement, as it throws an interval between the fatigue of severe reading and the fatigue of severe composition.

"*August* 27.—Have made a further improvement in my daily work, which, when I have no interruptions, stands thus:—Start at six o'clock; dress and devotion till seven; read English and finish my daily accounts till nine; family-worship and breakfast; walk to eleven, twelve, or one; compose till dinner; public reading and miscellaneous work till tea; compose after tea, and family intercourse till bed-time.

"*Sunday, August* 29.—Extemporized in the afternoon an hour and twelve minutes. Felt as if I repeated too much; but Sandy declares it to be more impressive than the usual way.

"*Sept.* 3.—Finished my perusal of the English New Testament, and am to begin it in the Greek at the rate of a chapter in the day.

"*Sept.* 6.—Had my monthly devotion this forenoon, but lost the record of it. I feel a want of the Divine Spirit going along with me in the exercise of my duties.—O for light and comfort in my daily walk, and for wisdom to those who are without. Let me use hospitality; but I have to record, that Mr. G.'s destitute situation excited in me apprehensions about giving. What folly is this! Let me cease from this anxious fearfulness, and give to him who asketh to the extent of what I have. In the meantime, I have little or nothing;* but why not have more confidence in God? Let me not be stretching forward to future possibilities, but trust that, when a duty comes round, He will give me strength for the performance of it; when a temptation comes round, He will find out a way of escape. The anxiety in question would not be felt by one who considered all he had as God's, and that he is not called upon to give what he has

* A demand having been made upon his generosity, he had met it by giving so much, that, out of his professional income, he had only £10 to present to Mrs. Chalmers for her first year's housekeeping.

not. He must first owe no man anything, before he can lay out upon works of love. Save me then, O my God, from this anxiety, and give me a most cheerful and willing heart to the whole of Thy service.

"*Sept.* 10.—Let me henceforth keep no record of my charities, but put them down among my personal expenses, that my left hand may not know what my right hand doeth.

"*Sept.* 14.—Sandy returned from ——. He tells me of Mr. F.'s keenness for Ferrie, whom I am against. I felt the fear of man, which I ought not to feel, and both felt and expressed a resentment at the recollection of Mr. F.'s petulance.

"*Sept.* 17.—This a dedication day. The following is the record of it:—A preparation prayer. Dedication in reference to God; all thoughts, and words, and actions.—O my God, may I feel the weight of this, and look to the only source from whence I can find strength for so vast and extensive a fulfilment. Dedication in reference to the Son of God, my alone Saviour; His merit my alone plea for justification; His redemption my alone ground for the hope of forgiveness. Dedication in reference to the Holy Ghost; may my sole dependence be upon the influences of the Spirit for newness of life and acceptable obedience.—O God, may I watch for Thy Spirit with all perseverance; and may my application for its assistance be as constant as my necessity; or, in other words, may I pray without ceasing. Prayed for the application of the above to life. Concluded with a prayer for forgiveness, and a blessing on the whole exercise.—O Lord, I feel the weight of my infirmities; they taint even our holy things. O may God pardon, and cleanse, and renew, and perfect, for Christ's sake. Amen.

"*Sept.* 22.—Mr. Duncan left us. Brought my pamphlet on the Bible Society to a close.

"*Oct.* 4.—Successfully employed in writing a speech on Mr. Ferrie's case.

"*Oct.* 6.—About finished my speech on Ferrie's business.

"*Oct.* 7.—Committed great part of my speech to heart.

"*Oct.* 12.—A day of mortification. Everything went against us by the through-bearing of the opposite party. I feel myself a weak, timid, vain, and capricious being. Did not come forward with my speech.—O God, extirpate what is bad, and in the meantime give me Thy direction and counsel.

"Let me be most cautious of holding out prospects to, or

venturing into engagements with anybody as to the affairs of Church courts.

"Let me give myself most strenuously to the acquirement of forms and Church law, that, if possible, I may unravel the intricacies which impede the true interests of the Church, and confound men of simplicity and godly sincerity.

"*Oct.* 13.—Came home jaded, mortified, useless.

"*Oct.* 16.—Still under the influence of the disappointment.

"Mean to pay more attention to the business of Church courts; but, O my God, may I not be absorbed by it, or drawn away from what is more useful. Let me cease my anxiety about expressions. It is my duty to attend to Church business, but let me do everything in subordination to God.

"*Sunday, Oct.* 17.—Still under the dominion of that worldly sorrow which worketh death.

"*Oct.* 18.—Made my monthly devotion this day. Prayed for a blessing. Prayed to be rescued from all other influences, and brought under the entire control and sovereignty of Him with whom we have to do. Confessed my love of human praise.—Prayed for the extirpation of all that was sinful in it. Felt a constant tendency to other subjects, and especially to the predominating one of Church business. O how helpless I am! but let me apply to the Source of all help. An intercessory prayer. Concluded with a prayer to God for a blessing, and for forgiveness.

"*Oct.* 21.—My mind runs too much upon Church business. Let me by all means attend to it; but, O God, forgive and reform the excess of my constitutional anxieties. O for habitual love to God, and a constant sense of eternity.

"*Oct.* 22.—Wrote notes of a sermon, and am to make another trial at the extemporizing.

"*Nov.* 8.—Went to Cupar, where I did business at the Bible Committee. I am far too much alarmed in my anticipations of these matters. Let me henceforth take a decided part in public matters; but while I quit myself like a man, let me maintain charity in all things. Began to read Halyburton's 'Life' on the road.

"*Dec.* 6.—The following is the record of my monthly act of devotion:—Prayed for the quickening and enlightening influences of the Spirit. Prayed for a variety of particulars, and felt a hungering and thirsting after righteousness. Thought of living unto Christ, and prayed that I may be enabled to do so. Prayed

that I may be purged of secret faults, and enumerated the sins which do most easily beset me. An intercessory prayer. Prayed for a blessing, and for forgiveness. Wandered a good deal; but I this day have made the experiment of fasting, that is, taking a very small breakfast; and I have to record that I felt more clear and spiritual than I ever recollect. Went over to Mr. Robertson, whom I married and dined with. Alas, alas! what a contrast betwixt the aspirations of the closet, and the realities of the world!

"*Dec.* 8.—Looked into Cecil's 'Memoirs of Newton,'* and was much impressed with that part of the latter's experience which consisted in habitually looking to God for hourly supplies of strength and wisdom.—O my God, give me to realize this.

"*Dec.* 17.—I am much interested in Halyburton. My experience does not accord with his. I do not feel his distress, his concern, his deep sense of the evil of sin. I know that I am under sin, and that, leave me to myself, I would live without God in the world. The guilt and the danger of this do not impress me; and I feel as if instead of having suffered the feeling to run on, I make a constant application of the remedy to the successive degrees of it. Ay! but where is the fruit of this faith in the remedy?—O God, make me to abound in it. When I go among secular people, make me to retain my sense of Thee. Give me to see sin in its evil—give me to be melted by Thy goodness unto repentance, and dissolve the hardness of this sleeping and unaffected heart. Let me be most watchful that, as I do not feel, I may do.—And, O God, may the fruit of my doing be a farther manifestation of the evil of sin and the joys of Thy reconciled countenance.

"*Dec.* 21.—Finished Cowper's Poems a long time ago, and began this night Cecil's 'Life of Newton.' Was more diligent; and I pray that I may have a greater value for time and all its fragments. I am still very far from God, and feel a want of that reconciling sense of Him—that view of the evil of sin—that constant impression of His authority which are surely all necessary to make up the exercise of *living unto* Him. Let me wait for this revelation in dependence upon Him without whom no man can know the Father. My own reasoning does not conduct

* "The two great pillars of a sinner's religion," says Newton, "are what Christ has done for us in the flesh, and what He performs in us by His Spirit."—December 5.—MS. Commonplace Book.

me there. Let me try faith in the Son, and in the meantime give myself to the assiduous discharge of all known duties. Forgiveness, long-suffering, a quiet dependence on God for daily bread, a freedom from worldly anxieties, a diligence in opposition to my constitutional sloth, are duties that clearly lie upon me.

"*Dec.* 22.—Had closer and more confiding views of my all-sufficient Saviour than I ever recollect; and sure I am that a secure and intimate fellowship with Him will do more for me in the way of universal obedience than all my former exertions, limited as they have hitherto been, with the spirit of independence and legalism.—O God, carry me on; and after I have found the Saviour may I never let Him go.

"*Dec.* 23.—Felt the spirit of love and peace this day. O my God, keep me in the way of resting upon Christ, and give me to experience that it is a way of power and holy obedience.

"*Dec.* 28.—This is a miscellaneous week. Read Hebrew and Halyburton. I do feel a great barrenness of religious feeling on the familiar occasions of life.—O how short of doing all things to God's glory! Let me wait for His manifestations and His power over my heart through Christ.

"*Dec.* 31.—Another year has rolled over my head, and I find myself in a state of deadness and darkness, which I pray the good Lord to dissipate. I do feel no confidence in myself, and cling to faith as the principle which carries all that is good and desirable along with it. I commit myself to God in Christ, and pray that I may henceforward be more zealous in redeeming time, more diligent to be found of God without spot and blameless, more active in my professional employment, more judicious in my applications of Scripture to my own case, and that of others; and, oh for that highest of all wisdom, the wisdom of winning souls."

CHAPTER XIII.

FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE.

Those family bereavements which awakened Mr. Chalmers's earliest religious anxieties, exerted a like influence over his sister Jane. She was already a peculiar favourite, and the sympathy thus generated gave her a double claim upon his affections. At the very season of his own solicitude she consulted him as to the true ground of peace and hope towards God, and it was not without benefit to himself that he undertook to guide another. Writing to her husband, Mr. Morton, a year after their marriage, he says:—"My prayer is, that you may both go on and prosper in the good cause which you have adopted; that the Saviour may every day become more precious to you, His atonement more rested in, His law more revered, His Spirit more felt and more depended on. Jane's deep interest in these subjects was an instrument of mighty advantage to myself, and from my conversation with her I date a most salutary revolution in my sentiments and views." Well aware that to those who have been finally removed to a great distance from a well-known and much loved neighbourhood, the most trifling information possesses interest, Mr. Chalmers in his correspondence with Mrs. Morton descended to the humblest local intelligence, the minutest incidents in the family history of friends and parishioners being faithfully chronicled. The last page, however, of each letter was "devoted to the great concern." Bringing these last pages together, let us present this portion of the correspondence by itself, and for the whole of that brief period during which Mr. Chalmers continued in Kilmany, interposing at their proper dates extracts from letters addressed to his sister Helen, and to his brothers Patrick and Charles.

"Kilmany Manse, *April* 21, 1812.

"My dear Jane,—I have begun a course of sermons lately with my people, in which I follow a certain order of subjects. First, the inflexibility of the Divine justice; secondly, the sin which renders one and all of us amenable to that justice, and throws every individual of the human race into a dark and un-

sheltered state of condemnation; then the remedy. It really is a vast improvement to one's-self to write upon a given subject; it rivets and illuminates one's own conceptions of the point in question; and I must say, that I never had so close and satisfactory a view of the gospel salvation as when I have been led to contemplate it in the light of a simple offer on the one side, and a simple acceptance on the other. It is just saying to one and all of us,—There is forgiveness through the blood of my Son, take it; and whoever believes the reality of the offer takes it. It is not in any shape the reward of our own services; for when you let them into the acceptance, you lay the whole open to apprehension and despair. It is the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. It is not given because you are worthy to receive it, but because it is a gift worthy of our kind and reconciled Father to bestow. We are apt to stagger at the greatness of the unmerited offer, and cannot attach faith to it till we have made up some title of our own. This leads to two mischievous consequences. It keeps alive the presumption of one class of Christians, who will still be thinking that it is something in themselves and of themselves which confers upon them a right to salvation; and it confirms the melancholy of another class, who look into their own hearts and their own lives, and find that they cannot make out a shadow of a title to the Divine favour. The error of both lies in looking to themselves when they should be looking to the Saviour: 'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth.' The Son of man was so lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. It is your part simply to lay hold of the offered boon. You are invited to do so, you are entreated to do so—nay, what is more, you are commanded to do so. It is true you are unworthy, and without holiness no man can see God; but 'be not afraid, only believe.' You cannot get holiness of yourself, but Christ has undertaken to provide it for you. It is one of those spiritual blessings of which He has the dispensation, and which He has promised to all who believe in Him. God has promised that with His Son He will freely give you all things—that He will walk in you and dwell in you—that He will purify your heart by faith—that He will put His law in your heart and write it in your mind. These are the effects of your believing in Christ, and not the services by which you become entitled to believe in Him. Make a clear outset in the business, and understand that your first step is simply a confiding acceptance of an

offer that is most free, most frank, most generous, and most unconditional.

"My prayer to God is, that He would work the work of faith with power in your heart, that He would draw you to Christ, that He would open your understanding to understand the Scriptures, and that through the patience and comfort of these Scriptures you may have hope."

"*Kilmany Manse, August* 7, 1812.—I do not know that a single day has elapsed since seeing you in which I have not remembered you; and believing, as I do, that the prayer of faith ascending to heaven, and bringing down from it the things prayed for, is a *real process*, I ask your prayers, and trust to have the benefit of them. You could certainly, through Sir Thomas Acland, have access to the 'Eighth Report of the Bible Society.' Read it, my dear sister. I would strongly recommend the cheap Repository to you for distribution among your neighbours. You get hundreds of them for a mere trifle. You may inquire for them under the name of 'Religious Tracts,' published by a Society in London. The reading of them would go far to strengthen and stablish your own heart, and the distribution of them would be a work and labour of love worthy of a Christian. After you have encouraged a taste for reading among your servants and neighbours, you may restrain the gratuitous distribution of them; and on the principle of a thing bought being more valued than a thing given, you may get the bookseller of Dulverton interested in the sale of them. This process I mean to follow in my own parish; and, be assured, that no individual is too private or too obscure for the great work of turning sons and daughters unto righteousness."

"*November* 6, 1812.—You were perfectly right in communicating to —— that part of your family arrangements which related to family worship. It has given sincere joy to ——; nor am I able to express the pleasure and thankfulness with which it has filled me. I have no doubt that family worship is often maintained in houses where vital religion does not exist; but where it is adopted from the impulse of conviction, I regard it as a symptom to be rejoiced in; and my prayer is, that you may all have great peace and joy in the better part that you have chosen; that you may feel how secure a habitation you arrive at by coming unto Christ, and taking shelter under the

ample canopy of His mediatorship; that your reconciled Father may fulfil in you all the good pleasure of His goodness; and that looking unto Him for the promised influence of His Spirit, you may die every day unto sin and live unto righteousness.

"I rejoice to hear of your Sunday school. I once thought of one here; but it occurs to me, that however salutary in England, it is not so necessary here. I am doubtful of the propriety of detaching the children from their parents, their natural guardians, who feel that the responsibility lies with them. This does not apply to your attempt at all, and I would rejoice to hear the particulars of your success. The English peasantry have not that respect for the Sabbath, nor that degree of qualification, which we have in this country; and you do a kind, and I trust an effectual, service to young people, by the labour that you bestow upon them.

"It delights me to perceive that Miss —— seems at length to have arrived at that rest which the Saviour has pledged Himself to give to all who come unto Him: and with rest He will give all other spiritual blessings. That sanctification which out of Christ none can reach, is only found in close union with Him; and if we maintain what may be called the *gospel attitude of the mind, which is looking unto Jesus*, we shall obtain of His Spirit, we shall be changed into His image, we shall be strengthened for all duty; and that noble system of reconciliation with God, beginning with an act of confidence, will at last terminate in all the graces and accomplishments of the Christian character, will have its fruit unto holiness, and in the end everlasting life."

"*Jan.* 5, 1813.—As to the most urgent subject of your letter I hope that no formal certificate is necessary, and that it will be sustained as a sufficient testimony of my willingness to stand a godfather to my dear nephew, if I simply announce my willingness in this way, and request Mr. Morton to be my proxy. I shall, however, subjoin a more formal declaration at the end of the letter, which may be torn off and presented to the clergyman if necessary. I may say to you, that in accepting this office, I feel the duty and responsibility which attach to it. I feel myself drawn to your dear infant by a relation more tender and more important than that which nature has created; and pray that, if both of us be preserved, every influence which I may bring to bear upon him in future life may conduce to the great interests of his imperishable soul. I feel the utmost gratitude

to the kind Father of all for the comforts of your life, and pray for the increase and continuance of His mercies. O let us connect every joy with the hand of the Giver; and in the manifold blessings which He scatters around the path of this world's journey, may we never forget that is a journey, and must have a termination. I enter, my dear Jane, into all your sensations, and figure your domestic comforts; and whether it be your respectable husband, your smiling infant, your affectionate relatives, your secure competency, and, above all, your growing sense of God, and of His merciful and reconciled countenance, I can see a thousand reasons for gratitude to Him who makes all and who gives all. It is delightful to think of the largeness of His liberality. We give way to dark and narrow suspicions as to the extent of His kindness; but, to use a Bible phrase, it is not He that is straitened as to us, it is we that are straitened as to Him. He will perfect the good work that is begun in us; He is not unfaithful. I ask this simple question—Did you ever, or do you now, annex a feeling of comfort and security to the idea of Christ and of His salvation? What is this but having fellowship with Christ? It is holding communion with Him in the most characteristic of all His capacities—the capacity of your Saviour. Now, mark the promise that is given to such fellowship: God is not unfaithful who hath called us to the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. For our comfort He pledges His fidelity; and as sure as God is true, and His promises are unfailing, all who trust in the Saviour may look up for the fulfilment of this large and liberal assurance: He gave His own Son for us; how much more shall He not with Him freely give us all things? I feel that matrimony brings a very large accession of deep and serious and tender feeling along with it. I am sure that I would not have had half the interest in your family without my wife that I now have with one. I have been supremely fortunate in being allied with the mildest and gentlest and most sweetly accommodating of women, who takes a large interest in my professional business, and is, I hope, under those saving and salutary influences which I pray may be imparted to all, and at last bring us all together in perfect blessedness to the throne of God."

"*Feb.* 15, 1813.—I know not a more serious drawback to mixed society than the exclusion of all conversation about the one thing needful; and it comes to be a serious question, How

are you to get the better of it?—Are you to lift your testimony against it? This zeal would prompt; but we are also called to walk *in wisdom* towards those that are without. There must be a way of introducing the topic, so as to make a useful impression, so as to conciliate prejudice, so as to win if possible rather than repel. I confess it is to me a thing beset with many difficulties, and I fear that an unmanly shame may have some share in it. It is certainly wrong to disguise it from others that you look upon eternity as your uppermost concern. Disguise this, and you add the sanction of your example to their exclusive indulgence in the frivolities of time—you add to the multitude of stumbling-blocks or offences which lie in the way of others. It is delightful that there is a promise annexed to the prayer for wisdom; and I know not a more delicate subject for the application of wisdom than the one I am now insisting on. I look upon the exercise of writing to you as a mighty relief from that unvaried tone of secularity and alienation from God which prevails in the world; and it would give me the truest pleasure to understand that you are rising in your sense of the importance of eternity, and that peace and joy mingle in your contemplations. For this purpose, let me advise you to look to the Saviour. Some people perplex themselves by looking too much inwards. It is clear that the object to be looked at is out of us, and that it is by fastening our contemplations on Him who was lifted up for the sins of the world that we are saved. I like the determined style of faith which I have found in English writers. One of them says, 'If I am to perish, let me perish *here*'—meaning at the foot of that Cross on which his eyes are fastened. I have heard a fine observation by a divine of our day upon this subject. He says, that those of the children of Israel who looked to the brazen serpent may not all have had a very distinct and positive conviction that they were to be cured by so doing; still, however, they lifted up their eyes, and were healed. The very act of lifting up their eyes implied a certain degree of expectation, and, slender as it was, it gave rise to an act which landed in their recovery from the serpents' bite. Now, some perplex themselves with inquiring into the degree of their faith, and summon up a number of questions which are very difficult, and sometimes insoluble. Now, though you cannot look into your own heart, and find there such a degree of faith as satisfies, you may look out of you unto Jesus. The very act of so looking implies some hope, some faith; and as all who looked unto the brazen serpent were

healed, so all who look unto Jesus shall be saved. Their faith may not be so lively, so distinct, so intense in degree as they expected, still there is some degree of it implied in the very act of looking. It may be small, but think of the promise annexed to that faith which was so very small that it was compared to a grain of mustard-seed: 'Look unto me,' says He, 'all ye ends of the earth, and be saved.' And the salvation is not put off till the time when you shall go in person to heaven. It is begun on earth; and as it consisteth in salvation from the power of sin as well as from its punishment, be assured that from the first moment of your looking unto the Saviour, He begins the good work of carrying on your redemption, redeeming you from all your iniquities (Tit. ii. 14), giving you a measure of His Spirit (John vii. 39; iv. 14), conforming you to His image (2 Cor. iii. 18), carrying you on from one degree of grace unto another, till you arrive at a complete obedience to the will of God. Cast your care upon Him, and He is pledged to do all this. He is able to do it all, and Christ will be made unto you wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

The letter from which the following extract is taken was addressed to his sister Helen, afterwards married to the Rev. Mr. Maclellan, minister of Kelton, who had accompanied her sister to England, and was now living at Heelbridge :—

"Kilmany Manse, *May* 24, 1813.

"Jane knows the usual appropriation of my last page, and it is a subject of too much importance to be omitted at any time; nor do I know a happier change that a human soul can undergo than to pass from a state of indifference about religion to the feeling of it as the main concern of existence. There is a text of Scripture highly applicable to the great majority of those who think that, upon the strength of a few established decencies, which bring them to a *par* with their neighbours around them, all will go well and comfortably enough with them. Jeremiah viii. 11, 'For they have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace.' They do not see the necessity of making religion that very earnest and particular thing which every true Christian will make it. They go very slightly to work in the business of healing the hurt of their souls, and feel a peace in the superficial remedy of forms, and decency, and a fair average of character

and reputation in their neighbourhood;—all the while the heart may remain as alienated from God as ever, the love of Him be as unfelt as before, the high standard of Christian obedience be never thought of or aspired after, and, above all, the great Physician, who alone can heal the hurt to the very bottom, be neither repaired to nor rested on. This is slight work, yet it is all that is done by the vast majority of professing Christians, and it satisfies them. The atonement of the Cross is the only sufficient and authorized remedy for sin, and all are invited to lay hold of it. Some seek for the ground of peace in themselves, and they either take up with a deceitful remedy, or, not finding what they want, give themselves up to the agony of anxious helplessness. The right way is to look unto Jesus as lifted up for sin; and we have His own authority for saying that whosoever so looketh shall be saved—saved from sin in all its malignity—saved not merely from its condemnation, but its power—redeemed from its curse (Gal. iii. 13), and redeemed from its dominion (Rom. vi. 14), so that by the operation of this alone remedy, we are washed, and sanctified, and justified in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God (1 Cor. vi. 11). This is a decisive remedy. There is no slightness, no feebleness in such an application as this. It goes farther than to the reformation of a few points; it is something more than a slight covering of outward decency; it reaches the very heart, and accomplishes a change so thorough and decisive, that the New Testament represents it by being born again (John iii. 3), by being transformed by the renewing of our minds (Rom. xii. 2), by putting on the new man (Eph. iv. 24), &c. &c. I can easily conceive that a person to whom all this appears strange and new may be startled at the magnitude of the change, and upon the very natural idea that it was he himself who was to accomplish it, may give up every attempt under the discouraging sense of its total impracticability. Under this impression, I can conceive him reduced to the question of 'What shall I do?'—a Scripture question, and for which I have a Scripture answer in readiness, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ;' 'Be not afraid, only believe.' You may well suspect your own competency to bring about so decisive and great an alteration upon your own heart, but you have no reason to suspect the competency of the Saviour. It is His business, and He knows how to go about it; and, be assured, that from the first moment of your resigning yourself in confidence to the Saviour's hands, there will emerge

the new hope of the redeemed and the new life of the sanctified disciple."

"*August* 31, 1813.—It will give me the utmost pleasure to understand that the agitations of uncertainty respecting this world's riches have led you to draw closer to that living God who giveth us all things richly to enjoy. It is delightful to think that whatsoever we ask in prayer, *believing*, we shall receive. The condition upon which you get is that you believe you shall get it (Mark xi. 24). Now, you will observe that this qualifying clause restricts the prayer to certain objects. You cannot pray believingly for riches; you cannot pray believingly for a continuance in your present situation; you cannot fasten on another situation, and pray believingly that God would translate you there; and why? Because you know not if these things be agreeable to the will of God. This want of knowledge prevents an absolute belief; and hence, though you do pray for the things above specified, you may not get them. You may pray for them in the following terms:—'Lord, if it be Thy will,' &c. But there are certain other objects which you have a full warrant to pray believingly for, and which believing, you may pray absolutely for, and obtain them. You may rest assured that He will hear if you ask according to His will (1 John v. 14). Now there are many such objects made known to us in the Bible, and forming the promises which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus. The Holy Spirit is one of these (Gal. iii. 14; Luke xi. 13); wisdom is another (James i. 5); the general object of salvation is a third (1 Tim. ii. 4). Now, what I would like to press upon all who are beset with anxieties about the future days they are to live in this world, is, that daily bread is one of these objects. It is agreeable to the will of God that you ask it, for it is the very petition which the Son of God taught His disciples. You have a full warrant for believing then that you shall get it, and according to the faith of your prayer so will it be done unto you. This harmonizes with the precept, 'Take no thought,' or, as it should have been rendered, 'Be not thoughtful,' 'Be not anxious about the things of to-morrow.' I shall only add, that if the most anxious and unhappy men of the world were examined as to the ground of their disquietude, it would be found in 999 cases out of the 1000, that the provision of this day was not the ground of it. They carry forward their imaginations to a distant futurity,

and fill it up with the spectres of melancholy and despair. What a world of unhappiness would be saved if the things of the day were to occupy all our hearts—the duties, the employments, the services of the day; and as to the morrow, how delightful to think that we have the sure warrant of God for believing, that by committing its issue in quietness to Him, when the future day comes the provision of that day will come along with it. Feel yourself to be in the hand of God, and you will not be afraid because of evil tidings (Ps. cxii. 7)."

During the spring and summer of 1813, three topics of family anxiety existed. His brother Patrick's efforts to obtain a permanent settlement in life proved fruitless; his brother Charles's health gave way; while Mr. Morton, obliged to remove from Heelbridge, was plunged amid uncertainties as to his future residence and occupation. To each variety of anxiety Mr. Chalmers sought to apply the only sufficient remedy.

"KILMANY MANSE, *May* 7, 1813.

"MY DEAR PATRICK,—In the last conversation which I held with you relative to your future prospects, I was quite aware how natural it is to fix our anticipations, and to regret that these should be pushed forward a year or two beyond what we had previously calculated in our own minds. I trust that you will some time or other obtain a comfortable settlement; but what I am most anxious to press upon you, not merely as a point of prudence, but as a point of Christian principle, is a submissive accommodation to present circumstances. Time elapses sooner than we have any idea of, and it is our wisdom not to throw away our peace by fretful or anxious impatience. I have often heard the phrase, that *a man loses so much of his life* who suffers so many years of it to pass away without reaching an independent establishment. If it be due to his own idleness, the phrase is accurate enough; if due to the necessity of circumstances, I maintain it is quite an unchristian perversion of language. He does not lose life, he only loses that which our Saviour (the justness of whose computation no Christian will deny) says is less than life: 'Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?' The great purposes of his being may be carrying on; his soul may be ripening for eternity; the good work begun in his heart may be prospering; the salutary lessons of patience and contentment may be practising; and, in

short, to say that life or any part of it is losing because you are not drawing towards an earthly competency so fast as you could wish, is making the 'meat which perisheth' take the precedency of that which 'endureth unto everlasting life.' It will give me pleasure to understand that these sentiments are not merely admitted by you as true, but actually proceeded upon. Be assured that the wished-for object will not be longer in coming about that the time before it is filled up with contentment and piety."

"KILMANY MANSE, *August* 3, 1813.

"DEAR CHARLES,—It gives both me and Mrs. Chalmers great concern that you should be in so poor a state of health, and it is our joint wish and invitation that you should come to Kilmany for a change of air. . . . In the meantime, I would by all means advise you to keep free of anxiety, as I am persuaded that this has had a powerful influence on your health; and if ever one receipt was more effectual than another for keeping down anxiety, it is that reach of mind which carries its possessor forward to eternity, and by making him feel that his main interest is there, gives their proper size and importance to the little interests which lie between. When the powers of the world to come have full influence, they not only stimulate to all duty, but they mitigate all distress; and they impart the twofold advantage of giving more activity to the exertion, and less pungency to the disappointment, should the earthly object of the exertion fail."

"KILMANY MANSE, *March* 9, 1814.

"I trust that my dear Jane will bury all her fears in the sufficiency of the Saviour. He is a hiding-place from the storm. He refuses Himself to none who apply to Him; and if Christ is yours, all things are yours. This promise includes things present as well as things to come. Depend upon Him for all that is necessary to life, as well as for all that is necessary to godliness. O what a fund of comfort and of fulness to repair to at all times! None who believe on Him shall be confounded. Heaven and earth may pass away, but the word of this promise shall not pass away."

"*April* 20, 1814.—It gives me great pleasure to think that the one thing needful remains with you. Seek it first, and the other things will be added; and why should we despair of attaining, in the face of the promise, 'He who seeketh findeth'? I have sometimes laboured after a clearer view of divine things

than I have yet gotten, after a fulfilment of the promise—'I will manifest myself unto you,' and should like vastly to realize what it is to have the light of the Divine countenance upon me. Some despair because they want these manifestations. They are wrong. There may be a stronger exercise of faith with the want of these manifestations than with the presence of them. God gives light when it pleases Him, and it is our exercise of faith to wait for it. The want of light is not incompatible with trust in God (Is. L. 10). We may not have a clear and exhilarating view of the Saviour at the very time that we are showing faith in and love to Him by keeping His commandments; and the keeping of these commandments is the very way prescribed by the Saviour for arriving at the manifestations (John xiv. 21). Well, then, you do not have a clear apprehension of Christ, but you may have a clear enough apprehension of the common and everyday duties He lays upon you—forgiveness, well-doing, patience, freedom from anxiety about worldly matters, &c. &c. Bind yourself firmly and faithfully to what you do clearly know; and you have the promise of manifestation as to those things which you do not clearly know. In other words, be doing at your plain and intelligible duties, and the fruit of your doings will be the very light and clearness that you aspire after. It is the natural tendency of employment to divert melancholy; and how delightful to perceive the coincidence between the natural and revealed orders. At the same time, if I have any experience I can speak clearly upon at all—it is that I am never more qualified for keeping the commandments than when in fellowship with the Saviour, and resting upon His righteousness—than when under the influence of gospel hope, and looking upon the salvation of Christ as all a matter of grace and freeness. But the power of obedience is part of this salvation. If you rely on the blood of Christ, you will obtain forgiveness—if you rely on the Spirit of Christ, you will obtain sanctification; and when the spirit of adoption is at length given—when you go out and in with filial confidence, and have free access to your reconciled Father, then the work of obedience becomes as easy and delightful as the duties of affection to the friend you most love. I feel myself far, and very far, from what I conceive on this subject; but let us press forward, my dear Jane; let us support one another; and in the meanwhile, let us, in reliance upon the Spirit, and in prayerful dependence on the name of Christ, aim at the keeping of His commandments."

"*July* 20, 1814.—I trust that my dear Jane is still placing her confidence on the right ground—a ground which never can give way from under us, even the sure and unfailing foundation of Christ Jesus. God is not a man that He should lie. This is an awful consideration to those who are not looking to the Saviour, and put no faith in His sayings; for the only way in which God can acquit Himself of lying to them—the only way in which He can vindicate His truth and justice upon them, is by executing the curse of His violated law. But to those who take refuge, the truth and justice of God would be violated if they were condemned. Christ became a curse for them; and the solemn assertion that all who call on His name shall be saved, would be falsified, and God be made a liar, were they who believe in Christ to enter into condemnation. Look not unto yourself, but look unto Jesus. Think of His truth, of His willingness, of His power, and the truth of God requires your salvation. The very justice, which is a ground of terror to the unbeliever, is a ground of consolation and hope to the believer; and accordingly it is said that God is *faithful* and *just* to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all our unrighteousness. Oh! that the last promise were making a sensible accomplishment upon us—that we were getting a release from the power of sin as well as from its punishment—that we were growing every day in mildness, in patience, in love, and in all the fruits of that blessed Spirit which Christ has at His giving, and which He pours abundantly on all who ask it. It is pleasant to think that the work of sanctification—a work the difficulties of which would fill us with terror were it altogether ours—is made a work of peaceful and very easy performance by God working in us. The very God of peace sanctify you wholly, enable you to endure trial, and to count it all joy when you fall into it, and guide you in safety through those many tribulations by which we enter into the kingdom of God."

"*July* 22, 1814.—It is said of the Captain of our salvation, that He was made perfect by suffering. We have the same discipline to undergo; and O that we could reach such a degree of faith and of conformity to the will of God as to count it all joy when we fall into divers temptations. Christ says, In the world ye shall have tribulation. This is our lot. It is through many such that we shall enter the kingdom of God. He bids us, however, be of good cheer, not because there is to be any change in

our lot upon this side of time, not because He engages to remove the tribulations, but because, says He, 'I have overcome the world.' It is not promised that the ill should be removed, but that we shall be furnished with strength for the endurance of it. He who overcame the world Himself, can enable His followers to do the same. We should be prepared to suffer the will of God concerning us; and our prayer should be directed not so much to the removal of the suffering, as to strengthen the inner man unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness. Let us not lay our account with enjoyment here—let us not build on this side of time; and when disappointments come, we shall not think that any strange thing hath happened to us. It alleviates a misfortune much when we count upon it, and when it comes to us as a matter of course. God is a very present help in the time of trouble. He has promised daily bread. I feel my affection drawn out to you, my dearest Jane; and I pray daily that God would release your family from their temporal perplexities; and, above all, that your souls may be exceeding precious in His sight. God hath the hearts of all men in His hands—He can raise up friends, and He can make a man's enemies be at peace with him."

"*Nov.* 30, 1814.—Let me know the progress of your views and experiences in the matters of religion. Repentance is not one act of the mind; it is a course of acting by which we die daily unto sin. Regeneration is not confined to one great step in the history of the soul; it is only the commencement of the influence of certain principles, which strengthen by daily exercise. Our inner man is *renewed* day by day, says the apostle Paul. But in all this care about the progress of sanctification, let us not lose hold of Him who is the head of all influence and strength for the work of sanctification. My chief difficulty is to combine a rejoicing dependence upon the Spirit with a personal activity on my part as the result of the Spirit's influence. I can understand how it is God who worketh in me; but I should like such a view of it as may consist with my own diligent working. We may be sure that the effect of His working in us is that we work ourselves (Phil. ii. 12, 13). Now the teaching of the Holy Ghost, which I stand much in need of, is to combine the simplicity of faith and dependence upon the promises of strength, with an actual putting forth of that strength, so as at one and the same time to *rest* and *run*—rest upon God, and run in the

way of His commandments. God will reveal this unto me if I pray for it, and will not refuse this wisdom if I ask it in faith. Have you met with any of Owen's works?—they are all good. I have read him on 'Indwelling Sin' and 'Temptation' lately, and I am now reading him on 'Mortification.' He is a most skilful discerner into the human heart; and I am now beginning, since I read him, to be released from that dark and mysterious conception which I wont to annex to the phrase, 'Experimental religion.'"

"*May* 24, 1815.—My thoughts have often been directed of late to the office of God's Spirit as an enlightener. There is a natural darkness which cannot be done away but by God shining on our hearts; and it is right that we should feel our dependence on Him, not merely for the truths of Scripture, but also for our spiritual discernment of these truths. But it deserves to be well kept in mind, that though the Spirit is a revealer, it reveals nothing to us additional to what we learn in the written record. It does not make us wise above that which is written, but it makes us wise up to that which is written. The word of God is called the sword of the Spirit: it is the instrument by which the Spirit worketh. He does not meet with us on any other ground than on that of the written Revelation; and hence our security, on the one hand, against the visionary pretences of those who talk of their revelations additional to that which is written; and our duty on the other, to go diligently and sober-mindedly to our Bibles, but to go with the attitude of dependence on Him who can alone open our understandings to understand them, and show us wondrous things out of His law; and, without carrying us beyond the field of the written record, can throw a clearness and a spiritual light over every object within that field."

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLICATION OF "THE EVIDENCES AND AUTHORITY OF THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION"—PROGRESS OF OPINION AS TO THE INTERNAL EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY—HUME'S ESSAY ON MIRACLES—ORIGIN OF HIS VIEWS ON PAUPERISM—PAMPHLET ON "THE INFLUENCE OF BIBLE SOCIETIES ON THE TEMPORAL NECESSITIES OF THE POOR"—REVIEW OF CUVIER'S "THEORY OF THE EARTH"—THE INDEFINITE ANTIQUITY OF THE GLOBE RECONCILABLE WITH THE MOSAIC NARRATIVE—CONTRIBUTION TO THE "ECLECTIC REVIEW" ON THE MORAVIANS AS MISSIONARIES.

The volume of the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia" which contained the article "Christianity" was published early in 1813. Although its title was so general, this article was restricted to the illustration and enforcement of the evidence and authority of the Christian Revelation; and its author narrowed still more the ground which it occupied by confining the evidence of the divine origin of Christianity to the external or historical proofs, resting his argument chiefly, though not exclusively, upon the testimony transmitted to us as to the reality of the gospel miracles. The originality of many of its investigations, and more particularly the new light which it threw upon the relative value of scriptural and ex-scriptural, of Christian and heathen testimonies enhancing the force of the Christian argument beyond all former appreciation, attracted immediate attention, and won just and very general applause. Its author, however, was not permitted to believe that he had altogether rightly or fully acquitted himself of the great task which he had undertaken. A few weeks after its publication, and before any public notice of it had appeared, his friend Dr. Charles Stuart, in an interview at Edinburgh, had very earnestly remonstrated with him on his rejection and condemnation of that very branch of the Evidences of Christianity on which the faith of the vast majority of its followers was founded. "I feel greatly interested in the subject of our last conversation," Mr. Chalmers wrote thus to Dr. Stuart on his return to Kilmany; "and as you may have perceived from what I said, or rather from what I did not say, I have not yet arrived at a right settlement of opinion about it. That many

reach saving faith without any knowledge of the external evidence of religion, is undeniable; and that external evidence does not necessarily draw along with it saving faith, is equally so. Still, however, I cannot think that any antecedent knowledge of ours as to the ways of God entitles us to sit in judgment upon the subject of any message accredited by those external proofs, which are a sign to those who do not believe. There may be something in the subject which may allure me to it, which may lead me to prize it, and to abide by it; and I do not see that the Spirit of God may not by an immediate work of illumination give me a belief of the truth, without the intervention of any of those links of argument which may be drawn out into a lengthened demonstration."*

Influenced by the reception which it had experienced from the readers of the Encyclopædia, the proprietors of that work, among whom were some of the leading publishers in Edinburgh, not only permitted, but were themselves the first to advise that the article should be reprinted in a separate form. In adopting their suggestion, Mr. Chalmers prefixed a short advertisement to the volume, evidently intended to break in some degree the force of those objections which such friends as Dr. Stuart had urged. "This volume," he said, "is confined to the exposition of the historical argument for the truth of Christianity, and the aim of the author is fulfilled if he has succeeded in proving the external testimony to be so sufficient as to leave infidelity without excuse, even though the remaining important branches of the Christian defence had been less strong and satisfactory than they are. The author is far from asserting the study of the historical evidence to be the only channel to a faith in the truth of Christianity. How could he, in the face of the obvious fact that there are thousands and thousands of Christians who bear the most undeniable marks of the truth having come home to their understanding, 'in demonstration of the Spirit and of power?' They have an evidence within themselves which the world knoweth not, even the promised manifestations of the Saviour. This evidence is a 'sign to them that believe,' but the Bible speaks also of a 'sign to them that believe not;' and should it be effectual in reclaiming any of these from their infidelity, a mighty object is gained by the exhibition of it." Although this explanatory statement was prefixed, the same sweeping condemnations of the internal evidence were, with some

* Extracted from a letter dated May 24, 1813.

slight modifications, retained; and, as the work gained rapidly in popularity, the solicitude of such friendly critics as Dr. Stuart was stimulated, instead of being allayed. Besides many private communications, the works of some of the ablest writers on the internal evidence were forwarded to Kilmany; in acknowledging which, Mr. Chalmers wrote thus to Dr. Stuart:—"Of the other books which I returned, I read 'Edwards on the Religious Affections,' &c. &c. He is to me the most exciting and interesting of all theological writers: combining a humility, and a plainness, and a piety which the philosophers of the day would nauseate as low and drivelling, with a degree of sagacity and talent which, even on their own field, places him at the head of them all. Poor Fuller's death affected me much. He filled a great space in public estimation; and his loss must be severely felt by all the friends of Christianity both at home and in India. I have not yet made out his 'Sermons,' but I read his 'Gospel its own Witness' lately; and though I have not yet been able to sit formally or deliberately down to the Internal Evidences, yet I feel myself excited to think of them occasionally, and pray that, by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, I may be enabled to mature my thoughts on everything connected with the essential elements of faith and practice. Your occasional hints on this subject have been a useful excitement to me; and I wish you to understand, that, so far from taking offence at your observations, or interpreting them into a wish to involve me in a controversy, I feel the utmost gratitude for the friendly attention and fatherly care I have ever experienced at your hands.* Mr.

* Charles Stuart, M.D., of Duncarn, to whose character and many Christian and benevolent efforts Dr. M'Crie has paid a just and beautiful tribute.—See "Life of Dr. M'Crie," p. 447. Dr. Stuart was rather fond of controversy. A favourite topic with him was the true nature of Saving Faith, on which subject he regarded Dr. Chalmers as being in error. Among other methods of circulating what he believed to be the only correct view of saving faith, Dr. Stuart had republished two extracts from the works of Samuel Pike, entitling the tract, to which he had prefixed a preface, "Brief Thoughts concerning the Gospel," &c. Without knowing anything about Dr. Stuart's connexion with it, Dr. Chalmers had read one of the London Society's tracts, called "Hindrances to Believing the Gospel," which was in fact the second part of "Brief Thoughts," &c. Shortly afterwards the two friends met on the streets of Edinburgh. A long and eager conversation ensued. Street after street was paced, and argument after argument on either side was vigorously plied. At last, however, his time or his patience exhausted, Dr. Chalmers broke up the interview: but as at parting he shook the hand of the amiable though somewhat pertinacious controversialist, he said, "If you wish to see my views stated clearly and distinctly, read a tract called 'Hindrances to Believing the Gospel.'" "Why," said Dr. Stuart, "that's the very tract I published myself!" The corner of the street—the heat of the argument, gathering additional intensity as it was about to be broken off—his own eager, and as he thought most satisfactory closing exclamation—the look of wonder, running up into ecstasy, which Dr. Stuart fixed on him as he uttered it—all these fixed themselves in Dr. Chalmers's memory; and he used often to describe the parting scene as a proof how easily it may happen, that men think that they differ, while really they agree.

Chalmers's removal to Glasgow in 1815, and the blaze of unexampled popularity which attended his opening ministry in that city, lent an additional interest to his first theological work; and the periodical press, which in this instance had been content to follow rather than to guide the public voice, began to bestow attention upon the volume.* In the January number of the "Edinburgh Christian Instructor," and in the July number of the "Quarterly Review" for 1817, critiques appeared, which, differing in the measure of general praise awarded, united in condemning the manner in which the Internal Evidences had been set aside. In the following year a very able and elaborate little volume was published, bearing the ominous title, "Principles of Christian Evidence illustrated, by an examination of arguments subversive of Natural Theology and the Internal Evidence of Christianity, advanced by Dr. T. Chalmers in his 'Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation.' By Duncan Mearns, D.D., Professor of Theology in King's College and University, Aberdeen."† Assuming as the basis of its reasonings a few sentences from the article "Christianity," in the Encyclopædia, some of which I shall immediately have occasion to quote, Dr. Mearns pursues to their ultimate consequences the principles which they contain, arriving at the following result:—"It thus appears that the principles upon which Dr. Chalmers's system of 'Christian Evidences' is constructed, not only subvert the conclusions of natural theology with the internal evidence, but destroy also the external proofs; and that the various arguments he employs in support of his system are destructive of each other, and of the objects at which he aims. . . . If Dr. Chalmers had limited his endeavours to the conversion of the thorough-paced sceptic, . . . his attempt would have been harmless, and might have passed unnoticed. But when he makes common cause with the sceptic,—when he adopts his principles, or rather his negation of principles,—when, on the part of Christianity, he forms an alliance with Atheism, the basest of her foes,—and when, sacrificing the internal evidence as the seal of this monstrous confederacy, he turns the arms of Christianity against natural religion, her ancient and faithful ally, his proceedings no longer possess the character of harmless inanity. Nor can the imaginary advan-

* Two favourable notices had already appeared, in the "Christian Herald" of March 1815, and in the "Christian Observer" of April in the same year.

† Aberdeen, 1818, 12mo.

tage above adverted to—an advantage which, even were it real, is too limited in extent to be of any great account, be permitted to screen from exposure principles so extensively destructive as those which are employed to obtain it."*—Pp. 182, 184, 185. Shunning all controversy, Dr. Chalmers turned this attack into another stimulus to think more carefully upon the subject, and to pray more earnestly that, by the teaching of the Spirit, he might be guided into all truth. His original assertions, out of which a severe and unsparing logic wrung such consequences, had respect only to one form of internal evidence, that which was framed on the harmony between the particular scheme of the Divine economy revealed in the New Testament, and our preconceived and independent judgments of the attributes of God, and the principles and policy of His government. In originally framing his argument for Christianity, he sought to construct it in full accordance with the spirit and methods of the inductive philosophy, and to free it from many incumbrances in which it had been involved, by denying the competency of reason to receive or reject an accredited revelation, simply because of its accordance or its discrepancy with our own original ideas of what God is, or what God ought to do. But comparatively unversed at that time in the literature of the subject, and with his mind only opening to the philosophy of those very spiritual processes which he was himself describing, he extended to every kind of internal evidence a condemnation which could with propriety be applied to one form of it alone.

It was not till 1829, soon after his appointment to the Chair of Theology in Edinburgh, that he published anything additional upon the Christian Evidences, or gave public indication of what the fruits had been of those attacks which his first small treatise had provoked. In the preface to a volume entitled "The Christian's Defence against Infidelity," published in that year, he says:—"We firmly believe that there is no one position in Theology which can be more strongly and more philosophically sustained than the self-evidencing power of the Bible. And while we award our meed of praise to the writers of the previous treatises in this volume, who have raised such a collective body

* In the "Christian Instructor" for March 1819, a review of Dr. Mearns's volume was inserted, the severity of which evoked a bitterly sarcastic pamphlet, entitled "Remarks on the Edinburgh Christian Instructor's Review of Dr. Mearns's 'Principles of Christian Evidence;' with a Proposal for publishing and circulating, under the sanction of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, an improved edition of that Review, humbly submitted to the consideration of Dr. Chalmers's friends. By Venusinus. London, 1819."

of evidence to meet and overthrow the no less impotent than impious assaults of infidelity, yet do we hold Dr. Owen to have rendered a more essential service to the cause of Divine revelation, when, by his clear and irresistible demonstrations, he has proved that the written word itself possesses a self-evidencing light and power for manifesting its own Divine original, superior to the testimony of eye-witnesses, or the evidence of miracles, or those supernatural gifts with which the first teachers of Christianity were endowed for accrediting their Divine mission." In 1836, he undertook to add to his original volume what might render it a comprehensive treatise on the Evidences of Christianity. The chapter on prophecy, the meagreness of which had been complained of, was greatly enlarged; the part now occupied with the internal equalled that assigned to the external evidence of Christianity; whilst, in amalgamating the original volume with the new matter with which it was associated, he introduced important alterations, indicative of the growth and enlargement of the author's ideas.* Tracing the whole history

* I subjoin a few instances of the alterations made upon the article "Christianity," as it originally appeared in the Encyclopædia:—

"We may sit in judgment upon the subject of the message, or we may sit in judgment upon the credibility of its bearers. The first forms a great part of that argument for the truth of the Christian religion which comes under the head of its *internal evidences*. The substance of the message is neither more nor less than that particular scheme of the divine economy which is revealed to us in the New Testament, and the point of inquiry is, whether the scheme be consistent with that knowledge of God and His attributes which we are previously in possession of. It appears to us that no effectual argument can be founded upon this consideration."—*Ency.*, vol. vi. p. 356.

In the "Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation," the last sentence of this passage was changed into—"It appears to many that no effectual argument," &c.—See p. 15, fifth edition, 1847. In the "Evidences of Christianity" it stands—"It is doubtful to many whether any effectual argument," &c.—See Works, vol. iii. p. 150.

"But, for our part, we could see her Christianity driven from all her defences, and surrender them without a sigh, so long as the phalanx of her historical evidence remains impregnable."—*Ency.*, vol. vi. p. 381.

This remains unchanged in the separate volume, but in the "Evidences of Christianity," it stands—"For our own part, we could see her driven from all her defences, and surrender them without a sigh, so long as the phalanx of the historical *and experimental* evidence remains impregnable."—Works, vol. iii. p. 356.

"We hold by the total insufficiency of natural religion to pronounce upon the intrinsic merits of any revelation, and think that the authority of every revelation rests exclusively upon its external evidences, and upon such marks of honesty in the composition itself as would apply to any human performance."—*Ency.*, vol. vi. p. 389; and "The Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation," p. 243.

"We hold by the insufficiency of nature to pronounce upon the intrinsic merit of any revelation, and think that the authority of every revelation rests *mainly* upon its historical *and experimental* evidences, and upon such marks of honesty in the composition itself as would apply to any human performance."—Works, vol. iii. p. 335.

"The writer of the present article feels that in thus disclaiming all support from what is commonly understood by the internal evidence, he does not follow the example of those who have written on the Deistical controversy."—*Ency.*, vol. vi. p. 384, and "The Evidence and Authority," &c., p. 209.

"We feel that in thus disclaiming support from much of what is commonly understood by the internal evidence," &c.—Works, vol. iii. p. 312.

of his conceptions and belief upon this subject, from the first expression of them in the article in the "Encyclopædia" to the last and most matured expression of them in his "Institutes of Theology," we shall scarcely find a finer instance upon record of a mind attaching itself to the Scriptures, making an entire and unconditional surrender of itself to the Divine authority of the written record, preserving its candour, refusing to be tempted into controversy, keeping itself open throughout to conviction—and reaching, as the blessed reward of persevering inquiry and believing prayer, to the most spiritual, enlarged, and profound convictions on this, as on every subject "connected with the essential elements of faith and practice."

The preliminary question raised by Mr. Hume as to the power of human testimony to accredit a miraculous event was not discussed in the article "Christianity." In one of his earliest letters to Dr. Brewster, Mr. Chalmers had said, "There is one part of the argument which I think it would be much better to postpone—the metaphysical difficulty which Hume started on the evidence of testimony. If this is not engaged, I am willing to undertake that argument under the article 'Testimony.' I think I could convince you that it is rather out of place in my present attempt, though it must be taken up somewhere before the argument for 'Christianity' is completed. I conceive that the system of Christian doctrine falls better under the article 'Theology,' which I hear is in very able hands.* I limit myself entirely to the truth of our religion, a question

"But reason is not entitled to sit in judgment over those internal evidences which many a presumptuous theologian has attempted to derive from the reason of the thing, or from the agreement of the doctrine with the fancied character and attributes of the Deity."—*Encyc.*, vol. vi. p. 393; and "The Evidence and Authority," &c., p. 276. In the "Evidences of Christianity" this sentence is altogether omitted.

"Of all the evidence that can be adduced for the truth of Christianity, it is the moral and experimental is that for which I have the greatest value, both from its being the only evidence which tells on the consciences and understandings of the great mass of the people, and also, I think, that evidence which is the main instrument of conversion, or for working in the minds of your hearers that faith which is unto salvation."—Institutes of Theology, vol. i. p. 251.

"I may remark, however, that there was one thing which surprised me greatly, viz., that notwithstanding his acute and penetrating mind, he did not for a while perceive that prophecy was any part of the evidence of Christianity. On this we had many conversations; and with all the humility of a child, although I was immeasurably inferior to him, he was pleased to ask what were the books he should read on the subject, and I recommended to him the best which I knew. Some years after, I was much struck in reading the review of the article in the 'Christian Observer,' to find the reviewer stating that the part of it relating to prophecy was the weakest. I may add, that after the article was written, and prior to its being published, I was favoured to hear a portion read by himself, and was requested by him to mark with attention if there was any repetition of sentiment in it, as a repetition of sentiment was a fault in his former publication."—MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Mr. Smith.

* This subject was committed to Dr. Andrew Thomson.

which, in point of curiosity and importance, should occupy a distinguished place in the circle of human knowledge." Dissatisfied with Dr. Campbell's reply to the "Essay on Miracles," Mr. Chalmers was already ruminating upon some method by which the infidel objection might be more directly met and more effectively overturned. His refutation of Hume was as yet only in embryo; but he was pleased when he remembered that—the rate at which the past volumes of the "Encyclopædia" had been issued being maintained—sufficient time would be given to mature his thoughts ere the article on "Testimony" would be required. Meanwhile, however, the appearance of a remarkable paper in the forty-sixth number of the "Edinburgh Review," understood to be from the able and influential pen of Professor Playfair, quickened his inquiries into increased earnestness. In a review of La Place's "Essai Philosophique sur les Probabilités," Mr. Playfair had made the following bold and startling assertions:—"The first author, we believe, who stated fairly the connexion between the evidence of testimony and the evidence of experience was Hume, in his 'Essay on Miracles,' a work full of deep thought and enlarged views, and, if we do not stretch the principles so far as to interfere with the truths of religion, abounding in maxims of great use in the conduct of life as well as in the speculations of philosophy. . . . We may consider physical phenomena as divided into two classes; the one comprehending all those of which the course is known from experience to be perfectly uniform; and the other comprehending those of which the course, though no doubt regulated by general laws, is not perfectly conformable to any law with which we are acquainted, so that the most general rule that we are enabled to give admits of many exceptions. The violation of the order of events among the phenomena of the former class, the suspension of gravity, for example, the deviation of any of the stars from their places or their courses in the heavens, &c.—these are facts of which the improbability is so strong that no testimony can prevail against it. It will always be more wonderful that the violation of such order should have taken place, than that any number of witnesses should be deceived themselves, or should be disposed to deceive others. . . . Against the uniformity, therefore, of such laws, it is impossible for testimony to prevail."* Upon

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. xxiii. pp. 329, 330. I cannot insert such numerous references to the painful impressions made by that religious scepticism, which tinged so many of the papers in the earlier numbers of the "Edinburgh Review," without recording at the same time the unmixed delight with which Dr. Chalmers read the brilliant literary papers

reading this article, Mr. Chalmers made the following entry in his Journal :—"*October* 19, (1814.)—Struck with the Edinburgh Reviewers' revival of Hume's argument about testimony, and pray that God would guide my speculations upon the subject." His lively correspondent, Dr. Jones, thus informed him of the reception which Mr. Playfair's paper had met with in Edinburgh, and of the expectations which were cherished as to his own future treatment of the question :—"I cannot say that Playfair's squib attracted any more notice than any other squib thrown in the dark: it fizzed, and hardly made darkness visible; but from want of skill in the maker, it had no crack at the end. However, though I think it was hardly worth their while, our friends Dickson, jun., and Andrew Thomson, took it to the pulpit and gave it a toss, which is just what a squib-thrower wishes and intends. I rejoice to hear that you have turned your thoughts to the subject of Testimony, and I should be glad if you could prosecute it immediately. The genial heat that the present moment has given to the subject will be peculiarly propitious to such an undertaking. At any rate, charge your piece; it is well to be ready, as to be forearmed is oftentimes two-thirds or more of the victory. I suppose before this you have heard from Andrew Thomson what he told me, that he is to have one paper, and George Cook another, on Playfair's squib in the next 'Christian Instructor.'* It gave me much pleasure to find that you were not satisfied with Campbell. Though I think that he has answered David Hume, there is a want of perspicuity and point and nerve and order, that is unpleasant; and especially on such a subject not only light, but summer's noonday should shine, which disowns not merely the smaller particles of dust, but the motion and undulations of light and air. The whole of Hume's argument hangs on the metaphysical cobweb, that testimony derives its evidence and authority from experience, which I think Campbell has swept away, although he has not done it with neatness and cleanness. It is as if it had been scrubbed off with a birch or broom besom, instead of a new and clean brush, or a

furnished to that periodical by its distinguished editor, and the peculiarly strong and tender feeling of personal attachment which he cherished towards him—a feeling which in later years, and in his domestic circle, broke out into some expression of affectionate admiration whenever Lord Jeffrey's name was mentioned.

* See "Christian Instructor" for December 1814. Dr. Jones was misinformed as to the author of the second paper in the "Christian Instructor," which was written by the late Dr. Sommerville of Drumcondra, and afterwards republished in a pamphlet, entitled "Remarks on an Article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' in which the doctrine of Hume on Miracles is maintained." For Dr. Chalmers's high testimony to the merits of this pamphlet, see Works, vol. iii. pp. 116, 117.

well-washed duster. I think, therefore, that much might be done in this way, and more still in throwing additional light on those magnificent masses of testimony on which the building rests; and as for this I know no one so well qualified, I wish you would do it." The excitement of the occasion and the wish of many friends would have prevailed, but another and more urgent demand intervened, and it was not till many years afterwards that Mr. Chalmers had leisure enough to do justice to a subject upon which he had speculated so long and so anxiously. And when at last, in his preparations for the Theological Chair in Edinburgh, he entered upon the investigation, the result—precious in proportion to the time taken in maturing it—was a new and triumphant answer to Hume, an original and most valuable contribution to the Evidences of Christianity.*

About the time at which the article "Christianity" was presented in a separate form to the public, Mr. Chalmers issued his pamphlet entitled "The Influence of Bible Societies upon the Temporal Necessities of the Poor." When he went to reside in Hawick, a legal assessment for the relief of the poor had for many years existed in that parish. The mode and results of its operation were to him a matter of new and most interesting investigation. After his own settlement at Kilmany, where there were no poor-rates, he instituted a comparison between the two parishes. As Hawick embraced a considerable manufacturing population, it was natural to expect that its pauperism should be relatively greater than that of a purely agricultural parish; but the rapid rate at which the amount of the assessment had increased,—so much beyond the rate of increase of the population,†—was incapable of being accounted for by the occupations in which the people were engaged. Taking again the same number of paupers in each parish, the expenditure in Hawick greatly exceeded that in Kilmany; and yet, when the houses, the food, the clothing, the comforts of each were inspected, the condition of the latter, instead of being much worse, was found to be much better than that of the former. Further inquiry satisfied Mr. Chalmers, that where there were no poor-rates, where the parish bounty was spontaneous, consisting of the offerings at the church-doors, and distributed by members of the kirk-session, who knew

* See Works, vol. iii. pp. 70-129.

† In 1797, anterior to the imposition of the assessment, the total expenditure upon the poor in Hawick had been £22, 13s. 10d. In 1839, the assessment had risen to £1009, 9s. 9d.—a sum forty times greater, bestowed upon a population which had not exhibited so much as a threefold increase.—See "Statistical Account of Scotland"—*Roxburgh*, p. 416.

the position and habits of those to whose wants they ministered, the sum contributed by public charity constituted but a small portion of those supplies by which the existing poverty was relieved—the remaining and larger portion coming from relatives and neighbours. A public fund, raised not by voluntary subscription, but by legal enforcement, and which ostensibly charged itself with the full and adequate relief of all the poverty of a neighbourhood, had the direct effect of cutting off that second and more copious current of supply. It was in this way that the Hawick pauper on the whole lost more by the operation of an assessment than he gained by the increase of his allowance. At Kilmany the receiving of parochial aid was felt to be almost a reproach, and it was frequently refused. But Mr. Chalmers noticed, and was much struck with the fact, that when those who, if they had remained in his parish never would have suffered their names to appear in the poor-roll, removed to Dundee, and there became claimants upon the legally-enforced liberality of the public, on their return to Kilmany, exhibited a tone of feeling and line of practice altogether changed.* It was common enough for those who received aid from a kirk-session administering the free alms of the people, when their circumstances improved, voluntarily to relinquish what had thus been allowed; but such conduct was never exemplified by those who had become paupers at Dundee. Pursuing his inquiries into the condition of the poor, and into their moral feelings and habits as affected by the way in which their wants were relieved, Mr. Chalmers was prepared, so early as the year 1808, publicly to affirm—"It is in the power of charity to corrupt its object; it may tempt him to indolence—it may lead him to renounce all dependence upon himself—it may nourish the meanness and depravity of his character—it may lead him to hate exertion, and resign without a sigh the dignity of independence. It could easily be proved, that if charity were carried to its utmost extent, it would unhinge the constitution of society. It would expel from the land the blessings of industry. Every man would repose on the beneficence of another; every incitement to diligence would be destroyed. The evils of poverty would multiply to such an extent as to be beyond the power of the most unbounded charity to redress them; and instead of an elysium of love and

* In the forty years preceding 1834, the population of Dundee had nearly doubled, the assessment had increased from £400 to £2000 per annum; and if, as in the case of Hawick, we knew what it had been before there was any assessment, the rate of increase would appear to be much higher.—See "Statistical Account"—*Forfarshire*, p. 49.

of plenty, the country would present the nauseating spectacle of sloth and beggary and corruption."*

Mr. Morton's removal to England suggested a still more striking and instructive comparison than that which had been instituted between Hawick and Kilmany. Inoculated with Mr. Chalmers's notions as to poor-rates, he settled in a purely agricultural district in Somersetshire; and looking with a fresh northern eye upon the new state of things in the midst of which he found himself, he had written to his brother-in-law, expressing his astonishment at the magnitude of the English assessments, and his conviction of their prejudicial operation. "You are quite correct in principle as to the poor-rates," Mr. Chalmers wrote to him in reply. "My own parish, consisting of 750 people, is supported at the rate of twenty-four pounds a year. A farther extension of this small fund to thirty pounds a year, by the introduction of the ladle, will be brought about next year: and even this I think scarcely desirable—not that I could not get poverty enough in the parish to absorb it, but that, let you extend this fund as much as you please, the poverty will extend along with it, so as to press as hard upon the supplies as ever. And if ever they come to be augmented to such a degree as to be counted upon by the lower orders, there is an end to that industry and virtuous independence which have so long formed the honourable distinction of our Scottish peasantry. I spent some months in a parish in Roxburghshire, before I came to Kilmany. The poor-rates had been introduced there from England; and I saw as much poverty and more depravity of character than I hope I shall ever witness in these northern climes. The same population were supported at about six times a greater rate than they are in this neighbourhood. Mr. Malthus's theory upon this subject would have carried me even without examples. But it seldom happens that a speculation so apparently paradoxical is so well supported by the most triumphant exemplifications."† In return for his statistics as to Kilmany, Mr. Morton informed him of the parish of Kingbrompton, in Somersetshire, that its population was just four above that of Kilmany; that, like Kilmany, it contained a purely rural population; but that its poor-rates, instead of ranging between £20 and £30, had then amounted to £1260 per annum. There could not have been a fairer comparison, or a more instructive contrast: nor was it very long till

* See Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 60.
† Letter dated 7th February 1811.

public and effective use was made of it. During the controversy excited by the formation of the Bible Society, it was objected to those parochial associations which Mr. Chalmers sought so zealously to multiply all over the country, that, by absorbing so much of the liberality of the public, they would curtail the funds out of which poverty was to be relieved. It was an objection which touched the very topics on which for years he had been speculating, all his former opinions on which had been mightily reinforced by the new estimate he had been led to form of the value and virtue of the religious principle. Leaving to others the public vindication of Bible Associations on their direct merits, he came forward with a pamphlet especially directed to this single topic. Not satisfied with effectively repelling the objections taken to them, by showing that Bible Societies, instead of abridging, did much to stimulate public generosity towards the poor, Mr. Chalmers proceeded to demonstrate that those decried institutions were among the most effective of all instruments for checking poverty and diminishing its amount; whereas many of the institutions for the relief of poverty, which those who cared little for the religious instruction of the people set up in false rivalry, or in misplaced opposition to them, had a tendency to aggravate the very evil which they were instituted to remove. "For what, after all," asks the author of the pamphlet, "is the best method of providing for the secular necessities of the poor? Is it by labouring to meet the necessity after it has occurred, or by labouring to establish a principle and a habit which would go far to prevent its existence? If you wish to get rid of a noxious stream, you may first try to intercept it by throwing across a barrier, but in this way you only spread the pestilential water over a greater extent of ground; and when the basin is filled, a stream as copious as before is formed out of its overflow. The most effectual method, were it possible to carry it into accomplishment, would be to dry up the source. The parallel in a great measure holds. If you wish to extinguish poverty, combat with it in its first elements. If you confine your beneficence to the relief of actual poverty, you do nothing. Dry up, if possible, the spring of poverty, for any attempt to intercept the running stream has totally failed. The education and religious principle of Scotland have not annihilated pauperism, but they have restrained it to a degree that is almost incredible to our neighbours of the south. They keep down the mischief in its principle; they impart a sobriety and a right sentiment of inde-

pendence to the character of our peasantry; they operate as a check upon poverty and idleness. The maintenance of parish schools is a burden upon the landed property of Scotland; but it is a cheap defence against the poor-rates, a burden far heavier, and which is aggravating perpetually. The writer of this paper knows of a parish in Fife, the average maintenance of whose poor is defrayed by twenty-four pounds sterling a year, and of a parish of the same population in Somersetshire, where the annual assessment amounts to thirteen hundred pounds sterling. . . . The hungry expectations of the poor will ever keep pace with the assessments of the wealthy, and their eye will be averted from the exertion of their own industry as the only right source of comfort and independence. It is quite vain to think that positive relief will ever do away the wretchedness of poverty. Carry the relief beyond a certain limit, and you foster the diseased principle which gives birth to poverty. . . . The remedy against the extension of pauperism does not lie in the liberalities of the rich; it lies in the hearts and habits of the poor. Plant in their bosoms a principle of independence—give a high tone of delicacy to their characters—teach them to recoil from pauperism as a degradation. . . . Could we reform the improvident habits of the people, and pour the healthful infusion of Scripture principles into their hearts, it would reduce the existing poverty of the land to a very humble fraction of its present extent. We make bold to say, that, in ordinary times, there is not one-tenth of the pauperism of England due to unavoidable misfortune. . . . In those districts of Scotland where poor-rates are unknown, the descending avenue which leads to pauperism is powerfully guarded by the stigma which attaches to it. Remove this stigma, and our cottagers, now rich in the possession of contentment and industry, would resign their habits, and crowd into the avenue by thousands. The shame of descending is the powerful stimulus which urges them to a manly contest with the difficulties of their situation, and which bears them through in all the pride of honest independence. Talk of this to the people of the south, and it sounds in their ears like an arcadian story. But there is not a clergyman among us who has not witnessed the operation of the principle in all its fineness and in all its moral delicacy; and surely a testimony is due to those village heroes who so nobly struggle with the difficulties of pauperism, that they may shun and surmount its degradation."*

* See Works, vol. xii. pp. 125, 156.

The pamphlet on "The Influence of Bible Societies upon the Temporal Necessities of the Poor," was still in the hands of the printer, when Mr. Chalmers was requested by Mr. Andrew Thomson to prepare a notice of Cuvier's recently translated work. Werner was but beginning to be known, Hutton's speculations had only recently appeared in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," and Playfair was as yet gathering the materials for his "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory," when the attention of Mr. Chalmers was first turned to the subject of Geology. This infant science was imagined by theologians generally (even in the confused and conflicting babblings of its childhood) to speak in a tone decidedly infidel, and with a haste and an injustice equal to that which they charged upon their fancied adversary, they would have stifled a voice which appeared to conflict with that of the Divine oracles. The merit, I believe, belongs to Mr. Chalmers of having been the first clergyman in this country who, yielding to the evidence in favour of a much higher antiquity being assigned to the earth than had previously been conceived, suggested the manner in which such a scientific faith could be harmonized with the Mosaic narrative, and who, even in the dreaded investigations of the geologist, discerned and indicated fresh "footprints of the Creator."* So early as 1804 he had arrived at the conviction that "the writings of Moses do not fix the antiquity of the globe. If they fix anything at all, it is only the antiquity of the species."† In the article on Christianity this general assertion appears in a more distinct and intelligible form, when it is asked, "Does Moses ever say that there was not an interval of many ages betwixt the first act of creation, described in the first verse of the book of Genesis, and said to have been performed at the beginning, and those more detailed operations the account of which commences at the second verse? . . . or does he ever make us to understand that the genealogies of man went any farther than to fix the antiquity of the species, and, of consequence, that they left the antiquity of the globe a free subject for the speculations of philosophers?"‡ About the time at which this article first appeared, Professor Jameson published his translation of Cuvier's "Essay on the Theory of the Earth." In a review of this Essay inserted in the Christian Instructor for April 1814, Mr. Chalmers remarks,—"Should the phenomena compel us to assign a greater

* To this topic I shall have occasion to make more particular reference hereafter.
† See p. 56. ‡ Edinburgh Encyclopædia, vol. vi. p. 383.

antiquity to the globe than to that work of days detailed in the book of Genesis, there is still one way of saving the credit of the literal history. The first creation of the earth and the heavens may have formed no part of that work. This took place at the *beginning*, and is described in the first verse of Genesis. It is not said when the *beginning* was. We know the general impression to be that it was on the earlier part of the first day, and that the first act of creation formed part of the same day's work with the formation of light. We ask our readers to turn to that chapter, and to read the first five verses of it. Is there any forcing in the supposition that the first verse describes the primary act of creation, and leaves us at liberty to place it as far back as we may; that the first half of the second verse describes the state of the earth (which may already have existed for ages, and been the theatre of geological revolutions) at the point of time anterior to the detailed operations of this chapter, and that the motion of the Spirit of God, described in the second clause of the second verse, was the commencement of these operations? In this case, the creation of light may have been the great and leading event of the first day, and Moses may be supposed to give us, not a history of the first formation of things, but of the formation of the present system."*

Cuvier's skill as a comparative anatomist enabled him to construct the entire skeleton of an animal out of a small fragment of one of its bones. Applying his method to the fossil remains which are found in the crust of the earth, he was led into investigations, out of which, says Mr. Chalmers, "there is one very precious fruit to be gathered—an argument for the exercise of a creative power, more convincing perhaps, than any that can be drawn from the slender resources of natural theism. If it be true that in the oldest of the strata no animal remains are to be met with, marking out an epoch anterior to the existence of living beings in the field of observation—if it be true that all the genera which are found in the first of the peopled strata are destroyed—if it be true that no traces of our present genera are to be met with in the early epochs of the globe, how came the present races of animated nature into being? It is not enough to say that, like man, they may have been confined to narrower regions, and escaped the operation of the former catastrophes, or that their remains may be buried under the present ocean.

* "Christian Instructor," vol ix. p. 273; Dr Chalmers's Works, vol. i. p. 250, xii. p. 360. Posthumous Works, vol. vii. pp. 85, 246.

Enough for our purpose that they could not have existed from all eternity. Enough for us the fact that each catastrophe has the chance of destroying, or does, in fact, destroy a certain number of genera. If this annihilating process went on from eternity, the work of annihilation would long ago have been accomplished, and there is not a single species of living creatures that could have survived the multiplicity of chances for its extinction afforded by an indefinite number of catastrophes. If, then, there were no replacement of new genera, the face of the world would at this moment have been one dreary and unpeopled solitude; and the question recurs, How did this replacement come to be effected? The doctrine of spontaneous generation we believe to be generally exploded, and there is not a known instance of an animal being brought into existence but by means of a previous animal of the same species. The transition of the genera into one another is most ably and conclusively contended against by the author before us, who proves them to be separated by permanent and invincible barriers. Between the one principle and the other the commencement of new genera is totally inexplicable on any of the known powers and combinations of matter, and we are carried upwards to the primary link which connects the existence of a created being with the fiat of the Creator."*

In compliance with a request made by its editor, Mr. Chalmers gave the autumn of 1814 to the preparation of a contribution to the Eclectic Review.† The subject which he selected was suggested by an article which had then recently appeared in the Edinburgh Review. In a notice of Lichtenstein's *Travels in Southern Africa*,‡ the reviewer had taken occasion to remark—"Both the happiness and the morals of the inhabitants and the colonists of this district seem to have been injured not a little by the intrusion of a swarm of missionaries. . . . What is here said of the missionaries is agreeably contrasted with the society of the United Brethren or Herrenhuters, which was soon after visited by Lichtenstein and his friends. . . . Of all who have attempted to teach Christianity to barbarous or

* "Christian Instructor," vol. ix. p. 270; Works, vol. i. pp. 228-258; vol. xii. p. 364; Posthumous Works, vol. vii. pp. 85-89. The stringency of the geological proof of creative intervention has originated such attempts as those made by the author of the "Vestiges of Creation,"—a masterly refutation of which volume will be found in Mr. Hugh Miller's "Footprints of the Creator;" one of the ablest works which the Scottish press has produced, exhibiting as it does the rare combination of most acute and profound metaphysical talent with powers of minute and careful observation, and varied scientific acquirement.

† See Eclectic Review, vol. iii. p. 1, in a review of "Journal of a Voyage from Okkak."

‡ See Edinburgh Review, vol. xxi. p. 64, in the Number for February 1813.

savage nations, the Moravian Brethren may be fairly placed at the head. They begin with civilizing their pupils, educating and instructing them in the useful arts. It is by this kind of practical instruction alone that those in a certain state of ignorance and barbarism are to be gained over to the truth; and till a similar course is followed, our missionaries and our Bible Societies may expend thousands and tens of thousands to no purpose but to manifest the goodness of their intentions, and their total ignorance of the means which ought to be pursued."*

Mr. Chalmers undertook to manifest the reviewer's total ignorance of the means which had been actually pursued by the Moravians, whose labours were so applauded, and out of those very labours to construct the most convincing of all arguments against the theory which at that period was such a favourite with the opponents of missionary efforts, namely, that you must civilize before you can christianize a barbarous community. "The truth is," he remarks, "that the Moravians have of late become the objects of a sentimental admiration. Their numerous establishments, and the many interesting pictures of peace, and order, and industry which they have reared among the wilds of heathenism, have at length compelled the testimony of travellers. It is delightful to be told of the neat attire and cultivated gardens of savages; and we can easily conceive how a sprig of honeysuckle at the cottage door of a Hottentot may extort some admiring and poetical prettiness from a charmed spectator who would shrink offended from the peculiarities of the gospel. Now they are right as to the fact. It is all very true about the garden and the honeysuckle; but they are most egregiously wrong as to the principle. And when they talk of these Moravians as the most rational of missionaries, because they furnish these

* The review of "Lichtenstein" refers us back to a previous notice of Barrow's "Account of a Journey in Africa" see Edinburgh Review, vol. viii. pp. 444-450, in which the reviewer makes the following observations in his own name:—"It does not appear from the account of the missionaries themselves that their laudable zeal and pious labours are likely soon to gain an exceeding great reward. They are preaching the most abstruse mysteries of our holy religion to tribes of savages who can scarcely count ten, and inculcating the care of their immortal souls to miserable creatures, who with all their labour can scarcely find subsistence for their bodies. The order of Providence clearly recommends that these children of penury should first get into easier circumstances, and then be made converts to religious tenets." He afterwards quotes approvingly the following sentence from Barrow: "And here the superior advantages resulting from the system of the Moravians over that of the gospel missionaries are most forcibly demonstrated. Instead of encouraging the natives in their rambling disposition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one spot; instead of preaching to them the mysterious parts of the gospel, they instructed them in useful and industrious habits—instead of building a church, they erected a storehouse." How deep the impression was which these articles made upon Mr. Chalmers is evidenced by his reference to them many years afterwards in his theological prelections.—See Posthumous Works, vol. ix. pp. 156, 157.

converts with the arts and comforts of life before they ever think of pressing upon them the mysteries of their faith, they make a most glaring departure from the truth, and that too in the face of information and testimony afforded by the very men whom they profess to admire. It is not true that Moravians are distinguished from the other missionaries by training their disciples to justice, and morality, and labour, in the first instance, and by refraining to exhort to faith and self-abasement. It is not true, nor does it consist with the practice of the Moravians, that in regard to savages some advance towards civilization is necessary, preparatory to any attempt to christianize them."

The most impressive incident in the history of Moravian missions had been the trial at their outset of the very method recommended by Lichtenstein and his reviewers, its signal failure, and subsequent abandonment. For many years the Moravian missionaries in Greenland had laboured to train the natives to habits of industry, and to instruct them in the first and simplest truths of religion, studiously withholding from them the deeper mysteries of the Christian faith; but no sensible effect followed. One day, however, whilst one of their number was engaged in making a fair copy of a translation of one of the gospels, a crowd of natives gathered round him, curious to know the contents of the book. He read to them the history of our Saviour's sufferings and death. "How was that?" said one of the savages, stepping up to the table at which the missionary was sitting, his voice trembling with emotion as he spoke—"How was that? Tell me that once more, for I too would fain be saved!" "These words," writes the missionary, "the like of which I had never heard from any Greenlander, pierced my very soul, and affected me so much that, with tears in my eyes, I related to them the whole history of the sufferings of Christ, and the counsel of God for our salvation."* The Greenlander who put the question was the first convert to the truth; and the mode of his conversion was so instructive, that ever afterwards the first office of the Moravian missionaries was to proclaim the death of Jesus as the great expiation for human guilt, and only ground of the sinner's hope for eternity. One difference, indeed, existed between them and others,—they had been longer in the field. "They have had time," says Mr. Chalmers, "for the production of more gratifying results; and the finished spectacle of their orderly and peaceful establishments strikes at once upon the eye of many

* See "Historical Records relative to the Moravian Church," by Klinesmith, pp. 128, 129.

an admirer who knows not how to relish or appreciate the principle which gives life and perpetuity to the whole exhibition. This may serve to account for the mistaken principle upon which many admirers of the United Brethren gave them the preference over all other missionaries." The Moravians not only led the way in modern missionary effort, but they have given such an exhibition of zeal and devotedness in this work as no other community of Christians has displayed. In 1731, when they first entered on this field of labour, all the Churches of the Reformation were asleep. They formed a small community of poor suffering exiles, numbering about 600 souls; yet such was the sacred impulse to missionary labour which animated them, that "within the short period of ten years, missionaries went to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Greenland, to Surinam, to the Rio de Berbice, to several Indian tribes in North America, to the negroes in South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to Ceylon."* At present the Moravian Brethren in Europe and America amount to about 10,000, 230 of whom are missionaries, having under their care upwards of 50,000 converts from heathenism. Having given up one-fiftieth of their own number to the work of evangelizing the nations, they have gathered in more than five times their own number from the vast field of heathenism. We are pleased when, as the result of a statistical survey of our principal missionary societies, Dr. Harris presents us with the information, that there are at present about 1500 missionaries, aided by about 5000 native and other teachers, occupying 1200 stations, employing 50 printing-presses, and having about 180,000 converts in Christian communion: but it abates the satisfaction when we are reminded, that if the Churches in our own land had done as much as these Moravians have done, instead of there being as now but one missionary to every 400,000, there would be one to every 1800 of the heathen—the whole heathen world would be within our reach, under effective Christian instruction, whilst instead of 180,000, we might have had eighty-five millions of converts to Christianity!†

* See Holmes's "Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren," p. 3.

† See Harris's "Great Commission," p. 185; and Baptist Noel's "Christian Missions to Heathen Nations," pp. 311, 312.

CHAPTER XV.

APPEARANCES IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS — PRESBYTERY OF CUPAR — ALTERATIONS AND REPAIRS UPON MANSES—SYNOD OF FIFE—CASE OF MR. FERRIE—SPEECH BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Mr. Chalmers had hitherto taken no particular or prominent part in the business of the ecclesiastical courts. The records of the Presbytery of Cupar, of which he was a member for more than twelve years, exhibit but a solitary instance in which his name stands connected with any Presbyterial Act. At a meeting of that Presbytery, held on the 1st February 1814, he moved the adoption and enforcement of certain regulations which he had prepared relative to the repairs and alterations of manses. In his own case he had experienced the "sweetening and tranquillizing effect" of the Presbytery's intervention, and he desired to secure, in all time coming, the same benefit to all his brethren. "I am sure," he said, in moving his resolutions, "that the comfort of the heritors is as much involved in these regulations as the comfort of the clergyman; for I will venture to say, that a mode of proceeding which carries them to a prompt and immediate decision, though it should bring double the expense along with it, will be attended with a less quantity of unpleasurable feelings. I do not think we have to look far into human nature for the explanation of this; but instead of theorizing, I shall give you an actual example of it. I believe that I am within limits when I say that I had at least sixteen meetings with my heritors on the subject of manse and offices. I am convinced that during that time they did not lay their account with an expenditure of more than £500, even if I got all that I asked. But to reduce this £500 was the mighty object, and in pursuit of it there was a world of harassment and occasional bad humour in both parties. Well, the matters went on and thickened to a crisis, and at the end of a most fatiguing two years, I did what I ought to have done at the commencement of them; I called in my Presbytery; and—mark the importance of the fact to my arguments—when at last the decision came upon them in the shape of a payment, not of £500, but of £1150, it brought not

merely comfort to my heart, but it brought tranquillity to theirs." Instead of leaving it optional to the minister to apply to the Presbytery, the improvement suggested by Mr. Chalmers in his regulations was, that each minister should be bound to inform the Presbytery of every proposed repair or alteration, leaving it optional to the Presbytery to interfere. Having heard his regulations read, "the Presbytery highly approved of the spirit and object of these regulations, and ordered them to lie on the table till next ordinary meeting." In bringing them again before the notice of the Presbytery at their next meeting, Mr. Chalmers said,—"I have not forgotten your unanimous approbation of the *spirit* of these regulations. Now, spirit is a thin, vapoury, aërial kind of thing, ready to fly at every slight impulse, and therefore requiring to be fixed down and made to reside in a material substance. You have conceded to me a spirit, give me a body to place it in; for, be assured, we shall reap no solid advantage till we have embodied the said spirit in an actually adopted resolution. I remember reading of a motion of Mr. Fox's in Parliament, by which he carried it as the resolution of the House, 'That the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.'* But he could not get them to do anything upon this motion. They would come to no specific or operative measure in consequence; and I was a good deal struck at the time with the charge which he exhibited against them,—that they had given their assent to a declaratory proposition, and withheld it from an effective one. Now, I feel that I am speaking on a clearer and a better cause, and I trust, having got your declaratory proposition at the last meeting of Presbytery, that I shall obtain your effective one at this." The regulations which, with some slight modifications, were adopted, will be found at the foot of the page.†

* This resolution was moved not by Mr. Fox, but by Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton.

† "*March* 29, 1814.—The Regulations relative to Manses, &c., proposed by Mr Chalmers, were again read, and being maturely considered, were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be observed by all the members of the Presbytery in future: the tenor whereof follows, viz.:—

"1. That every minister within the bounds shall henceforth give information to the Presbytery of the repairs or alterations upon the manse or offices which he wishes to propose to his heritors.

"2. That the Presbytery shall judge whether, from the extent of the repairs wanted, or other circumstances of the case, it will be right or prudent for them to leave the matter to be negotiated by the minister, or to interfere in the business themselves.

"3. That if the affair be committed to the minister, he shall be held bound to inform the Presbytery of its progress and result.

But within the bounds of his own Synod a question had now arisen in which his interest was too great to suffer him to remain inactive. The junction of a professorship in a university with the charge of a country parish had been rarely known, and had frequently been disallowed in the practice of the Church of Scotland; and although the General Assembly of 1800 had decided in favour of the junction of the two offices in the instance of Dr. Arnot's settlement in Kingsbarns, the conviction gained ground that it was a union which violated the constitution of the Scottish Establishment, which had always required constant residence in their parishes on the part of all its ministers. That conviction was very unequivocally expressed when, in the year 1813, the Rev. William Ferrie, Professor of Civil History in the University of St. Andrews, was presented to the living of Kilconquhar. At first the Presbytery of St. Andrews refused to admit him to the pastoral charge, unless he gave them the assurance, which he refused to do, that before or at the time of his ordination, he would resign his professorship. Upon appeal to the General Assembly, held at Edinburgh in May 1813, by the narrow and at that time unusually small majority of *five* the decision of the Presbytery of St. Andrews was reversed, and they were appointed to proceed with Mr. Ferrie's settlement as minister of Kilconquhar, "with all convenient speed, according to the rules of the Church." In compliance with this decision of the supreme Court, a committee of Presbytery met at Kilconquhar for the purpose of moderating in a *call*, and reported to a subsequent meeting that no signatures whatever had been attached to it. At the same time, however, a letter was laid before the Presbytery, in which all the principal landholders of Kilconquhar, three out of four of the elders, and many heads of families, apologized for not having signed the call at the proper time, and expressed their concurrence in Mr. Ferrie's settlement. At this stage the matter was referred to the Synod, for the meeting of which, on the 12th October, Mr. Chalmers, as his Journal has already informed the reader, made the most anxious and careful preparation. It had been his impression that the want of a call would oppose an effectual barrier against Mr. Ferrie's ordination, or that an opportunity would at least present itself

"4. Provided always, that if the manse shall be in so doubtful a state as to render a report from tradesmen necessary before the specific repairs or alterations can be fixed upon, the Presbytery shall appoint a visitation and inspection of the said manse, with a view to obtain the said report from tradesmen upon oath."—Extracted from the Records of the Presbytery of Cupar.

for discussing the general question of the propriety of such pluralities. But he was disappointed. Mr. Ferrie's friends yielded the question as to the sustaining of the letter as equivalent to a call, and the Synod, appointing the Presbytery to moderate in a new call, left the decision of the General Assembly to be carried into effect. It was to Mr. Chalmers a "day of mortification," from which he returned home "jaded, mortified, useless." But although they were obliged to yield to the decision of their supreme judicatory upon this particular case, the opponents of such pluralities had become too numerous and too zealous throughout the Church to abandon the question in despair. The main ground on which the judgment of the General Assembly had been rested and defended was, that before any presbytery could be warranted to act as the Presbytery of St. Andrews had done, a specific law of the Church forbidding the union of offices was required. The majority of those who thought and acted with Mr. Chalmers denied the necessity of a specific law; nevertheless, that the abuse might be prevented in all time coming, they united in bringing the matter in its general form before the Assembly of 1814. The "day of mortification" in the Synod was now more than compensated by a day of triumph in the Assembly. Mr. Chalmers took a conspicuous part in the debate, which he relieved of its dulness by such passages as the following:—"The worthies of a former age never thought of framing a law against a country minister being at the same time a professor in a university. They never suspected their competency to repress this combination wherever it was attempted; nor did they anticipate the new-sprung principle, that every abuse must be tolerated in the first instance, and tolerated in every instance, till a positive and express statute was devised against it. Why, Moderator, at this rate, the very act by which you interdict me from being a professor in a university carries a principle along with it by which you give me licence to disgrace my profession, and to abandon my people in a thousand other ways. I run my eye over the catalogue of Church-laws, and I see that, if they are the only instruments by which the controlling power of the Church can be brought to bear upon me, there is indeed an ample range over which I am left at liberty to expatiate. It is true that, by the proposed law, you shut me out from being a professor; but by the principle of the said law you open up for me a thousand other employments. There is almost nothing which I may not do;—why, I may catch rats if I choose. It is

not known to me that a law has yet been passed providing against the abuse of a country minister adding to the emoluments of his office the gains which may come to him from the calling of a rat-catcher. Well, then, this is the employment which I choose to betake myself to, and in the prosecution of it I may carry it with proud defiance against all my ecclesiastical superiors. It is quite in vain to talk of my time and my duties, and, above all, of the overwhelming ridicule which I have brought upon a dignified profession: I entrench myself behind the principle that there is no law; and when carried to the bar of the General Assembly, I ask my accusers where is their law, for they can do nothing without a law. You may frame a law against rat-catching in all time coming; but it is not fair that laws should have a retrospective effect, and so I will be a rat-catcher in spite of you. It is nothing to the purpose, it would appear, that a parish goes to wreck—that the clergyman has given his respectability to the winds—and that the serious are scandalized, and the profane rejoice in the air of levity which he has thrown around all his ministrations. In deference to the new-formed principle, that we can do nothing without a law, there is no other alternative than to let him alone. We resign all discretionary power, it would appear, from this moment; and it were well if the one abuse that I have now specified were the only mischief it gave rise to. But the mischiefs will be infinite as the variety of human inventions. Every minister amongst us may find out something beyond the reach of all your written provisions, and the Church—thrown loose from the control of a principle which, till lately, was never questioned, from the authority of its courts sitting in judgment, as they have ever done, upon what was becoming the profession of a clergyman, and for the edification of his people—will exhibit the deformed spectacle of many sickening abuses, and many unheard-of enormities. The maxim of our not being able to do anything without law or without precedent, degrades us even below a civil court. A case comes before them, to which neither law nor precedent is applicable; but, in the meantime, a decision must be had, and as they have no old precedent to follow, they create a new one. A professor comes before us, for the first time, with a presentation to a country living, or conversely; we happen to have no law upon the subject, and can have no precedent. Upon what principle, then, is it that we are restrained from deciding as we will? Is it not competent to us, upon the single considera-

tion, that it is against the interests of religion to permit such a combination of offices, to refuse our consent to his induction? Yes, it is; and the only plea upon which you can deny that competency is, that the man has acquired a right of property in a presentation which has been given to him. This brings the two opposing pretensions into contact, and carries us to the naked struggle between the rights of a patron and the functions of the Church. It is right that you should see the whole amount of the surrender you are making by giving way to the clamour about law and about precedent. Why, you are just giving way to a principle which, carried to its full extent, makes the right of the patron absolute and independent; leaves the Church no more control over its members than over the holders of any secular benefice; reduces our office as constitutional guardians of religion to the impotent mockery of a form; and by a set of legal technicals, and fancied analogies, deceives us into a surrender of our dearest privileges. . . . The absolute right of patrons is altogether a visionary principle. . . . The man who comes to our bar with a presentation to a living has acquired no absolute right of property till he has obtained our consent to his induction. A presentation carries along with it no absolute right of property. It is only a right of property with submission to the judgment of the Church. . . . Every new law is a new limitation of the right of patronage; it is equivalent to a new tax upon the property conveyed by it. . . . *Our competency to make new laws is not denied in any one quarter.* This subordinates the right of the patron to that high function of the Church by which it sits in authority over every question involving in it the interests of religion. . . 'Meditate on these things; give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear unto all.' This is a principle gathered out of the Statute-book of Christians, and it admits of a clear and easy application to the question before us. I know that there are other statute-books—books of cases and books of reference—at which many of our men of simplicity and godly sincerity stand aghast and are confounded. Now, what I want them to do, is to feel the sufficiency of the principles they have already learned—to keep by their own Statute-book, and manfully to withstand the darkening and misleading authority of others; and let them rest assured, that though men of curious arts among us were to bring their books together, and to count the price of them, and to find that in money they were worth fifty thousand pieces of silver, yet, in authority over us,

they are not worth a straw. Though they were at this moment burned before all men I would lament their loss to other departments of jurisprudence; but enough for the proceedings of our General Assembly if the Word of God grew and prevailed among us. This was enough for the guidance of the Church in her best and purest days, and it should be enough for ours. . . . I have sometimes thought of the council of the apostles which met at Jerusalem, and tried to conceive how those primitive men would have listened to the kind of argument which is now so current among the law divines of the present day. I should have fastened an attentive eye upon Bartholomew and the rest of them, and been vastly curious to know how the man of point and precedent fared among the other members of the council, as he took up their celebrated decree, and examined how it was signed, sealed, and delivered. Why, sir, I can conceive him to go so far in his argument about dates and duplicates and registrations as to tell the apostles, in so many words, that they knew nothing about the matter—that the time at which their decree was executed made that decree not worth a farthing; and as he went on in that style, which I need not describe, for it is too familiar to all of us, I figure to myself how Peter would have boiled with impatience, and the more masterly and intellectual Paul would have annihilated the trifler by one single blow of his decisive and manly indignation."*

* The effect produced by the delivery of this speech is thus pleasingly recorded in a letter from the Rev. Alexander Forrester, minister of Linton, to Mrs. Walker, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Kilconquhar, dated Linton, 4th June 1814:—"I cannot help expressing to you the pleasure which I received last Assembly at the wonderful display of talents which was made by your relation, the minister of Kilmany. My pleasure would have been considerable had his name and family been totally unknown to me; but entertaining no ordinary regard for some of his kindred both among the living and the dead, I confess that I had uncommon satisfaction at the appearance which he made. I do not know whether I am singular in my opinion that he bears in some striking features a resemblance to your father; I mean not in looks, but in the qualities of his mind. The resemblance which the members of a family bear to one another, and that even in its remoter branches, and in the particular which I now allude to, has often struck me. I am persuaded that the same affinity may be traced between the two whom I have mentioned, and that in that acuteness and eloquence which are the acknowledged qualities of the minister of Kilmany, he discovers the relation which he bears to his grand-uncle. On making this remark to one of my brethren from Fife acquainted with both, he seemed to think that the former was superior in point of talent; to which I replied, that in some respects it might be true, as there were some sciences in which the former had made proficiency to which your father had paid no attention, nay, in fact, always treated with contempt—I here refer to Chemistry and Political Economy. Besides, I told him that it was only in the decline of life that I was acquainted with your father, but that even in that stage, when, alas! most of us exhibit nothing but infirmities, I was much disposed to think that he was wrong. I am not sure that your father would have engaged with the ardour with which the minister of Kilmany does in Missionary and Bible Societies. Here, however, I have perhaps rather ascribed to your father my own ideas than his. For my own part, I must own to you that I have never yet seen any proper call to us for engaging in the measures of these Societies, and such is the feeling of this part of the country with a very few exceptions."

After a lengthened debate a declaratory enactment was passed, prohibiting in future such pluralities as had been permitted in the cases of Dr. Arnot and Mr. Ferrie. A succeeding Assembly was persuaded to cancel this enactment on the alleged ground that it was incompetent and unconstitutional to pass such an act without the advice of the presbyteries of the Church. An overture embodying its terms was sent down to the presbyteries by the General Assembly of 1816; and a majority of the returns having been in its favour, it passed into a standing law of the Church of Scotland in 1817, that a chair in a university cannot be held in conjunction with a country parochial charge.

CHAPTER XVI.

MINISTRY AT KILMANY—ITS FIRST SEVEN YEARS—THE CHANGE—THE SICK-ROOM—THE VISITATION—THE EXAMINATION—THE CLASS FOR THE YOUNG—THE PULPIT—THE RESULT.

Parochial duty pressed lightly upon Mr. Chalmers during the first seven years of his ministry at Kilmany. If he "expended as much effort upon the religious improvement of his people as any minister within the bounds of his presbytery,"—if he could triumphantly challenge his brethren to prove that he had been "outstripped by any of his predecessors in the regularity of his ministerial attentions," * the standards to which he thus appealed must have been miserably low. The sick and the dying among his parishioners had not indeed been neglected during those earlier years. Kindly inquiries were made, tender sympathy was shown, and needful aid was tendered; but no solicitude was manifested as to their religious condition, no references occurred in visiting them to their state and prospects for eternity, and it was only when specially requested to do so that he engaged in prayer. Two or three weeks were annually devoted to a visitation of his parish, so rapidly conducted that he scarcely did more than hurriedly enter many a dwelling to summon its inmates to a short address, given in some neighbouring apartment, and confined generally to one or other of the more ordinary moralities of domestic life. With the general body of his parishioners he had little intercourse. They might meet him occasionally on the road, and receive the kindliest notice, but the smile of friendly recognition broke over a countenance of dreamy abstraction; and when the quickly made but cordial salutation was over and he was gone, his wondering parishioners would gaze after him as upon a man wholly addicted to very strange, and, in the eyes of many of them, very questionable pursuits. Comparatively little time or care was bestowed upon his pulpit preparations. "I have known him," says Mr. Smith, "not to begin them till Sabbath morning. He told me

* See p. 62.

that he wrote in short-hand, and when once he began he kept the pen going till he had finished the discourse. His sermons were in general very short. But they were written in a fervid strain, and delivered with energetic animation. The first effect, indeed, of the great spiritual change, was to chasten rather than to stimulate the vehemence of his delivery in the pulpit. In those earlier days, whether from choice or from necessity, he frequently preached without any written notes. The obstructions afterwards complained of and felt to be invincible, do not then appear to have stood much in his way, for he never used so ardent and so significant an elocution as in those fervid extempore expostulations upon stealing or lying or backbiting, explained according to popular belief by the circumstance, that the minister had come home late on the Saturday evening, and that the indefatigable newsmonger, John Bonthron, had been seen entering the manse shortly after his arrival. When the impulse moved, or the occasion invited, Mr. Chalmers could write as eloquently then as he ever did afterwards. The two fast-day sermons of this period* have been compared with that splendid discourse which the occasion of the first of them elicited from Robert Hall. Without pressing that comparison to an issue, it may be taken as a very signal proof of the native genius of their author, that two discourses, written off-hand, written in all likelihood each at a single sitting, prepared for thin audiences of unsympathizing rustics, and thrown aside as soon as delivered, should be capable of bearing a comparison with an effort which was made, in the first instance, before a crowded and intelligent audience, and upon which all the care and skill of one of the greatest masters in the art of composition had afterwards been lavished. Upon the whole, however, and till the period of his illness at Fineraigs, Mr. Chalmers's ministry was unpopular and ineffective, his church but poorly attended, and his private ministrations followed with but trifling effects. But the great change came, and with it a total alteration in the discharge of all parochial duty. From a place of visible subordination, the spiritual care and cultivation of his parish was elevated to the place of clear and recognised supremacy. To break up the peace of the indifferent and secure by exposing at once the guilt of their ungodliness and its fearful issue in a ruined eternity—to spread out an invitation wide as heaven's own all-embracing love, to every awakened sinner to accept of eternal life in Jesus

* See Posthumous Works, vol. vi. pp. 40, 62.

Christ—to plead with all, that instantly and heartily, with all good-will and with full and unreserved submission, they should give themselves up in absolute and entire dedication to the Redeemer—these were the objects for which he was now seen to strive with such a "severity of conviction" as implied that he had *one thing to do*, and "with such a concentration of his forces as to idle spectators looked like insanity."*

The first use he made of that returning strength which, after so many months' confinement, enabled him to cross again the threshold of Fincraigs, was to visit all the sick, the dying, and the bereaved in his parish; and when all trace and feeling of his own infirmity had departed, he still delighted to mingle his sympathies with the weak and the sorrowful. There was indeed such a restless activity about his manner, such a physical incapacity for very soft or gentle movements, that the sick-room seemed an uncongenial place; yet there was such exquisite tenderness of feeling, such rapid appreciation of the condition of the patient, and such capacity in a few short and weighty sentences to minister to his spiritual sorrows or perplexity, that a brief visit from him was often sufficient to shed a flood of light upon the understanding, or to pour a full tide of comfort into the heart. Extreme delicacy of feeling and his own great reserve threw obstacles in his way, which were often very painfully felt by him. But if he could not at once overcome the barriers which lay in the way of an immediate, free, and confidential spiritual intercourse, he could speak of Him whose love to sinners had no limits, and lay under no restraints. "No one ever preached the gospel to the dying with greater simplicity or fulness, and yet with characteristic simplicity he would often say, 'O that I could preach to the sick and dying as Mr. Tait of Tealing does!'"† His interest in this as in every other part of his ministerial labours, grew with his own advancing light and love. During the years 1813, 1814, the only two years of full ministerial labour at Kilmany, he made a few short-hand memoranda, entitled, "Records of spiritual intercourse with my people." Guided by these, let us follow Mr. Chalmers in one or two of his visits to the sick-chamber or the house of mourning.

"*Feb.* 15, 1813.—Visited Mrs. B., who is unwell, and prayed.

* Foster's character of Howard.
† MS. Memoranda, by the Rev. Islay Burns.

Let me preach Christ in all simplicity, and let me have a peculiar eye on others. I spoke of looking unto Jesus, and deriving thence all our delight and confidence.—O God, give me wisdom and truth in this household part of my duty.

"*Feb.* 21.—Visited at Dalyell Lodge. They are in great affliction for the death of a child. I prayed with them. O God, make me wise and faithful, and withal affectionate in my management of these cases. I fear that something of the sternness of systematic orthodoxy adheres to me. Let me give up all sternness; but let me never give up the only name by which men can be saved, or the necessity of forsaking all to follow Him, whether as a Saviour or a Prince.

"*March* 25.—Visited a young man in consumption. The call not very pleasant; but this is of no consequence.—O my God, direct me how to do him good.

"*June* 2.—Mr. —— sent for me in prospect of death; a man of profligate and profane habits, who resents my calling him an unworthy sinner, and who spoke in loud and confident strains of his faith in Christ, and that it would save him.—O God, give me wisdom in these matters to declare the whole of Thy counsel for the salvation of men. I represented to him the necessity of being born again, of being humbled under a sense of his sins, of repenting and turning from them.—O may I turn it to my own case. If faith in Christ is so unsuitable from his mouth because he still loves sin, and is unhumbled because of it, should not the conviction be forced upon me that I labour myself under the same unsuitableness?—O my God, give me a walk suitable to my profession, and may the power of Christ rest upon me.

"*June* 4.—Visited Mr. —— again. Found him worse, but displeased at my method of administering to his spiritual wants. He said that it was most unfortunate that he had sent for me; talked of my having inspired him with gloomy images, but seemed quite determined to buoy himself up in Antinomian security. He did not ask me to pray. I said a little to him, and told him that I should be ready to attend him whenever he sent for me.

"*August* 9.—Miss —— under religious concern.—O my God, send her help from Thy sanctuary. Give me wisdom for these cases. Let me not heal the wound slightly; and oh, while I administer comfort in Christ, may it be a comfort according to godliness. She complains of the prevalence of sin. Let me not

abate her sense of its sinfulness. Let me preach Christ in all His entireness, as one that came to atone for the guilt of sin, and to redeem from its power.

"*March* 15, 1814.—Poor Mr. Bonthron, I think, is dying. I saw him and prayed, after a good deal of false delicacy. O my God, give me to be pure of his blood, and to bear with effect upon his conscience. Work faith in him with power. I have little to record in the way of encouragement. He does not seem alarmed himself about the state of his health, and, I fear, has not a sufficient alarm upon more serious grounds. It is a difficult and heavy task for me; and when I think of my having to give an account of the souls committed to me, well may I say—Who is sufficient for these things?

"*March* 23.—Mr. Bonthron was able to be out, and drank tea with us. I broke the subject of eternity with him. He acquiesces; you carry his assent always along with you, but you feel as if you have no point of resistance, and are making no impression.

"*March* 26 *and* 27.—Prayed each of these days with Mr. Bonthron. I did not feel that anything like deep or saving impression was made.—O Lord, enable me to be faithful!

"*April* 3.—Visited John Bonthron.

"*April* 5.—Prayed with more enlargement with John than usual. I see no agitations of remorse; but should this prevent me from preaching Christ in His freeness? The whole truth is the way to prevent abuses.

"*April* 6 *and* 8.—Visited Mr. Bonthron.

"*April* 9.—Read and commented on a passage of the Bible to John. This I find a very practicable, and I trust effectual way of bringing home the truth to him."

The next day was the Sabbath, on the morning of which a message was brought to the manse that Mr. Bonthron was worse. While the people were assembling for worship, Mr. Chalmers went to see him once more, and, surrounded by as many as the room could admit, he prayed fervently at his bedside. No trace remains of another visit.

Prosecuting his earlier practice of visiting and examining in alternate years, he commenced a visitation of his parish in 1813, which, instead of being finished in a fortnight, was spread over the whole year. As many families as could conveniently be assembled in one apartment were in the first instance visited in their own dwellings, where, without any religious exercise, a free

and cordial conversation, longer or shorter as the case required, informed him as to the condition of the different households. When they afterwards met together, he read the Scriptures, prayed, and exhorted, making at times the most familiar remarks, using very simple yet memorable illustrations. "I have a very lively recollection," says Mr. Robert Edie, "of the intense earnestness of his addresses on occasions of visitation in my father's house, when he would unconsciously move forward on his chair to the very margin of it, in his anxiety to impart to the family and servants the impressions of eternal things that so filled his own soul." "It would take a great book," said he, beginning his address to one of these household congregations, "to contain the names of all the individuals that have ever lived, from the days of Adam down to the present hour; but there is one name that takes in the whole of them—that name is *sinner:* and here is a message from God to every one that bears that name—'The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin.'" Wishing to tell them what kind of faith God would have them to cherish, and what kind of fear, and how it was that instead of hindering each other, the right fear and the right faith worked into each other's hands, he said, "It is just as if you threw out a rope to a drowning man. Faith is the hold he takes of it. It is fear which makes him grasp it with all his might; and the greater his fear, the firmer his hold." Again, to illustrate what the Spirit did with the Word: "This book, the Bible, is like a wide and beautiful landscape, seen afar off, dim and confused; but a good telescope will bring it near, and spread out all its rocks, and trees, and flowers, and verdant fields, and winding rivers at one's very feet. That telescope is the Spirit's teaching."

His own records of one or two of these visitations are instructive:—

"*Feb.* 13, 1813.—Visited at Bogtown, Hawkhill, and East Kinneir. No distinct observation of any of them being impressed with what I said. At East Kinneir I gave intimation that if any laboured under difficulties, or were anxious for advice upon spiritual and divine subjects, I am at all times in readiness to help them. Neglected this intimation at Hawkhill, but let me observe this ever after.

"*Feb.* 16.—A diet of visitation at ——. Had intimate conversation only with M. W. I thought the —— a little impressed with my exhortation about family worship, and the care of

watching over the souls of their children. I should like to understand if —— has family worship.

"*March* 9.—Visited at ——. The children present. This I think highly proper, and let me study a suitable and impressive address to them in all time coming.

"*May* 19.—Visited at ——. I am not sure if I could perceive anything like salutary impression among them; but I do not know, and perhaps I am too apt to be discouraged. C. S. and J. P. the most promising.—O my God, give me to grow in the knowledge and observation of the fruits of the Spirit and of His work upon the hearts of sinners.

"*August* 9.—Visited at Hill Cairney. Resigned myself to the suggestions of the moment, at least did not adhere to the plan of discourse that I had hitherto adopted. I perceived an influence go along with it.—O my God, may this influence increase more and more. I commit the success to Thee."

In examining his parish he divided it into districts, arranging it so that the inhabitants of each district could be accommodated in some neighbouring barn or school-house. On the preceding Sabbath all were summoned to attend, when it was frequently announced that the lecture then delivered would form the subject of remark and catechizing. Generally, however, the Shorter Catechism was used as the basis of the examination. Old and young, male and female, were required to stand up in their turn, and not only to give the answer as it stood in the Catechism, but to show, by their replies to other questions, whether they fully understood that answer. What in many hands might have been a formidable operation, was made light by the manner of the examiner. When no reply was given, he hastened to take all the blame upon himself. "I am sure," he would say, "I have been most unfortunate in putting the question in that particular way," and then would change its form. He was never satisfied till an answer of some kind or other was obtained. The attendance on these examinations was universal, and the interest taken in them very great. They informed the minister of the amount of religious knowledge possessed by his people, and he could often use them as convenient opportunities of exposing any bad practice which had been introduced, or was prevailing in any particular part of his parish. Examining thus at a farm-house, one of the ploughmen was called up. The question in order was, "Which is the eighth commandment?" "But what

is stealing?" "Taking what belongs to another, and using it as if it were your own." "Would it be stealing, then, in you to take your master's oats or hay, contrary to his orders, and give it to his horses?" This was one of the many ways in which he sought to instil into the minds of his people a high sense of justice and truth, even in the minutest transactions of life.

"*Nov.* 30, 1813.—Examined at ——. J. W. and R. T. both in tears. The former came out to me agitated and under impression.

"*Jan.* 20, 1814.—Had a day of examination, and felt more of the presence and unction of the Spirit than usual.

"*Jan.* 21.—Had a day of examination. Made a simple commitment of myself to God in Christ before entering into the house.

"*Feb.* 8.—Examined, and have to bless God for force and freeness. D. absenting himself from all ordinances. Let me be fearless at least in my general address, and give me prudence and resolution, O Lord, in the business of particularly addressing individuals. I pray that God may send home the message with power to the people's hearts.

"*Feb.* 23.—Examined ——. A very general seriousness and attention. B. and his wife still, I fear, very much behind.

"*April* 5.—Examined at P. I can see something like a general seriousness, but no decided marks in any individual.

"*March* 8.—Examined at S. The man P. B. deficient in knowledge, and even incapable of reading—the father of a family too. I receive a good account of ——. O that they may be added to the number of such as shall be saved.

"*July* 2.—Examined with more enlargement and seriousness. I feel as if there was an intelligence and good spirit among the people.—O God, satisfy me with success; but I commit all to Thee.

"*July* 27.—Examined at ——. The family afraid of examination, I think, and they sent me into a room by myself among the servants. This I liked not; but, O God, keep me from all personal feeling on the occasion. I brought it on myself by my own accommodating speeches. I have too much of the fear of man about me. Never felt more dull and barren. I feel my dependence on God. I pray for a more earnest desire after the Christianity of my parish, and, oh may that desire be accomplished.—O God, fit a poor, dark, ignorant and wandering creature for being a minister of Thy word! Uphold me

by Thy free Spirit, and then will I teach transgressors Thy ways."

The family here referred to was that of a farmer recently settled in the parish, and who, unfamiliar with the practice of examination, felt at the first a not unnatural reluctance to be subjected to it. On his return to the manse, Mr. Chalmers jotted down the preceding impressive notice of his reception and its result. In the afternoon of the same day he went back to the family; told them that, as they had not come to him in the morning, he had just come to them in the evening to go over the exercise with themselves. The frank and open kindness of the act won their instant compliance, and brought its own reward.

In the autumn of 1813, Mr. Chalmers opened a class in his own house upon the Saturdays, for the religious instruction of the young. At first he intended that it should meet monthly: the numbers, however, who presented themselves for instruction, and the ardour with which they entered upon the tasks prescribed, induced a change of purpose. After the first meeting or two, he announced his intention to hold the class each fortnight, and ere long it met weekly at the manse. He drew out a series of simple propositions, which embraced a full system of Christian doctrine; appending to each a reference to those passages of the Bible in which the truth declared in the proposition was most clearly or fully revealed. These propositions, with their proofs, were printed at Dundee; and the little volume which they formed has already been circulated in thousands among those who have interested themselves in the religious education of the young.* Besides his exercises upon Scripture doctrine, Mr. Chalmers read and explained portions of the Bible, and prescribed select passages for committal to memory. He was highly gratified by the whole youth of the parish, even from its remoter districts, coming forward with such willingness; and he repaid their readiness to receive instruction by making diligent preparation for communicating to them the knowledge of the truth, and fixing religious impressions on their hearts. In no department of his ministerial labours did he take a deeper interest, and upon none, in proportion to the space which it covered, did he bestow more pains. It was only during a year and a half that the class continued, and yet three years after his

* Scripture References; designed for the use of Parents, Teachers, and Private Christians. Dundee: printed by R. S. Rintoul for Edward Lesslie, bookseller. 1814.

removal from Kilmany he could say—"I met with a more satisfying evidence of good done by a school which I taught when at Kilmany, than by all I ever did there besides. A good encouragement this for the efforts of private Christians in this way."*

Much, however, as may have been accomplished by the class, the pulpit was, after all, the chief instrument of power; and from the time when profound religious convictions penetrated his spirit, Mr. Chalmers laboured to wield that instrument with effect. There must have been something particularly pathetic in his Sabbath ministrations during the summer months of 1810. The muffled invalid, who had been seen to make his first round of visits to all the houses of mourning in his parish, and of whose altered bearing and impressive prayers village rumour had already begun to speak, appeared once more in the pulpit. His sunk and sallow countenance told of the ravages of disease. He looked like one who had drawn very near to death, and whom a few steps backward would carry again to the very edge of the grave; and his most frequent topic was human mortality, the shortness of time, the nearness and awfulness of eternity. "Where are the men," he asked, his own voice sounding over the congregation like an echo from the tomb, "who a few years ago gave motion and activity to this busy theatre?—where those husbandmen who lived on the ground that you now occupy?—where those labouring poor who dwelt in your houses and villages?—where those ministers who preached the lessons of piety, and talked of the vanity of this world?—where those people who, on the Sabbaths of other times, assembled at the sound of the church-bell, and filled the house in which you are now sitting? Their habitation is the cold grave—the land of forgetfulness. . . . And we are the children of these fathers, and heirs to the same awful and stupendous destiny. Ours is one of the many generations who pass in rapid succession through this region of life and of sensibility. The time in which I live is but a small moment of this world's history. When we rise in contemplation to the roll of ages that are past, the momentary being of an individual shrinks into nothing. It is the flight of a shadow; it is a dream of vanity; it is the rapid glance of a meteor; it is a flower which every breath of heaven can wither into decay; it is a tale which as a remembrance vanisheth; it is a day which the silence of a long night will darken and over-

* In a letter to Mrs. Morton, dated October 13, 1818.

shadow. In a few years our heads will be laid in the cold grave, and the green turf will cover us. The children who come after us will tread upon our graves; they will weep for us a few days; they will talk of us a few months; they will remember us a few years; when our memory shall disappear from the face of the earth, and not a tongue shall be found to recall it. . . . How perishable is human life, yet no man lays it to heart!"*

The opening months of 1811, as they brought tranquillity and establishment to his own heart, so they gave a new character to his Sabbath ministrations. It was not, however, till the close of that year that the complete re-establishment of his health, and the fulfilment of his engagements with Dr. Brewster, enabled him to give full time and strength to his compositions for the pulpit. The result was a series of discourses, a goodly number of which, delivered almost verbally as originally written, were listened to in after years by congregated thousands in Glasgow and Edinburgh and London, with wondering and entranced admiration. I have been able to trace to this period so many of the sermons afterwards selected by their author for publication, and have found so few alterations made on the original manuscripts in preparing them for the press, as to be satisfied that the three final years of his ministry at Kilmany supplied as many, as elaborate, and as eloquent discourses, as any other three years in the whole course of his ministry. It was not the stimulus of cultivated audiences, and an intellectual sphere—it was not the effort to win or to sustain a wide-spread popularity—it was not the straining after originality of thought or splendour of illustration, which gave to these discourses their peculiar form and character. They were, to a great extent, the spontaneous products of that new love and zeal which Divine grace had planted in his soul; the shape and texture of their eloquence springing from the combined operation of all his energies—intellectual, moral, and emotional—whose native movements were now stimulated into a more glowing intensity of action by that controlling motive which concentrated them all upon one single and sublime accomplishment—the salvation of immortal souls.

Much time and great care were bestowed upon these preparations for the pulpit. Instead of the two or three hours which had once been sufficient, they now engrossed the leisure of the whole preceding week. And besides that weekly amount of com-

* Posthumous Works, vol. vi. pp. 82, 83.

position which was necessary to meet the demands of each succeeding Sabbath, he had always a discourse in preparation upon which the occasional efforts of a whole month were expended—the two sets of sermons, from the different characters in which they were written, being described in his own vocabulary as his short-handers and his long-handers.* Not a few of these more slowly and carefully composed sermons were designedly upon texts from which he had preached in other years, to his former expositions of which he at times pointedly referred, at once to remedy any evil which his earlier teaching might have produced, and to make more vivid by the contrast his present understanding of the sacred oracles. Not long after his ordination at Kilmany, preaching from the text—"There is none righteous, no, not one," he had referred with great severity of censure to the dark and mystical representations of human depravity given by certain religionists.† In 1811, the same text was again chosen, and the new meaning now attached to it thus explained:—"Be not deceived, then, into a rejection of the text by the specimens of moral excellence which are to be met with in society, or by the praise which your own virtue extorts from an applauding neighbourhood. Virtue may exist, and to such a degree, too, as is sufficient to constitute it a lovely object in the eyes of the world; but if in the cultivation of that virtue there be no reference of the mind to the authority of God, there is no religion. . . . It is well that you act your part aright as a member of society; and religion, by making it one of its injunctions, gives us the very best security that wherever its influence prevails it will be done in the most perfect manner; but the point which I labour to impress is, that a man may be what we all understand by a good member of society, without the authority of God as his legislator being either recognised or acted upon. I do not say that his error lies in being a good member of society: this though a circumstance, is a very fortunate one. The error lies in his having discarded the authority of God, or rather in never having admitted the influence of that authority over his principles. I want to guard him against the delusion that the principle which he has, ever can be accepted as a substitute for the principle which he has not; or that the very highest sense of duty which his situation as a member of society impresses upon his feelings,

* Dr. Chalmers frequently advised young ministers, in addition to their ordinary preparations, to have a monthly and more elaborate sermon always in progress.

† The passage already quoted in pp. 108 110, is taken from this discourse.

will ever be received as an atonement for wanting that sense of duty to God which he ought to feel in the far more exalted capacity of His servant, and candidate for His approbation. I stand upon the high ground that he is the subject of the Almighty, nor will I shrink from revealing the whole extent of my principles. Let his path in society be ever so illustrious by the virtues which adorn it—let every word and every performance be as honourable as a proud sense of integrity can make it—let the salutations of the market-place mark him out as the most respectable of the citizens, and the gratitude of a thousand families sing the praises of his beneficence to the world,—if the actor in this splendid exhibition carry in his mind no reference to the authority of God, I do not hesitate a moment to pronounce him unworthy, nor shall all the execrations of generous but mistaken principle deter me from putting forth my hand to strip him of his honours. What! is the world to gaze in admiration on this fair spectacle of virtue, and am I to be told that the Being who gave such faculties to one of His children, and provides the theatre for their exercise—that the Being who called this scene into existence and gave it all its beauties—that He may be innocently forgotten and neglected? Shall I give a deceitful lustre to the virtues of him who is unmindful of his God? and with all the grandeur of eternity before me, can I learn to admire these short-lived exertions, which only shed a fleeting brilliancy over a paltry and perishable scene?"*

The discovery that pardon and full reconciliation with God are offered gratuitously to all men in Christ, had been the turning point in Mr. Chalmers's own spiritual history; and the most marked characteristic of his pulpit ministrations after his conversion was the frequency and fervour with which he held out to sinners Christ and His salvation as God's free gift, which it was their privilege and their duty at once and most gratefully to accept. Most earnest entreaties that every sinner he spoke to should come to Christ just as he was, and "bury all his fears in the sufficiency of the great atonement," were reiterated on each succeeding Sabbath, presented in all possible forms, and delivered in all different kinds of tones and of attitudes. He would desert for a minute or two his manuscript, that with greater directness and familiarity of phrase, greater pointedness and personality of application, he might urge upon their acceptance the gospel in-

* Posthumous Works, vol. vi. pp. 175-177.

vitation. "He would bend over the pulpit," said one of his old hearers, "and press us to take the gift, as if he held it that moment in his hand, and would not be satisfied till every one of us had got possession of it. And often when the sermon was over, and the psalm was sung, and he rose to pronounce the blessing, he would break out afresh with some new entreaty, unwilling to let us go until he had made one more effort to persuade us to accept of it."

"It is not," such were the words in which, upon one of these memorable Sabbaths, he addressed his parishioners, "because you are not so great a sinner that I would have you to be comforted; but it is because Jesus Christ is so great a Saviour: it is not the smallness of sin, but the greatness of Him who died for it. I would have you to be satisfied, but not with yourself, for this would be to lull you asleep by the administration of a poisoned opiate. I would have you to listen to that loud and widely-sounding call—'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved.' I would have you to look unto Jesus; and if truth and friendship have a power to charm you into tranquillity, you have them here. I would never cease to press the salvation of the gospel upon you as a gift; and as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, I would call into action these appointed instruments for producing in the heart of the despairing sinner the faith which accepts the offer, and which holds it fast. I cannot ascend into heaven to bring down Jesus again upon the world, that you may hear the kindness which fell from His lips, and see the countenance most frankly expressive of it; but I can bring nigh unto you the word which He left behind Him. I can assure you upon the faith of that word which never lies, that what He was on earth He is still in heaven; and if in the history of the New Testament He was never found to send a diseased petitioner disappointed away, be assured that when He took up His body to the right hand of the everlasting throne, He took up all His kind and warm and generous sympathies along with Him. I cannot show you Him in person, but I can reveal Him to the eye of your mind as sitting there; and if you array Him in any other characters than in those of love and mildness and long-suffering, you do Him an injustice. He no longer speaks in His own person, but He speaks in the person of those to whom He has committed the word of reconciliation; and in the confidence that He will not falsify His own commission, or fall back by a single inch from the terms of it, we stand

here as the ambassadors for Christ: as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. I would have you to know the gift of God. I would have you to look upon it in the simplicity of an offer, on the one hand, and of a joyful and confiding acceptance on the other. When He was on earth great multitudes followed Him, and He healed them. Come to Him with your disease—the disease of a guilty and despairing mind. Do not think that either the will or the power of healing you is wanting. You approach Him in the most peculiar and in the greatest of His capacities, when you approach Him as the physician of souls; and be assured that the voice which He uttered in the hearing of His countrymen is of standing authority and signification to the very latest ages of the world—'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Yes, if rest is to be found at all, it must be given. It is upon the footing of a gift that I offer it to you. Not that you are worthy to receive the present, but that it is a present worthy of His generosity to bestow. Take it;—there is not a single passage in the Bible to exclude you from this act of confidence. Be not afraid—only believe—and according to your faith so will it be done unto you. You know not how ready—you know not how able—you know not how free—you know not how perfectly willing—nay, how eager and how delighted the Saviour is to receive all who come unto Him—to listen to their complaints—to heal their diseases—to supply their every want, and administer to every necessity. This is the true and the faithful representation of Christ. Could I give you a real and a living impression of Him—could I fix in your hearts the image of Him such as He is—could I bring Him before you, offering and inviting, nay, beseeching you to be reconciled—could all this be done (and I pray that this work of faith may be wrought in you with power), then the melancholy which oppresses your heart and keeps it dark would be dissolved in an instant—the gospel would come to you not in word only, but in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance—and the object for which Paul laboured with the Galatians would be accomplished in you: Christ would be formed in you, and He would be made unto you of God wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

From the very outset of his own religious earnestness, Mr. Chalmers had painfully struggled against all that plainly and

palpably was wrong, and diligently attempted all that plainly and palpably was right. In his subsequent addresses from the pulpit, he not only enjoined upon those who were in like circumstances the course which he had himself pursued, but he did this so very often and so very earnestly, that it became another of the peculiar and prominent characteristics of his ministry. Preaching from a favourite text, Hos. v. 4, "They will not frame their doings to turn unto their God," he said,—"Well, then, ye hearers who have just begun to think seriously of the matter, know that before ye are meet for the heavenly inheritance there must be a devotedness to God, there must be a spiritual obedience, there must be a conformity of the inner man to His service, there must be a consenting to the whole of His will. All this you must come to before you get to heaven; and you will come to it if you set yourselves to the acquirement of it in good earnest. But, in the meantime, I have the warrant of my text and the example of my Saviour as a teacher, when I call on you to attend instantly to your outward doings, and to frame them in such a way as to prove that you are turning to the Lord. I call upon the drunkard to give up his intemperance, upon the liar to observe truth, upon the thief to give up stealing, upon the servant to give up all purloining and all disobedience, upon the profane swearer to give up his oaths, upon the Sabbath-breaker to give up the practice of seeking his own pleasure on God's holy day. Let the cunning give up their concealment, let the censorious give up their evil speakings, let the impure give up their unhallowed pleasures. These are obvious and declared duties, and I call you to the doing of them. I know that the mere outward performance of these duties may leave you still in the condition of condemned and unsheltered men; but I can say something far more appalling than this of the neglect of these duties. Their performance may leave you on the wrong side of the line of demarcation between the saved and the damned, but their neglect not only *may*, but *must* keep you there—not only may leave you in this awful condition, but will and must do it. The man who continues in known sin is not so much as stirring himself, not so much as setting out, not so much as going about it. You are not to think that your conversion is advanced, or even so much as entered upon, while your outward doings are so clearly in opposition to the Divine will. Give up your presumptuous sins; for, be assured, that while you persist in them, all your aspirings after spirituality are but the self-deceiv-

ings of a hypocrite."* In his own case, the fruit of a sincere, earnest, sustained, and painstaking effort to frame his doings so as to turn unto his God, had been a remarkable verification of these declarations of the Divine word: "If any man will do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God" (John vii. 17). "To him that ordereth his conversation aright will I show the salvation of God" (Ps. L. 23). When the reader, conversant with his writings, or personally acquainted with the manner in which his private ministrations were conducted, remembers what special favourites these passages were with him, and how he loved to expatiate on the great principle which they contain—and when he connects with this remembrance the reflection, that in the face of much controversy and under much censure he adhered tenaciously to the habit of giving it as one of his earliest counsels to those who were under religious anxiety, that they should carefully, and from the very first, frame all their outward doings so as to turn unto the Lord, he may be ready perhaps to believe that the intensity of Mr. Chalmers's convictions and his steadfastness in tendering such counsel drew not a little of their strength from the depths of his own spiritual experience.†

"I felt it myself," we quote here from one of his theological prelections, "as the greatest enlightenment and enlargement I ever had experienced when made to understand both the indispensable need of morality and the securities that we had for its being realized in the character of Christians, notwithstanding the doctrine that by faith, and by faith alone, we were justified —a doctrine which I at one time regarded as Antinomian in its tendencies, and as adverse to the interests of virtue and practical righteousness in the world."‡ At the time to which Mr. Chalmers here refers, the doctrine of a free justification through faith in an imputed righteousness was not only repudiated, but the character and conduct of its most strenuous supporters—as exhibiting too often gross departures from some of the most obvious and incumbent moralities of life—had proved a stumblingblock and an offence. And when the "enlightenment and enlargement" came, it showed itself in his affirming so constantly as

* Sermon in Manuscript.

† See Works, vol. vi. pp. 317-320; viii. 71-76; viii. 98, 99; x. 86-93; x. 292-310; xii. 71-120; xxii. 28-34; xxiii. 178-180; xxiii. 189-193; xxiii. 201-207; xxiv. 58; xxiv. 71, 72; xxiv. 156, 157; xxv. 309, 310.—Posthumous Works, vol. viii. pp. 238, 267, 281; ix. 389, 390.

‡ Posthumous Works, vol. ix. p. 376.

he did, that those who believed should be careful to maintain good works. "His ministry then, as afterwards, was eminently practical. He set his face against every form of evil, both in the pulpit and out of it. He particularly pressed upon country people thorough honesty and uprightness, and the practice of the law of love by abstaining from all malice and evil-speaking. The ostentation of flaming orthodoxy, or talk of religious experience when not borne out by the life, was the object of his thorough abhorrence."* The deep and pungent feeling which the conduct of some professing Christians awakened, was in one instance most touchingly displayed in the pulpit of Kilmany. Preaching on a sacramental occasion, he thus closed his discourse :—

"Whatever there may be now—in the days of Paul, at least, there were men who turned the grace of God into licentiousness, and who ranked among the privileges of the gospel an immunity for sin. And it is striking to observe the effect of this corruption on the mind of the apostle;—that he who braved all the terrors of persecuting violence, that he who stood undismayed before kings and governors, and could lift his intrepid testimony in the hearing of an enraged multitude—that he who, when bound by a chain between two soldiers, still sustained an invincible constancy of spirit, and could live in fearlessness, and triumph, with the dark imagery of an approaching execution in his eye—that he who counted not his life dear unto him, and whose manly breast bore him up amidst all the threats of human tyranny, and the grim apparatus of martyrdom—that this man so firm and so undaunted, wept like a child when he heard of those disciples that turned the pardon of the cross into an encouragement for doing evil. The fiercest hostilities of the gospel's open enemies he could brave, but when he heard of the foul dishonour done to the name of his Master by the moral worthlessness of those who were the gospel's professing friends, this he could not bear—all that firmness which so upheld him unfaltering and unappalled in the battles of the faith, forsook him then; and this noblest of champions on the field of conflict and of controversy, when he heard of the profligacy of his own

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Islay Burns of Dundee, grounded upon the information of Miss Collier, one of Dr Chalmers's earliest and most valued Christian friends.

"*Journal, Sept* 7, 1814. – Let me cultivate a more delicate regard to the feelings of others. Hear reports of falsehood and censoriousness in some of my professing parishioners.—O my God give me the meekness of wisdom in reference to the gossiping which I hate, and the slander which I know to be a work of the flesh."

converts, was fairly overcome by the tidings, and gave way to all the softness of womanhood. When every other argument then fails for keeping you on the path of integrity and holiness, O think of the argument of Paul in tears! It may be truly termed a picturesque argument—nor are we aware of a more impressive testimony, in the whole compass of Scripture, to the indispensable need of virtue and moral goodness in a believer, than is to be found in that passage where Paul says of these unworthy professors of the faith, 'For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ; whose end is destruction, whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.'"* Describing thus the Apostle's emotion, a flood of tenderness overwhelmed him, and he himself burst into tears.

It was not long till the whole aspect of the Sabbath congregations in Kilmany church was changed. The stupid wonder which used to sit on the countenances of the few villagers or farm-servants who attended divine service, was turned into a fixed, intelligent, and devout attention. It was not easy for the dullest to remain uninformed; for, if the preacher sometimes soared too high for the best trained of his people to follow him, at other times, and much oftener, he put the matter of his message so as to force for it an entrance into the most sluggish understanding. Nor was it easy for the most indifferent to remain unmoved, as the first fervours of a new-born faith and love found such thrilling strains in which to vent themselves. The church became crowded. The feeling grew with the numbers who shared in it. The fame of those wonderful discourses which were now emanating from the burning lips of this new evangelist spread throughout the neighbourhood, till at last there was not an adjacent parish which did not send its weekly contribution to his ministry. Persons from extreme distances in the county found themselves side by side in the same crowded pew. Looking over the congregation, the inhabitant of Dundee could generally count a dozen or two of his fellow-townsmen around him, while ministers from Edinburgh or Glasgow were occasionally detected among the crowd.

All this told distinctly enough of the popularity of the preacher; but within the parish, and as the effect of such a ministry as has

* Works, vol. xiii. pp. 253, 254. The Introductory Essay to Booth's "Reign of Grace" was originally a sermon preached from the text Jer. L. 5.

been now described, what were the spiritual results?—Too delicate a question this for any full or satisfactory reply: but of one Sabbath's service we shall tell the fruits. It was in the spring of 1812, and the preacher's text was John iii. 16—"God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Two young men heard this sermon, the one the son of a farmer in the parish, the other the son of one of the villagers. They met as the congregation dispersed. "Did you feel anything particularly in church to-day?" Alexander Paterson said to his acquaintance, Robert Edie, as they found themselves alone upon the road. "I never," he continued, "felt myself to be a lost sinner till to-day, when I was listening to that sermon." "It is very strange," said his companion; "it was just the same with me." They were near a plantation, into which they wandered, as the conversation proceeded. Hidden at last from all human sight, it was proposed that they should join in prayer. Screened by the opening foliage, they knelt on the fresh green sod, and poured out in turn their earnest petitions to the hearer and answerer of prayer. Both dated their conversion from that day. Alexander Paterson went shortly afterwards to reside in the neighbouring parish of Dairsie, but attended regularly on the Sabbath at Kilmany church. His friend, Robert Edie, generally convoyed him part of the way home. About one hundred yards from the road along which they travelled, in the thickly-screened seclusion of a close plantation, and under the shade of a branching fir-tree, the two friends found a quiet retreat, where, each returning Sabbath evening, the eye that seeth in secret looked down upon these two youthful disciples of the Saviour on their knees, and for an hour their ardent prayers alternately ascended to the throne of grace. The practice was continued for years, till a private footpath of their own had been opened to the trysting-tree; and when, a few years ago, after long absence on the part of both, they met at Kilmany, at Mr. Edie's suggestion they revisited the spot, and renewing the sacred exercise, offered up their joint thanksgivings to that God who had kept them by His grace, and in their separate spheres had honoured each of them with usefulness in the Church. Mr. Paterson laboured for twenty-four years as a missionary in the Canongate of Edinburgh, not without many pleasing evidences that his labours were blessed;* and by his efforts in behalf of Bible and Mis-

* See "The Missionary of Kilmany," noticed *ante*, p. 159, *note*.

sionary Societies, through means of Sabbath-schools and prayer meetings, and by the light of a guiding and consistent example, Mr. Edie's life, while one of active industry, was also one of devoted Christian usefulness.*

Other individual instances of spiritual benefit derived from Mr. Chalmers's ministrations it would have been a pleasant task to record; and, had he not been so soon removed from Kilmany, the hopeful appearances which were presenting themselves, especially among the young who attended his Saturday classes, might have ripened into a goodly spiritual fruitage.† One general testimony, however, as valuable perhaps as ever minister left behind him, and given by Mr. Chalmers himself, as to the separate effects of his ministry during the two periods into which, spiritually contemplated, it divided itself, must not be withheld.

"And here‡ I cannot but record the effect of an actual though undesigned experiment, which I prosecuted for upwards of twelve years among you. For the greater part of that time I could expatiate on the meanness of dishonesty, on the villany of falsehood, on the despicable arts of calumny; in a word, upon all those deformities of character which awaken the natural indignation of the human heart against the pests and the disturbers of human society. Now, could I, upon the strength of these warm expostulations, have got the thief to give up his stealing, and the evil-speaker his censoriousness, and the liar his deviations from truth, I should have felt all the repose of one who had gotten his ultimate object. It never occurred to me that all this might have been done, and yet the soul of every hearer have remained in full alienation from God; and that even could I have established in the bosom of one who stole, such a principle of abhorrence at the meanness of dishonesty, that he was prevailed upon to steal no more, he might still have retained a heart as completely unturned to God, and as totally unpossessed by a principle of love to Him as before. In a word, though I might

* "Robert Edie is a very fine fellow. He has lately been very eloquent in some missionary meetings at Cupar, where I am glad to say that something like an appearance of seriousness is becoming visible. Dr. and Mrs. W—— are really in decided earnest."—Letter from Dr. Chalmers to Mrs. Morton, dated October 13, 1818.

† "You recollect my brother David's lengthened illness," writes Mr. Edie to Mr. Paterson, with reference to a brother who died after Dr. Chalmers's removal from Kilmany, "and the great kindness Dr. C. showed him on his deathbed, often conversing and praying with him. One day, after visiting him, I walked out with Dr. C.; still talking of my brother's spiritual state, he made a sudden halt, and holding up his staff in his hand, said with warmth—'How consoling the thought that your brother will be a monument of Divine grace to all eternity!"

‡ Extracted from an "Address to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Kilmany," published in 1815.

have made him a more upright and honourable man, I might have left him as destitute of the essence of religious principle as ever. But the interesting fact is, that during the whole of that period in which I made no attempt against the natural enmity of the mind to God, while I was inattentive to the way in which this enmity is dissolved,—even by the free offer on the one hand, and the believing acceptance on the other, of the gospel salvation,—while Christ, through whose blood the sinner, who by nature stands afar off, is brought near to the heavenly Lawgiver whom he has offended, was scarcely ever spoken of, or spoken of in such a way as stripped Him of all the importance of His character and His offices, even at this time I certainly did press the reformations of honour, and truth, and integrity among my people: but I never once heard of any such reformations having been effected amongst them. If there was anything at all brought about in this way, it was more than ever I got any account of. I am not sensible that all the vehemence with which I urged the virtues and the proprieties of social life, had the weight of a feather on the moral habits of my parishioners. And it was not till I got impressed by the utter alienation of the heart in all its desires and affections from God; it was not till reconciliation to Him became the distinct and the prominent object of my ministerial exertions; it was not till I took the scriptural way of laying the method of reconciliation before them; it was not till the free offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged upon their acceptance, and the Holy Spirit given through the channel of Christ's mediatorship to all who ask Him was set before them as the unceasing object of their dependence and their prayers; in one word, it was not till the contemplations of my people were turned to these great and essential elements in the business of a soul providing for its interest with God and the concerns of its eternity, that I ever heard of any of those subordinate reformations which I aforetime made the earnest and the zealous, but I am afraid at the same time, the ultimate object of my earlier ministrations. Ye servants, whose scrupulous fidelity has now attracted the notice, and drawn forth in my hearing a delightful testimony from your masters, what mischief you would have done, had your zeal for doctrines and sacraments been accompanied by the sloth and the remissness, and what, in the prevailing tone of moral relaxation, is counted the allowable purloining of your earlier days! But a sense of your Heavenly Master's eye has brought another influence to bear upon you;

and while you are thus striving to adorn the doctrine of God your Saviour in all things, you may, poor as you are, reclaim the great ones of the land to the acknowledgment of the faith. You have at least taught me, that to preach Christ is the only effective way of preaching morality in all its branches: and out of your humble cottages have I gathered a lesson, which I pray God I may be enabled to carry with all its simplicity into a wider theatre, and to bring with all the power of its subduing efficacy upon the vices of a more crowded population."

CHAPTER XVII.

SEVEN LIVES SAVED BY MR. HONEY—HIS FUNERAL SERMON AT BENDOCHY—DEPUTATION FROM GLASGOW—THE CANVASS—DR. JONES'S LETTER—THE ELECTION—FAREWELL SERMON AT KILMANY.

One fearful winter day the intelligence circulated through St. Andrews that a vessel had been driven upon a sandbank in the bay to the eastward of the town. A crowd of sailors, citizens, and students, soon collected upon the beach; for the vessel had been cast ashore but a few hundred yards from the houses, and she lay so near, that though the heavy air was darkened by the driving sleet, they could see at intervals the figures of the crew clinging to rope or spar ere each breaker burst upon her side, and shrouded all in surfy mist and darkness. In a calm sea a few vigorous strokes would have carried a good swimmer to the vessel's side; but now the hardiest fisherman drew back, and dared not face the fearful surge. At last a student of divinity volunteered. Tying a rope round his waist and struggling through the surf, he threw himself among the waves. Forcing his slow way through the raging element, he was nearing the vessel's side, when his friends on shore, alarmed at the length of time and slow rate of recent progress, began to pull him back. Seizing a knife which he carried between his teeth, he cut this rope away, and reaching at last the stranded sloop, drew a fresh one from her to the shore: but hungry, weak, and wearied, after four days' foodless tossing through the tempest, not one of the crew had strength or courage left to use it. He again rushed into the waves; he boarded the vessel, he took them man by man, and bore them to the land. Six men were rescued thus. His seventh charge was a boy, so helpless that twice was the hold let go, and twice he had to dive after him into the deep. Meanwhile, in breathless stillness the crowd had watched each perilous passage, till the double figure was seen tossing landward through the spray. But when the deed was done, and the whole crew saved, a loud cheer of admiring triumph rose around the gallant youth.

This chivalrous action was performed by Mr. John Honey,

one of Mr. Chalmers's early and cherished college friends, afterwards ordained as minister of Bendochy, in Perthshire. Though his great strength and spirit bore him apparently untired through the efforts of that exhausting day, there was reason to believe that in saving the life of others he had sacrificed his own. The seeds of a deceitful malady were sown which afterwards proved fatal. Mr. Chalmers was asked, and consented to preach his funeral sermon on the 30th of October 1814, the Sabbath after his funeral. It was a brilliant autumn day. The number being too great to be accommodated in the church, one of its windows had been taken out, and a few boards thrown across the sill to form a platform, from which the preacher, while standing but a yard or two from Mr. Honey's grave, might be heard both by those within the building and those seated on the scattered tombstones of the churchyard. A hum in the crowd (I now speak on the authority and almost in the words of an eye-witness), and a melancholy tolling of the bell, announced the approach of the preacher, who seated himself for a minute or two in an old elbow-chair, took the psalm-book from a little table before him, turned hastily over a few of the leaves, and then rose in the most awkward and even helpless manner. Before he read the lines which were to be sung, his large and apparently leaden eyes were turned towards the recent grave, with a look wildly pathetic, fraught with intense and indescribable passion. The psalm was read with no very promising elocution; and while the whole mass of the people were singing it, he sunk into the chair, turned seemingly into a monumental statue of the coldest stone, so deadly pale was his large broad face and forehead. The text was read: Deut. xxxii. 29—"O that they were wise; that they understood this; that they would consider their latter end!" The doctrinal truth which he meant to inculcate being established on a basis of reasoning so firm that doubt could not move or sophistry shake it, he bounded at once upon the structure which he had reared; and by that inborn and unteachable power of the spirit, which nature has reserved for the chosen of her sons, and which shakes off all the disadvantages and encumbrances of figure and voice and language as easily as the steed shakes the thistle-down from his side, carried the hearts and the passions of all who heard him with irresistible and even tremendous sway. "It strikes me," said the preacher—and as the words were spoken there was a silence among the living almost as deep as that which reigned among the dead who lay

beneath—"It strikes me as the most impressive of all sentiments, that it will be all the same a hundred years after this. It is often uttered in the form of a proverb, and with the levity of a mind that is not aware of its importance. A hundred years after this! Good heavens! with what speed and with what certainty will those hundred years come to their termination. This day will draw to a close, and a number of days makes up one revolution of the seasons. Year follows year, and a number of years makes up a century. These little intervals of time accumulate and fill up that mighty space which appears to the fancy so big and so immeasurable. The hundred years will come, and they will see out the wreck of whole generations. Every living thing that now moves on the face of the earth will disappear from it. The infant that now hangs on his mother's bosom will only live in the remembrance of his grandchildren. The scene of life and of intelligence that is now before me will be changed into the dark and loathsome forms of corruption. The people who now hear me will cease to be spoken of; their memory will perish from the face of the country; their flesh will be devoured with worms; the dark and creeping things that live in the holes of the earth will feed upon their bodies; their coffins will have mouldered away, and their bones be thrown up in the new-made grave. And is this the consummation of all things? Is this the final end and issue of man? Is this the upshot of his busy history? Is there nothing beyond time and the grave to alleviate the gloomy picture, to chase away these dismal images? Must we sleep for ever in the dust, and bid an eternal adieu to the light of heaven?"*

"I have seen," adds our informant, "many scenes, and I have heard many eloquent men, but this I have never seen equalled, or even imitated. It was not learning, it was not art—it was the untaught and the unencumbered incantation of genius, the mightiest engine of which the world can boast."

One group of auditors, Mr. Robert Tennent, jun., and four other Glasgow citizens, took a peculiar interest in the services of this Sabbath-day. They came to Bendochy, as members of the Town-council of Glasgow, to hear Mr. Chalmers as one who had been named as a candidate for the Tron Church in that city, vacant at this time in consequence of its former minister, Dr. Macgill, having been appointed to the Chair of Theology. The canvass for this vacancy was at this time at its height, and a

* Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 83.

singular and unprecedented interest had been attached to it. Early in September Mr. John Tennent had written to his friend, Mr. David Pitcairn of Leith:—"As I know you are a lover of the truth, and wish its influence extended among your fellow-creatures, I have to request that you will aid in a plan which my friends and I have formed of bringing Mr. Chalmers of Kilmany to Glasgow. What I wish is, that you would get Mr. Bonar to write a strong letter to Mr. More in favour of Mr. Chalmers, stating what his character is, which has been much abused, and also requesting him to use his influence among his brother councillors to recommend him to the vacancy. . . . Write us as soon as you have done anything, and have laid the matter before your father and friends. . . . The cry to-day is that Chalmers is mad!" Mr. Pitcairn's father wrote instantly himself to Mr. More. "I have shown your father's letter," Mr. Tennent replied, "to several of our leading people, who are very much satisfied with it. Were a similar letter sent from Dr. Jones and Dr. Fleming, it would be useful. It would be desirable that Mr. Chalmers should preach some day soon for Dr. Balfour, which might be managed by their exchanging pulpits. I hope that your father or you will write me soon what Mr. Chalmers's own sentiments are as to coming here." Dr. Balfour, who at this time was on a visit to a family in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, had gone to Kilmany to hear Mr. Chalmers preach, and having made his acquaintance, had already written to Mr. Parker, an influential member of the Town-council:—"I am told, too, that Mr. Chalmers of Kilmany is talked of. I would not presume to give my opinion were he not more a stranger than the rest, and, as I am informed, spoken against by many. I never saw nor heard him till I came here, but report made him *great* and *good*. I went therefore to his parish-church with very high expectations indeed. They were not disappointed: his talents are of the first order, and now distinguished grace adorns them. He has long been known as a celebrated philosopher and scorner of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity; now, from conviction and with a warm heart, he preaches the faith which once he destroyed. I have had serious conversation with him, and am astonished at a man of such superior powers so modest and humble. He is indeed converted, and like a little child. I beg pardon for the freedom with which I have written, &c. &c. I am just quitting Mount Melville, and have not even time to read what I have written."

Dr. Jones of Edinburgh, who was visiting some friends in Fifeshire a week or two after Dr. Balfour had returned to Glasgow, stole his way unnoticed one Sabbath forenoon into Kilmany church, and having ensconced himself in a nook of the gallery stair, would have escaped observation, had not the politeness of an observing farmer dragged him reluctantly from his hiding-place. But his object was gained; he heard Mr. Chalmers preach one of his ordinary discourses* to his parishioners, and spent afterwards a few delightful days with him at the manse. On reaching Burntisland, on his way home, a letter from Mr. Robert Tennent was handed to him, which drew forth a reply, in which we scarcely know whether to admire most the quaint vivacity, the generous affection, or the fine and almost prophetic discrimination:—

"BURNTISLAND, *Sept.* 27, 1814.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 20th, requesting my opinion with respect to the character, ability, and fitness of Mr. Chalmers to supply the vacant church of Glasgow, owing to my having wandered from place to place for this fortnight past, I have received only yesterday, which will explain the cause of my not having answered it.

"Of the character of Mr. C. there is and can be but one opinion by all who know him. He possesses a most vigorous understanding, a sound judgment, richly furnished and governed by Divine truth; his sentiments are those which are usually called orthodox; his piety is unfeigned and deep; he has all the zeal of a new convert, directed and restrained by wisdom and prudence; his integrity is vast and inflexible, which has formed a most delicate sense of honour, awake to every word and action in matters small as well as great; he is kind, benevolent, generous, candid, and fair as the summer day, and has a hand ever open to every good work; he is active, industrious, and a great economist of time; he is clothed with that Christian humility that makes him simple, modest, unobtrusive in word and deed; but an hour's private conversation with him in retirement is a feast of piety and genius not to be bought, and very rarely to be attained in the commerce of life and friendship by any means. Of the ability of Mr. Chalmers there is little reason to say more than to appeal to his works, which bring forward a man of no

* The sermon which Dr. Jones heard on this occasion was from the text Jer. vi. 14—"They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace."—See Works, vol. viii. p. 332.

ordinary stature in literature and science, politics and divinity, which show a giant's mind, able to grasp and manage what is out of ordinary reach. In the pulpit his language is provincial and his manner unpolished; but there is a novelty and loftiness of thought, a sublimity of sentiment, a brilliance of imagination, a strength and point of expression, a power of eloquence, that not merely arrests, but lifts up and bears away the attention whersoever he wills. Of the fitness of Mr. Chalmers to supply the vacant church in Glasgow it is unnecessary to say a word. If the congregation of the Tron Church would wish for a man who would have the most earnest desire to promote their spiritual and eternal welfare—if they would wish for a man whose talents would do them and all Glasgow honour, I know of no man so capable of gratifying their wishes as Mr. Chalmers.

"I am aware, sir, that you may think what I have written proceeds from the extravagance of friendship and partiality. That I am the friend of Mr. Chalmers is to me a matter of exultation; that I should be partial to such a man is my undoubted duty; but that I have said one word more than I believe to be true, or that I have in the least exaggerated in anything I have written, I am not conscious, and can with confidence refer you to any fair man that may know him. I have written what I have written from no very strong desire that he should go to Glasgow, but because I think truth required, when I was requested to write, that I should say what I have said. The evidently merited and deservedly growing fame of Mr. Chalmers will undoubtedly make him desirable for every situation where is scope for supereminent talents, for uncommon genius, and solid piety.—I am, Sir, T. S. Jones."

In the meantime, Mr. Pitcairn had written to Mr. Chalmers, suggesting, that as he had never preached in Glasgow, he should make an early appearance in some pulpit, either in that city or in Edinburgh, in order to afford to the members of the Council or of the Tron Church congregation who desired it, an opportunity of hearing him. This suggestion was at once and decisively set aside. Nor was Mr. Tennent more successful in his endeavour to obtain beforehand from Mr. Chalmers some expression of his intention as to the acceptance of the presentation.

"Glasgow, *Nov.* 17, 1814.

"My dear Sir,—It was my intention to have written you

before this, but the uncertain state of matters, in relation to our prospects of success, prevented me. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, we have had a very hard battle to fight; what with the Duke of Montrose, Sir Islay Campbell, the College Interest, and the late and present Provost against us, we have had our hands quite full, and had to put forth all our might; but now that a fair prospect of success opens upon us, I think it proper to put you in possession of the information you required, and which I promised to obtain. Dr. Balfour, upon whom I waited for that purpose, and to whom I communicated the substance of your inquiries, desires me to say, that it is his opinion you can easily manage to preserve inviolate four-fifths of your days till one o'clock;—that, as to going into company, it is quite optional, and may be declined by you without giving offence. . . . Your friends—among whom the most active are Bailie Newbigging, Mr. Dennistoun, Mr. J. Wood, and the gentlemen* you saw at Perth—consider themselves certain of carrying their point, having eighteen (if no one flinch) out of thirty-one votes, and the only matter about which they are anxious is the state of your mind respecting the acceptance of the presentation. Upon this subject I hope you will enable me to give them that satisfaction they look for, and which (pardon me if the language is too strong) their hard and long-continued exertions merit. If ever there was a call in which the finger of Providence could be more distinctly observed than in another, *this* is that call.

"The persons who proposed you were connected neither with you nor your friends; it was your character which pointed you out to them. Your own relations† did not stir in the business till your friends had acquired both numbers and respectability; and the only object which animated your supporters was the ardent desire of bringing into Glasgow a minister who would preach the doctrines of the gospel in their native energy and simplicity. The congregation, to the number of 140 heads of families and 70 individuals, have petitioned the Magistrates and Council on your behalf, and eight out of ten who compose the Session, have subscribed that petition.‡ No undue influence, no bribery or corruption, has been practised by your friends; but . . . I have only further to remark, that in Glasgow you will

* Messrs. Heywood, Richardson, Roger, and Hood.

† Mr. John and Mr. Walter Wood, merchants in Glasgow.

‡ The most active promoters of this petition, which made a strong impression upon the minds of the Council, were Mr. Michael Muirhead, Mr. William Collins, Mr. John Urquhart, and Mr. John Smith.

have an opportunity of extending your usefulness to its utmost stretch, and have the advantage of ministering among a people whose previous high opinion of your character and talents will dispose them to listen with attention and respect to whatever you may advance. I hope you will excuse this hurried letter. Do me the favour to let me hear from you as early as possible, and believe me, my dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

ROBERT TENNENT, Jun."

"KILMANY MANSE, *Nov.* 21, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 17th, I only received yesterday. The gentlemen who have so kindly and so perseveringly supported me in this business merit everything from my hand that is consistent with principle. I am by no means insensible to the weight of discouragement which their uncertainty as to my acceptance of the call must hang upon their exertions; and I am sure that they must have looked upon my adherence to the ground which I set out with as a piece of very proud and unreasonable obstinacy. My situation is a peculiar one. It is new to me; and I have to crave your indulgence while I bring forward the following remarks upon it:—

"When I first heard of the Glasgow business, I resolved not to help it on by any step or declaration of mine. This much I consider as due to people whom I am attached to. This has a tendency to restrain my supporters in Glasgow; but so much the better for Kilmany—and I am pleased to do this piece of justice to my kind and simple and affectionate neighbours. If in spite of this reserve, the Town-council of Glasgow shall call me, I will take it up, and think of it, and pray over it, and view it in a far more impressive light than if any interference of mine had contributed the weight of a feather to such a result. To fetter myself with a promise previous to my appointment, compels me to accept of it; and upon what principle?—upon a principle of obligation to man. To keep myself uncommitted, is to leave room for the only principle upon which a call should be obeyed—the commitment of the cause to God, the openings of whose providence we are bound to pay respect to, and the good of whose Church should be our paramount consideration. But, you may think, cannot this commitment be made now? No; I will not consult God about my conduct in a particular situation, till He brings me into that situation. I will not decide upon my acceptance of any appointment till the appointment

is before me, for then, and not till then, will the reasons for and against have fully developed themselves. Suppose I had made a declaration in favour of Glasgow a month ago, I should have done so upon a partial view of the merits of the case; for I should have done so in the absence of a most earnest and affectionate petition presented to me by a parish who have taken the alarm, and who, when they tell me of their fears because they are of so little consequence in comparison of Glasgow, only bring down from me a greater degree of tenderness upon them. Or, suppose I had declared against Glasgow a week ago, I would have done so upon a partial view of the case; for I would have done so in the absence of your impressive letter, and of all the important information contained in it. Or, finally, should I declare either for or against Glasgow at this moment, I should still do it upon a partial view; for I should do it in the absence of a letter from Dr. Balfour, which you give me reason to expect will be forthcoming upon the official decision of the matter, and in which I look for the advice of a man venerated by me as a Christian father; and I should do it in the absence of all that information which I look for from a personal visit to Glasgow *after* my official appointment.

"You speak of the finger of Providence being observable in this call, and state some circumstances in proof of this; but the most impressive circumstance of all, I think, is the gaining a majority in the face of that discouragement which my silence and backwardness threw upon you. This gives a peculiar character of disinterested zeal to the whole proceeding, and I will do nothing at this time to destroy it. Had I said that the appointment would be personally agreeable to me, I would have conceived the support of my relations to be founded on a far less honourable principle than I am now entitled to ascribe it to. As it is, their support has been more creditable to them, and more gratifying to me. Such are the happy effects of my keeping myself quite aloof and unfettered in this affair; and I trust you will concede to me the right of bringing a free and uncommitted mind to this matter when it is brought to a final determination. I am quite sensible, at the same time, of what you say respecting the support I have experienced, resting mainly on friends who at the time were utterly unknown to me.

"I wish to make the question of Glasgow or Kilmany altogether a question of duty and usefulness. I am willing to set

it upon this principle; but in so doing, I must shake myself loose of all the delicacies and of all the tenderness which can be mustered up on either side of the question. Glasgow is a gainer, I believe, by this; for though I should not suffer my gratitude to my supporters there to restrain me from refusing it, should I see cause—this is surely more than made up by my saying, that should I see other causes, I will not be restrained from accepting it by all my affection for a people whom I love, and a neighbourhood I should be glad to grow old in.

"The secular employment laid upon your clergy to the degree mentioned by you, will not restrain me from accepting it. But I will not oblige myself to any portion of such employment, however small. I may find it prudent to take a share; but in its least degree, I count it a corrupt encroachment on the time and occupations of a minister: see Acts vi. 4. And I shall only add, that I know of instances where a clergyman has been called from the country to town for his talent at preaching; and when he got there, they so belaboured him with the drudgery of their institutions, that they smothered and extinguished the very talent for which they had adopted him. The purity and independence of the clerical office are not sufficiently respected in great towns. He comes among them a clergyman, and they make a mere churchwarden of him. I have much to say upon this subject; and I do not despair, if we shall have the felicity of living together, of obtaining your concurrence in this sentiment. It shall be my unceasing endeavour to get all this work shifted upon the laymen; and did I not hope to succeed in some measure, I would be induced to set my face against the whole arrangement at this moment. I shall only say of my own dear parishioners, that they have expressed their value for me on no other ground than pure ministerial services; and it is hard to leave such a people for another, who may not be satisfied unless I add to my own proper work a labour which does not belong to me.

"Give my friendliest remembrance to Messrs. Heywood, Richardson, Roger, and Hood. I am truly obliged to you for the great trouble and very important share you have taken in this matter.* I will at all times be happy to hear from you. I pray that God may overrule and direct in this weighty affair.

* Mr. Chalmers's attachment to Mr. Tennent was peculiarly strong, and he deeply lamented his death, which took place a few years after Mr. Chalmers's settlement in Glasgow.

—Believe me, with the truest regard and esteem, to be, yours very sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"Robert Tennent, junior, Esq."

"KILMANY MANSE, *Nov.* 22, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Since my letter of yesterday (which I fear will not reach you before you get this), I have to inform you that I took the liberty of showing your letter to the most active and intelligent promoter of the petition* taken notice of in my other letter. He had been bethinking himself a good deal of the subject before, and on reading yours he tells me that he cannot think of urging the prayer of that petition any longer, and is much impressed with the manly and disinterested stand which my supporters in Glasgow have made against such powerful opposition as you have met with. This is to me a very important circumstance, and worthy of being transmitted to you. The longer I wait I am the more satisfied with having been kept free of all engagements upon this subject, and having committed myself to the progress of events. In the one case I would have come in among you on the restraint of a hasty promise—in the other I bring a mind at liberty to decide on every circumstance as it occurs; and how delightful if, up to the final step of this affair, principle shall have been left to free and unfettered operation. Ah! my dear sir, there is nothing like leaving room to the evolutions of Providence in these matters, and it is wrong to anticipate them. If you do not disapprove of it, I shall show yours, after cutting away the single line about bribery, to some of the chief people in my parish. . . . I have to repeat my kindest compliments to your fellow-travellers.—I am, my dear Sir, yours with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"Robert Tennent, junior, Esq."

Notwithstanding the disadvantage to which they were thus exposed, and in spite of the most powerful opposition, the unprecedented exertions of those zealous Christian laymen, who desired to secure for themselves and their fellow-citizens an effective evangelical ministry, had prospered so far, that before the day of election arrived, it was known at Kilmany that Mr. Chalmers's appointment was almost certain. In prospect of such an issue, he sat down in the retirement of his study, and, for his own private guidance, thus balanced the arguments on either side:—

* Mr. Robert Edie.

GLASGOW.

1. Numbers. Cities had always a preference in the first ages of the Church.

2. An unsolicited call. I gave no encouragement while the thing was going on, on the principle of leaving it to Providence. When Providence has come forward with such a result, am I to be indifferent to it?

3. The blow which my refusal would give to the Christian party in Glasgow.

4. A warm Christian society to revive the deadness and barrenness of my own soul.

5. Stimulus to exertion and study.

6. Might do much good to my people here during the interval till my departure. The fact that Mr. Tait's people have gained since his leaving them is an important one.

7. A more congenial field—people more intellectual—feel the excitement which lies in the neighbourhood of a university.—(But, O my God, keep me from being tempted from the simplicity that is in Christ. May I never forget that the gospel is preached to the poor.) The societies which are in operation for the general interests of Christianity afford also a very congenial exercise of usefulness.

O my God, guide by Thy wisdom; and should I go to Glasgow, may I not forget the earnest petition I now offer for entire devotedness to the interest of Christ's kingdom. Extinguish all vanity. May neither the praise of man nor the fear of man prove a snare to me. O for a thorough establishment in Christ, for more ability as a minister of His testament. May I cultivate every opportunity of usefulness. May I grow in love to souls. May my delight be with the sons of men as an instrument in Thy hand for their good. Hear me, hear me, Almighty Father! and committing this work to Thee, do Thou, O Lord, establish my thoughts, for Christ's sake.—Amen.

KILMANY.

1. Present situation; but moving from place to place was the general practice of the first preachers.

2. Earnest petition. But one argument of the petition was the good I did by my school. Now, previous to that petition the children had very much ceased to come; and even after, there were only the children of ten families whose heads had signed that petition that attended.

3. Undivided time for study. But I am told that two hours a day would do the secular business of Glasgow. And, in point of fact, I have languished out many hours here for the want of stimulus. Pardon me, O God, and may a sense of Thy glory stimulate me in all time coming.

4. Should I stay here, the call might give an impulse both to me and my people, though No. 2 militates against the chance of the latter impulse.

O my God, be with my people. May love to them and their souls mingle in all my deliberations. I feel my want of compassion for the souls of men. Give me to grow, O Lord, in the benevolence of faith. May I resemble Christ in His pity for souls.

Should I go to Glasgow, I desire to give a single and entire energy to my people here while I labour amongst them. O Lord, direct me to such plans as Thou wilt bless for the conversion and building up of many souls. May all my things be done with charity. Relieve me from the ignoble feeling of shame because of the testimony of Christ. Thy blessing and Thy Spirit, O Lord, be on this parish and neighbourhood. O that a day of power and of refreshing were to come amongst them. May there be no room to receive it; may it flow over into other parishes. I implore Thy Spirit in behalf of this county. O may its ministers be turned to the Lord. O send them pastors according to Thine own heart. I again pray for the increase of Christ's flock among my own people. Stay not Thine arm, O God; make it bare. Come forth in the might of Thy all-subduing Spirit, and reveal Christ in many hearts, for His sake.—Amen.

The election took place on the 25th of November. An express from Glasgow, which arrived at Kilmany on the evening of the following day, informed Mr. Chalmers of the result, and the next post from Edinburgh brought the following letter from Dr. Jones:—

"EDINBURGH, *Saturday, Nov.* 26, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have this instant received the accounts from Glasgow that the battle, the great battle, has been fought,

and the victory won. For Chalmers, fifteen; for M'Farlan,* ten; for Maclean, four, and one *non liquet*. Heaven and earth, and all the principalities and powers in high places, have been moved;—from the great officers of State at St. James's, and the Court of aldermen in King Street, and the Crown lawyers in Edinburgh, down to the little female picts, who were taught to squall what they did not understand, 'No fanatics! No Balfourites! Rationalists for ever!' No small stir, I'll assure you, has been in that city, and no such stir has been there since the days of John Knox, it is said, about the choice of a minister. And, oh! *miserabile dictu*, tell it not in St. Andrews! the fanatics have prevailed, and prevailed against one of the most numerous and well-appointed armies which ever took the field on such an occasion. The order of the battle was this:—In the centre of the enemy was the Lord Provost, who commanded the main corps, and which being thought rather weak, as the centre of their opponents was very strong, they strengthened it with the London Guildhall allies, headed by Sir James Shaw. On the right was the Duke of Montrose and the heavy horse, and on the left the Lord Advocate and the light horse. In front were some clerical skirmishers, headed by Principal Dolt, who threw rockets and firebrands, and said, 'Much learning and religion has made Chalmers mad.' Much was expected from this weapon, but it was rendered quite useless by the opposing remark, 'That it came well from him, as it was notorious to every one that his head was not in the least danger.' These being driven in, confident in their strength, the main body of the opponents came down in full force, made one charge and went right through the enemy, and so completely defeated them, that in half an hour not two of them were to be seen together; and no sooner had the news reached the town on the afternoon of Friday the 25th of November, than all the town was in an uproar of joy, says my informant, 'Kirkmen, Burghers, Antiburghers, Independents, and Baptists, all joining in one shout of exultation.' The news has had little less effect, I assure you, in this city. Every one meets or runs to his friend, through a most heavy rain, to say, 'Oh! have you heard the good news, Mr. Chalmers is elected to the Tron Kirk of Glasgow!'

"Having indulged in a little levity at the expense of the adversary, I will be serious.

"I sincerely congratulate you, my dear sir, on your election

* The Rev. Dr. M'Farlan, then of Drymen.

to Glasgow, an event in which you have had no concern, but, as became you, were completely passive. But now matters have taken another shape, and present another front. There is, I think there can be, but one opinion, that the matter is from God, and the call, in course of the progress of the event, shows it to be from Heaven, and therefore you have nothing to do but thankfully to accept. A great and effectual door is opened to you to publish the glad tidings of peace; it only remains that you enter in. May you do so in all the fulness of the gospel of our Lord, and long, very long, may you be useful, very useful, and very happy. The only drawback is the little prospect of a good successor to Kilmany; but this is completely counterbalanced, or rather, greatly outweighed by the similar circumstances at Glasgow, should you not accept; but the not accepting, I think, now ought not once to be thought of.

"Shall we see you in town this winter? Will you make me glad by coming to my house and pulpit? The Glasgow folks want you before their sacrament in April. Sad work went on, it seems, the last week or two, . . . Robert Tennent and his brother have been indefatigable. Best compliments to Mrs. C. and Ann, and I am affectionately and respectfully, your friend and brother,

T. S. Jones."

Both before and after his election, letters regarding his proposed translation poured in upon Mr. Chalmers. "I got," he wrote to Anstruther, "about forty letters from various quarters on the subject of Glasgow. I think the perusal of them would afford both entertainment and satisfaction to you and my father. Had I a right opportunity, I would willingly send them to you, on condition of their being safely returned to me. They will lay before my father the reasons which made me conceive it my duty to obey an appointment I had no hand in." The raciest of all these forty letters took a very different view of the matter from that given in the communications of Dr. Love and Dr. Balfour, Dr. Fleming and Dr. Jones. It came from his eldest brother, James, of whom Mr. Chalmers always spoke as the cleverest of his family, and who had long used towards him the privilege which a seniority of many years bestowed.

"London, *November* 26, 1814.

"Dear Thomas,—I am much concerned to learn that the allurements of the perishable mammon are likely soon to have an

effect upon you, and make you resign all your earthly comforts and domestic quiet; but I still hope that you will look before you leap, and think better of the business before you accept of any nonsense that may be offered. A situation of an additional £100 a year may perhaps be held out to you, but you should take into the account how far that situation may expose you to expenses exceeding the addition of income which it renders, what company and connexions it may lead you into, how far it may encroach upon the time which you have hitherto allotted for study, or devoted to the pleasures and endearments of domestic life, what effect the sudden change from a quiet country life to the din and bustle of the great city is likely to have upon you, and how far you think you can relish the formal and empty ceremonious *fal lal* of refinement when compared to the honest but humble society to which you have been accustomed at Kilmany. Besides, Kilmany is the place where you began your career. The Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Kilmany is known; his fame is far spread, his character is respected, his reputation established, and his abilities acknowledged and admired. But the Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Glasgow is another person; he has to begin the world afresh; and there is no doubt but he will be considered in the literary as well as religious world as a very different man from his Reverence of Kilmany. Shining abilities are naturally looked for and expected to be met with at the seat of learning, and of course are not estimated so highly as when they proceed from humble life. Think of all these things, and consider also how greatly it will add to your character, that instance of self-denial which your refusal of the offer will not fail to impress on the minds of all who know you and have heard of you. Keep fast by what you have got, and be contented still to remain the minister of Kilmany, and leave Glasgow to those hunters after the world and vain-glory who may be disposed to throw themselves in its way. Never you mind the call of the Lord, as it is called, but think of . . . Excuse all I have said on this subject. I have no other view than your own happiness; for I am convinced that if you do accept of this offer, you sacrifice your comfort and happiness for ever. You will have no time for study; you will be deprived of all the comforts of a home, for you will be continually carried down a current of formal visits and complementary calls, and invitations, and *botherations* of all sorts. Let Zachariah Boyd look somewhere else for an interpreter of his works, and not insult Kilmany with any such application. I

hope to hear from you before long, and I trust your letter will inform me that you have declined the offer, both on your own account, and on account of the Anstruther folks, who would be much hurt at your leaving the neighbourhood. I beg you to write soon, and I remain, dear Thomas, your affectionate brother, JAMES CHALMERS."

"KILMANY MANSE, *Dec.* 21, 1814.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—I had not resolved on an acceptance at the time of your letter's arrival, and yet, in spite of it, I have resolved to go to Glasgow. Your letter, however, will not be without its use. My wife and I have agreed to take it along with us, and to consult it occasionally. We trust we are prepared for all the invasions upon our peace and independence, which you have described with so vigorous a hand; and which, if submitted to, we are quite sensible would be a source of annoyance and misery to us all our days. Be assured, that my eyes are quite open to this source of vexation, and my feelings quite alive to all the bitterness of it. There is not one sentiment I join with you more cordially in, than an utter detestation of all the heartless splendour and ceremony of fashionable life; and I trust that my wife will never suffer herself to be so far seduced by the example of female acquaintances and advisers and managers, as to step down from the dignified simplicity of a minister's fireside, and mingle in all the extravagances of parties and second courses, and splendid drawing-rooms, and the whole tribe of similar abominations.

"Thus far can we go along with one another, but, I am afraid, no further. Glasgow is not a better situation in point of emolument. It is greatly more laborious; and I will have to maintain a constant struggle with the difficulties you insist upon. Yet I think it my duty to go; but were I to unfold all the motives to you, I fear, from the strain of your two last letters, that you would positively not understand me. I do not pretend any call of Providence in the shape of a vision or a voice; yet surely, if Providence overrule all events—if the appointment in question is an event I had no hand in—if, during the whole progress of the steps which led to it, I cautiously abstained from giving any encouragement to the electors—would not tell them whether I would take it or turn from it, but left it a question quite undecided till Providence brought it to my door; then, if there is no intimation of the will of Providence here, it must follow either

that events afford no interpretation of that will, or (what, I fear, falls in with the practical atheism of many) God has no share in the matter at all; He is deposed from His sovereignty, and the solemn assertion, that not a sparrow falleth to the ground without His appointment, is a nullity and a falsehood. I do not say that this argument should supersede others, but it ought to have a place and a reality in every Christian deliberation.

"Compliments to all. Mrs. C. joins in them. Write me soon. —Yours, with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The two chief obstacles to Mr. Chalmers's removal from Kilmany were his fears as to the amount of extra and unprofessional labour which was laid upon the clergymen of Glasgow, and his regrets at leaving a people and neighbourhood to which he was very tenderly attached. An explanatory letter from Dr. Balfour helped to remove the one; it cost acute and long-continued suffering to remove the other. Looking to the hills which bounded his peaceful valley, and waving his staff to them as if in mournful farewell, he said to a friend who was walking by his side, "Ah, my dear sir, my heart is wedded to these hills!" Coming back to his old parish, more than twenty years after he had left it, he exclaimed, "Oh! there was more tearing of the heart-strings at leaving the valley of Kilmany than at leaving all my great parish at Glasgow." But the following brief entries in his Journal tell most impressively what a wrench to his affections this removal gave:—

"*Nov.* 26.—Got this night intimation of my election to Glasgow, and feel myself established in my ideas respecting it.

"*Nov.* 30.—Received a most handsome letter from Mr. Gillespie, and it has thrown me into a flood of tenderness.

"*Dec.* 2.—Still confined. My tenderness has risen to all the agony of a passion.

"*Dec.* 3.—Mr. Duncan came from Dundee, and was of great use to me.*

"*Sunday, Dec.* 4.—Preached to my people on my removal.

"*Dec.* 5.—I have sent off some queries, previous to my final answer.

"*Dec.* 6.—I am in great heaviness.

* "I can never forget the letter which he wrote me, on one of these occasions, inviting me to come over to Kilmany, in order that, when he was like to be overcome, he might be 'supported by the cold immobility of my countenance.'"—Letter from Professor Duncan.

"*Dec.* 8.—I am much absorbed.

"*Dec.* 9.—In great suspense about not getting my answer from Glasgow.

"*Dec.* 10.—Got a satisfying answer from Dr. Balfour, and have sent off my letter of concurrence to the Glasgow Magistrates.

"*Dec.* 14.—Visited at Rathillet. In great heaviness about leaving my parish. Received a very kind letter from Lord Leven.

"*Dec.* 15.—Visited at ——. Called at Lochmalony.—O that this disruption from all present attachments could be converted to a lesson of sitting loosely to the things of time.

"*Dec.* 30.—Have received a most cordial letter from the Session of the Tron Church, Glasgow.—O God, keep me from vanity.

"*Jan.* 1, 1815.—Preached as usual to a very crowded auditory. I am not sufficiently carried out to a compassion for the souls of men.—Teach and enable me, O Lord, to minister that which may be to the use of edifying. O direct me powerfully to the good of my parish.

"*Sunday, Jan.* 8.—Preached as usual. Let me henceforth cultivate it as a high point of duty to prepare for Kilmany, and not for Glasgow, and give my time and my prayer to the present occasion.

"*Jan.* 13.—Had diets of visitation at Hawkhill and East Kinneir. My tenderness opens afresh at this last great parochial exercise of duty.

"*Jan.* 15.—Began to throw off a supplementary address to my regular sermons—a practice which I mean to persevere in every Saturday evening, as I find that upon the urgency of such an occasion I am often more impressive in my calls upon the conscience.

"*May* 12.—Had a visitation at Starbank and Star. Still in great tenderness, but better and more cheerful at night.—O God, be Thou my stay and my rest, and my continual habitation. I look at Glasgow as a wilderness.—O my God, be not Thou a wilderness unto me.

"*May* 13.—Finished off my girls' school. God supports me wondrously. Wrote at my lecture. A round of visits to the westward.

"*Sunday, May* 14.—Preached as usual. A great crowd.—O my God, sustain me against tenderness. Bless my ministrations. Advance the power and life of religion in my own heart.

"*May* 27.—Have been seized with a most petrifying chill on Mr. M. saying that my duty is to keep off from Kilmany, and give myself entirely to my new parish. This would be an awful surrender indeed of my attachment; but, O God, turn me from self to Thee at all times."

For some Sabbaths previous to the departure from Kilmany, the attendance at church was so numerous, that one of the large windows beside the pulpit was taken out, that Mr. Chalmers might address at once the in-door and out-door congregation. The great crowd of strangers which had assembled deprived, to some extent, his closing Sabbath (July 9, 1815) of the character which he would have liked it so much to wear—that of a parting of affectionate friends. There were few, however, even among the strangers, who did not share in the emotions of the occasion, and the hearts of his own people were dissolved in tenderness, as these farewell words fell upon their ear:—

"Choose Christ, then, my brethren, choose Him as the Captain of your salvation. Let Him enter into your hearts by faith, and let Him dwell continually there. Cultivate a daily intercourse and a growing acquaintance with Him. Oh, you are in safe company, indeed, when your fellowship is with Him! The shield of His protecting mediatorship is ever between you and the justice of God; and out of His fulness there goeth a constant stream, to nourish, and to animate, and to strengthen every believer. Why should the shifting of human instruments so oppress and so discourage you, when He is your willing friend; when He is ever present, and is at all times in readiness; when He, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, is to be met with in every place; and while his disciples here, giving way to the power of sight, are sorrowful, and in great heaviness, because they are to move at a distance from one another, He, my brethren, He has His eye upon all neighbourhoods and all countries, and will at length gather His disciples into one eternal family! With such a Master, let us quit ourselves like men. With the magnificence of eternity before us, let time, with all its fluctuations, dwindle into its own littleness. If God is pleased to spare me, I trust I shall often meet with you in person, even on this side of the grave; but if not, let us often meet in prayer at the mercy-seat of God. While we occupy different places on earth, let our mutual intercessions for each other go to one place in

heaven. Let the Saviour put our supplications into one censer; and be assured, my brethren, that after the dear and the much loved scenery of this peaceful vale has disappeared from my eye, the people who live in it shall retain a warm and an ever-during place in my memory;—and this mortal body must be stretched on the bed of death, ere the heart which now animates it can resign its exercise of longing after you, and praying for you that you may so receive Christ Jesus, and so walk in Him, and so hold fast the things you have gotten, and so prove that the labour I have had amongst you has not been in vain, that when the sound of the last trumpet awakens us, these eyes, which are now bathed in tears, may open upon a scene of eternal blessedness, and we, my brethren, whom the providence of God has withdrawn for a little while from one another, may on that day be found side by side at the right hand of the everlasting throne."

CHAPTER XVIII.

FIRST SERMON IN GLASGOW—APPEARANCE AND MANNER IN THE PULPIT—EXTRACT FROM PETER'S LETTERS TO HIS KINSFOLK—HIS ALARM AS TO THIS VISIT—HIS ACCOUNT OF IT WHEN OVER—ADMISSION AND INTRODUCTION AS MINISTER OF THE TRON CHURCH—SORROWFUL REMEMBRANCES OF KILMANY—VISIT TO BURNTISLAND AND KIRKCALDY—ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF KILMANY—EFFECT OF MRS. CHALMERS'S RETURN WITH HIM TO GLASGOW—SIGHT OF NORMANLAW FROM THE CALTON HILL—LETTERS TO MR. EDIE AND TO MRS. MORTON—DESCRIPTION OF GLASGOW ANNOYANCES.

The first sermon which Mr. Chalmers preached in Glasgow was delivered before the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, on Thursday the 30th day of March 1815, a few months after his appointment, and a few months previous to his admission as minister of the Tron Church. The recent excitement of the canvass, the rumours strange and various, which crossing the breadth of Scotland were circulating in all quarters through the city, the quickened curiosity of opponents, the large but somewhat tremulous expectation of friends, drew together a vast multitude to hear him. Among the crowd which filled the Church was a young Oxford student, himself the son of a Scottish minister, who had been surprised by hearing Mr. Chalmers's work on the Evidences of Christianity mentioned with high approval, within the walls of an English University, shortly after the date of its publication. The keen dark eye of the youthful auditor fixed itself in searching scrutiny upon the preacher, and a few years later his graceful and graphic pen drew the following sketch:—

"I was a good deal surprised and perplexed with the first glimpse I obtained of his countenance, for the light that streamed faintly upon it for the moment did not reveal anything like that general outline of feature and visage for which my fancy had, by some strange working of presentiment, prepared me. By and bye, however, the light became stronger, and I was enabled to study the minutiæ of his face pretty leisurely, while he leaned forward and read aloud the words of the Psalm, for that is always done in Scotland, not by the clerk, but the clergyman

himself. At first sight, no doubt, his face is a coarse one, but a mysterious kind of meaning breathes from every part of it, that such as have eyes to see cannot be long without discovering. It is very pale, and the large half-closed eyelids have a certain drooping melancholy weight about them, which interested me very much, I understood not why. The lips, too, are singularly pensive in their mode of falling down at the sides, although there is no want of richness and vigour in their central fulness of curve. The upper lip, from the nose downwards, is separated by a very deep line, which gives a sort of leonine firmness of expression to all the lower part of the face. The cheeks are square and strong, in texture like pieces of marble, with the cheek-bones very broad and prominent. The eyes themselves are light in colour, and have a strange dreamy heaviness, that conveys any idea rather than that of dulness, but which contrasts in a wonderful manner with the dazzling watery glare they exhibit when expanded in their sockets, and illuminated into all their flame and fervour in some moment of high entranced enthusiasm. But the shape of the forehead is, perhaps, the most singular part of the whole visage; and, indeed, it presents a mixture so very singular, of forms commonly exhibited only in the widest separation, that it is no wonder I should have required some little time to comprehend the meaning of it. In the first place, it is without exception the most marked mathematical forehead I ever met with—being far wider across the eyebrows than either Mr. Playfair's or Mr. Leslie's—and having the eyebrows themselves lifted up at their exterior ends quite out of the usual line, a peculiarity which Spurzheim had remarked in the countenances of almost all the great mathematical or calculating geniuses—such, for example, if I rightly remember, as Sir Isaac Newton himself, Kaestener, Euler, and many others. Immediately above the extraordinary breadth of this region, which, in the heads of most mathematical persons, is surmounted by no fine points of organization whatever, immediately above this, in the forehead, there is an arch of imagination, carrying out the summit boldly and roundly, in a style to which the heads of very few poets present anything comparable, while over this again there is a grand apex of high and solemn veneration and love, such as might have graced the bust of Plato himself, and such as in living men I had never beheld equalled in any but the majestic head of Canova. The whole is edged with a few crisp dark locks, which stand forth boldly, and afford a fine re-

lief to the deathlike paleness of those massive temples. . . . Of all human compositions there is none surely which loses so much as a sermon does when it is made to address itself to the eye of a solitary student in his closet and not to the thrilling ears of a mighty mingled congregation, through the very voice which nature has enriched with notes more expressive than words can ever be of the meanings and feelings of its author. Neither, perhaps, did the world ever possess any orator whose minutest peculiarities of gesture and voice have more power in increasing the effect of what he says—whose delivery, in other words, is the first, and the second, and the third excellence of his oratory—more truly than is that of Dr. Chalmers. And yet were the spirit of the man less gifted than it is, there is no question these, his lesser peculiarities, would never have been numbered among his points of excellence. His voice is neither strong nor melodious, his gestures are neither easy nor graceful; but, on the contrary, extremely rude and awkward; his pronunciation is not only broadly national, but broadly provincial, distorting almost every word he utters into some barbarous novelty, which, had his hearer leisure to think of such things, might be productive of an effect at once ludicrous and offensive in a singular degree. But of a truth, these are things which no listener can attend to while this great preacher stands before him armed with all the weapons of the most commanding eloquence, and swaying all around him with its imperial rule. At first, indeed, there is nothing to make one suspect what riches are in store. He commences in a low drawling key, which has not even the merit of being solemn, and advances from sentence to sentence, and from paragraph to paragraph, while you seek in vain to catch a single echo that gives promise of that which is to come. There is, on the contrary, an appearance of constraint about him that affects and distresses you. You are afraid that his breast is weak, and that even the slight exertion he makes may be too much for it. But then, with what tenfold richness does this dim preliminary curtain make the glories of his eloquence to shine forth, when the heated spirit at length shakes from it its chill confining fetters, and bursts out elate and rejoicing in the full splendour of its disimprisoned wings. . . . I have heard many men deliver sermons far better arranged in regard to argument, and have heard very many deliver sermons far more uniform in elegance both of conception and of style; but most unquestionably, I have never heard, either in England or Scotland, or in any other

country, any preacher whose eloquence is capable of producing an effect so strong and irresistible as his." *

Mr. Chalmers's first sermon at Glasgow was chiefly occupied with the enforcement and illustration of principles applicable alike to all forms and varieties of Christian charity.† It contained in embryo his whole theory as to the proper treatment of pauperism, and is remarkable thus as indicating how firmly established in his mind that theory had become even before his labours as a city clergyman had commenced. But that particular institution whose claims he had undertaken to advocate was not forgotten; and in making an appeal to his hearers on behalf of the orphan children of clergymen, the following picture of the breaking up of a minister's family was presented:—"When the sons and the daughters of clergymen are left to go, they know not whither, from the peacefulness of their father's dwelling, never were poor outcasts less prepared by the education and the habits of former years, for the scowl of an unpitying world; nor can I figure a drearier and more affecting contrast than that which obtains between the blissful security of their earlier days, and the dark and unshielded condition to which the hand of Providence has now brought them. It is not necessary, for the purpose of awakening your sensibilities on this subject, to dwell upon every one circumstance of distress which enters into the sufferings of this bereaved family; or to tell you of the many friends they must abandon, and the many charms of that peaceful neighbourhood which they must quit for ever. But when they look abroad, and survey the innumerable beauties which the God of nature has scattered so profusely around them—when they see the sun throwing its unclouded splendours over the whole neighbourhood—when, on the fair side of the year, they behold the smiling aspect of the country, and at every footstep they take, some flower appear in its loveliness, or some bird offers its melody to delight them—when they see quietness on all the hills, and every field glowing in the pride and luxury of vegetation—when they see summer throwing its rich garment over this goodly scene of magnificence and glory, and think, in the bitterness of their souls, that this is the last summer which they shall ever witness, smiling on that scene which all the ties of habit and of affection have endeared to them—when this thought, melancholy as it is, is lost and overborne in the far

* "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk," 2d edition, vol. iii. pp. 267-273.
† See Works, vol. xi. pp. 389 425.

darker melancholy of a father torn from their embrace, and a helpless family left to find their way unprotected and alone through the lowering futurity of this earthly pilgrimage, Do you wonder that their feeling hearts should be ready to lose hold of the promise, that He who decks the lily fair in flowery pride, will guide them in safety through the world, and at last raise all who believe in Him to the bloom and the vigour of immortality? The flowers of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin, yet your Heavenly Father careth for them—and how much more careth He for you, O ye of little faith." One who heard this passage delivered,* has told us, that "the tears of the *father* and preacher fell like rain-drops on the manuscript." And from many another eye besides that of the preacher the soft waters of sensibility were seen to flow.

Before leaving Fifeshire to preach in Glasgow upon this occasion, Mr. Chalmers had written to his friend Mr. Tennent :—"I feel greatly comforted by your assuring me of the friendship of my future people, and their desire to make me happy. In this case, they must not overwhelm me by their attentions. I shrink from the fatiguing intercourse of dinners and large companies. I have got as much of this proposed to me for the four days I am to spend with you as would serve me for four weeks. This is all very natural and very kind; but you, my dear sir, will know how to explain it if I shall find it necessary to study as gradual a transition as possible from the happy coolness and peacefulness of my present situation." And on returning to Kilmany, Mr. Chalmers wrote to his sister, Mrs. Morton :—"Since writing you last, I have been in Glasgow, and preached to them, and spent four days with them, and have been carried through such a round of introductions, and seen such a number of people, that it is impossible for me to remember one-fourth part of them, and far less to have got so near any one of them, as to give you a particular account of him. All I shall say on that subject is, that Dr. Macgill, my predecessor, and now Professor of Divinity, appears to be a very interesting personage. The time of my removal is yet uncertain." The day of his admission to his new charge was at length fixed to be on Friday the 21st day of July. It is the Scottish custom that on the Sabbath which follows his ordination or admission, the new minister should be introduced to his people by a friend, who conducts the forenoon service. It had been suggested to him that the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff of

* The Very Rev. E. B. Ramsay in his "Biographical Notice of Dr. Chalmers."

Edinburgh should, in this instance, be requested to undertake that duty; and as his personal acquaintance with that eminent clergyman appeared to Mr. Chalmers too limited to justify a personal application, Dr. Balfour conveyed the request. So soon as he heard of its being complied with, Mr. Chalmers hastened to express his gratitude:—"It is with the utmost pleasure that I am given to understand, by Dr. Balfour, that you have consented to introduce me to my new charge in Glasgow. I fear you will think me very impudent and presuming in having ventured to propose a favour of such magnitude, nor could I ever have thought of taking such a liberty had it not been suggested to me by a clerical friend, in whose friendship and wisdom and tact I have the utmost confidence, and whose intimacy with yourself gave me the security that there was nothing improper in submitting to you such a proposition. Be assured of my utmost gratitude for your compliance; and I have only to regret that, from my state of health, which does not admit of very frequent or severe exertions in the way of preaching, I may not be able to repay your kind service to the extent to which I consider it entitled. Your countenance on an occasion so interesting to myself will, I trust, never be forgotten by me, and it goes far to soothe my transition to the new field of labour which Providence has assigned me, when I observe so much done to secure me a respectable outset." On Thursday, the 13th day of July, the manse of Kilmany was finally forsaken. His last days in Fifeshire were given to his parents; and leaving his family at Anstruther, Mr. Chalmers proceeded, by way of Edinburgh, to Glasgow, where, on the very day of his arrival, the first of those journal-letters was commenced, which afterwards, when separated for any length of time from Mrs. Chalmers, he so faithfully continued, and out of which our future pages will be so frequently and liberally enriched.

"*Glasgow, July* 20, 1815.—I breakfasted this morning in Edinburgh with Mr. Payne, an Independent clergyman, and got forward in the coach with Mr. Paul, your visitor, and Mr. Fletcher of the London Missionary Society: was conducted to my lodgings almost immediately by Mr. John Wood. They consist of a dining-room and bedroom, perhaps not so stylish as I could have wished, but in a high, airy situation, as fresh and pure as Kilmany itself, with no other substantial drawback than that another room cannot be got in the same house, and that the

landlady, with every disposition to oblige me and make me comfortable, has a quantity and volubility of talk upon every subject, which is a little annoying. . . . *Friday* 21*st*, *eleven o'clock*.—Breakfasted in my own room, pleasantly and comfortably. I thank God that He makes me feel so tranquil; but, O what alienation from Him have I to struggle with in this scene of visible and temporal allurement! Called on Dr. Balfour, and there met Sir Henry Moncreiff. The town is very thin at present; but a number of people have come from the country to be present at this occasion. . . . *Four o'clock*.—I have got the admission over. It was a pretty formidable thing. There were three chairs put in the middle passage before the pulpit. I was placed in the middle one, and Sir Henry Moncreiff and Dr. Adamson on each side of me. I had to stand during a pretty long address. In coming out I stood at the door, and had to shake hands with the people. An immense number I had to do this with—and sometimes I got three hands in my *loof* at once. Mr. Melvil is now with me. We sit down to dinner at five; and as Mr. Melvil is waiting, and I fear I may not have time to write any for the post after dinner, I shall conclude. May God pour His best blessings upon you and my dear little Anne. Tell Isabel that I am sorry if I hurt her feelings on the morning of my departure, and hope she will mind my wishes and forget the eagerness with which I expressed them. Compliments to all my dear friends at Anster. Do write me soon."

"*Glasgow*, *July* 26, 1815.—I beg that you would write me frequently; for though here I am surrounded with attentions, yet I have met with nothing that can at all replace the objects I have abandoned. . . . I have gathered thus much, at least, from the present state of my feelings, that you are my most valuable and necessary companion, and truly a help meet for me. May God spare you and our little one. May He bring us soon together in health and in safety; and O that He would possess our hearts with one principle and one sympathy on the greatest and most deeply interesting of subjects.

"On Sunday Sir Henry Moncreiff preached an hour and twenty minutes in the forenoon—I preached an hour and a quarter. The crowd was immense. Mr. Simeon of Cambridge was one of my hearers, and afterwards met with me. He is a most delightful man. I got twenty-two calls on Monday, eighteen on Tuesday, and to-day I missed a number from being out. . . . May the God of all mercy bless you and my dear Anne with all that is precious."

"*Glasgow, August* 4, 1815.—I have not yet collected sufficient materials for filling up a letter, but I now write under the impulse of the recollection that this is our marriage-day. Nor can I refrain from expressing not merely my ardent and unabated affection for you—an affection which I can assure you has suffered no decay, but is fresher and livelier and more determined than ever; but I also write to express my gratitude for your unwearied anxiety for all that could conduce to my comfort—an anxiety which you have ever kept up under all my perverseness, and all my peculiarities of habit and of temper, and all the annoyances I have given you, and all the wilfulness with which I have adhered to my own taste and my own inclination, unmindful as I have often been of your feelings, and ever disposed to make my way take the precedence of your way. May God long preserve you a comfort to me. May He touch our hearts with a united sentiment of fear to Him and faith in the Lord Jesus, that we may live as fellow-travellers to one eternal home, and dying unto the world, may feel our affections more and more placed upon eternity. Oh! my dear G., cherish in your heart the obligation we both owe to her who is the dear pledge of our love to one another. Let us qualify ourselves to be her example and her teachers. Never give up the habit of praying for her and for one another; and remember that you cannot begin too early to protect her from the mistaken indulgence of friends and the evil influences of a world lying in wickedness. . . . Do write me immediately. Give my kindest affections to my father, mother, and family,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Mr. Chalmers's eye was too single to be blinded by that blaze of unparalleled popularity which at the very commencement of his ministry broke around him at Glasgow. His earlier affections were too strong and too tender to be overborne or obliterated by the flattering adulations of crowding multitudes of strangers. Often in the midst of the most animating bustle, himself the central object of all kinds of public attention, he stood with drooping eyelid and dreamy look, lost to all around, his imagination wandering over the homesteads of Kilmany, his heart holding intercourse with the dear friends he had left behind in Fifeshire. About a fortnight after his settlement he wrote to Mr. Robert Edie:—

"*Glasgow, August* 10, 1815.—I have not heard from Kil-

many since I came here. . . . I cannot yet bring myself to think of my old neighbourhood without pain, and the whole parting scene passes before me in the form of a very gloomy and oppressive recollection. I see that it will require great arrangement to secure me the right command of time for my studies. I am striving to keep my day from being broken in upon till twelve o'clock, and then callers, and poor, and people of all descriptions, come in upon me at the rate say of twenty per day. I then go out to meetings and visits in the town, and endeavour always to have an hour's walk in the country before dinner. I am sadly teased with invitations, but this too I am striving to reduce to some kind of moderation; and I hope that in the process of time I shall be able to accommodate myself pleasantly and serenely to the state of my actual circumstances.

"I mean to leave Glasgow on Monday the 28th of August, and spend a fortnight between Kirkcaldy and Burntisland at sea-bathing. I would willingly come to Kilmany, but I know the effect would be just another gloomy scene of regret and melancholy at leaving it. This, I trust, will not operate as an objection to the more deliberate visit which I propose to pay next summer; but at present the wound is too fresh and too recent to admit of being so soon tampered with.

"It gave me great pleasure to meet Alexander Paterson after I left you, who cheered me with encouraging information respecting some of his acquaintances in the parish. O that it might turn out to be a genuine work of the Spirit of God upon their consciences! I have earnestly to entreat of you that you hold fast all right and serious impressions: and be assured that there would not have been so much said in the Bible about backsliding, and taking heed lest we fall, and strengthening the things which remain, had there not been a strong tendency to relapse on our part; and it is right that we should be aware of this, and that our vigilance should be directed to the point of danger and alarm, and that we should make in faith a daily and an hourly commitment of ourselves to those promises which are in Christ Jesus, of not being tempted beyond what we are able, and of being strengthened by Him to do all things.

"I beg of you to offer the expression of my sincere regard to all the members of your family. I sympathize with Mrs. Edie, whose affection for poor David, whom she had so long and so anxiously tended, must have received a deep wound from his

affecting departure. Tell me if Miss Edie is better of her cold; and I should like also to know about Miss Miles, whom I had visited twice or thrice before leaving the country. Give my kindest remembrance to Thomas Key, Robert Dewar, and Alexander Paterson, senior. Remember me to Mr. and Miss Aitkin. When I name these acquaintances, I think of their houses, and a lively image of my old peaceful neighbourhood enters into my mind, and throws me into a flood of tenderness. Let me not forget Mrs. Bonthron. Is the *beddel* got better? I beg that Mr. Edie may inform me through your letter of Mary Farmer and John Dandie, as to their circumstances. Tell William Henderson that, though he could not speak when we last saw each other, I had a very deep impression both of his regard for me and his wife's. Speak of me to Effie Nicholson, and though I do not name all the villagers, I love them all, and often think of them all. Give my kind compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Robertson.

"I consider a letter to you as equivalent to a letter to your father, and I hope he will consider it as such; and it will give me great pleasure to have *immediately* a letter either from you or him in return. But let it be long and closely written, and rest assured that it cannot be too particular. Every one piece of information respecting any one either of the parish or village will interest me greatly. Crowd all the intelligence you can think of into the letter, for I have a great appetite to know and to hear respecting you all. Could I know of any rejoicing in the truth and walking in the truth, it would be an exquisite gratification. I beg you will write your letter more closely than I have done, and do it on a long sheet, if you have it. With prayers for you and all your relatives, believe to be, my dear Sir, yours with most sincere regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Agreeably to the intention expressed in this letter Mr. Chalmers left Glasgow on Monday the 28th August, to spend a fortnight between Burntisland and Kirkcaldy, and to bring his family back with him on his return. On reaching Burntisland he wrote to his mother, telling her why it was that he asked upon this occasion to be excused from coming to Anstruther. "In spite of all this, however," he adds, "I still *may* come, but I should like to know if you have any particular reason for wishing me, and then I will consider that I *must* come. I beg you will let me know in the spirit of *considerate* kindness—for there

is an ordinary style of kindness which drives everything before it, and will not be satisfied unless you dine with us, and take up your abode with us, and pays no regard to one's health, or convenience, or wishes, and insists upon carrying its own object;—there is a kindness of this sort, I say, which I have been fatigued with since I last saw you, which I feel to be most oppressive, and which, I think, is utterly undeserving of its name. Oh! when will true kindness come to be understood, and instead of fatiguing its object by its exactions, and souring him by its complaints, will give all jealousy to the wind, and delight in ministering to his convenience by making him welcome when present, and by cordially giving way to his circumstances when it is more agreeable for him to be absent.

"One great inducement would be to see Helen; but I trust that Helen understands how a man may exercise friendship towards her in the act of thinking of her, though she is not just within the sphere of his vision. Give her my kindest assurances of affection and good-will. Be as frank in your letter to me as I have been in my letter to you. Tell me what your wish is upon this subject, and I shall cheerfully do it."

His friends at Anstruther did not urge his coming, and he thus thanked them for the spirit of considerate kindness which they had displayed:—"It is a substantial accommodation to me that I am not under the necessity of going to Anster at present. I am regularly sea-bathing, and find myself much the better of it. Be not alarmed about me, as I mean to be far more moderate in my exertions; and I hope that with Mrs. Chalmers interposing her advice, and being quite in earnest that I should not take too much upon me, I shall be enabled to suit my exertions to my strength. My general health is remarkably good; and after the oppressive crowd in my church has subsided a little, I trust that, by the favour of God, I may be enabled to preserve my health amongst them. . . .

"Tell Helen how much I think of her toleration in not dragging me twenty-five miles for the mere purpose of a mutual look at one another."

Although unable at this time to visit Kilmany, he had no longer to complain of being left without information regarding it. Writing from Kirkcaldy in the beginning of September, he tells his sister, Mrs. Morton—"I continue to get the most affectionate and interesting letters from Kilmany. I feel a painful

tenderness about my old parish. I am writing an address to them at present, part of which has gone to the press. I cannot venture upon pathos in this composition. I feel too sore when I make this attempt. It is one or two topics of practical instruction that I have taken up; and I pray God that it may be useful amongst them."

His chief Kilmany correspondent was Mr. Robert Edie, who having striven in one of his letters to gratify as he could the strong craving for all kind of information about old friends, was, in return, rewarded by receiving the following reply :—

"*Kirkcaldy, September* 5.—I received your most interesting letter, and wept over it. I trust that your family will be taught of God, and be enabled to spread a savour of good things over the neighbourhood around them. You cannot write too often, too minutely, or at too great length. I feel that I shall ever take a great interest in my old parish; and it is my wish that God would make me more mindful of them all, and more fervent in my daily prayers for them than I have ever yet been.

"I have a short address to Kilmany in the press. I was obliged to confine myself very much to one topic. I hope I may have been well directed in my choice of it; and it will give me pleasure to hear from you afterwards that it is read with acceptance and impression by my much loved people. . . . I mean, if I can get hold of 'Witherspoon on Regeneration' in Edinburgh, to send you a copy. It is a truly important treatise, and I think will be much liked both by you and Mr. Paterson. I hope you are both holding fast your confidence. What a privilege, when we are enabled by faith to say of God, each for and of himself, that He is *my* God. Now, all have a warrant for this. God does not refuse us, but how many of us refuse Him! He is pleased with the faith of a creature saying of Him that He is *my* God. With such a faith as this how delightful is existence! How light are all its cares! How calm and clear that soul which can so rest upon God. Do, my dear sir, dwell much upon the promises, and shut not your eye upon the precepts. They go hand in hand. By the one you are enabled to fulfil the other; and with the joys of the Christian faith to combine the diligence of the Christian practice.

"I am obliged to conclude for want of time; but do you write me soon, and fill up every corner of your letter to me."

The Address to the Inhabitants of Kilmany referred to in the

preceding letter, excited on its appearance considerable and unexpected censure. Private remonstrances, letters from friends, pamphlets and reviews, informed its author that he was believed by many to give an unwise and unscriptural advice in urging those who, in the first stages of religious earnestness, feel unsettled and insecure as to the ground of their acceptance with God, to set themselves immediately, and with all diligence, to renounce every obviously wrong thing they had hitherto practised, and to do every obviously right thing which they had neglected. But neither private censure nor public assault could tempt Mr. Chalmers into controversy. The impression made at the time upon his mind was expressed in the following letter to Mr. Edie. His latest and maturest judgment saw nothing in the Address, as it originally stood, to alter or explain away :—

"*Glasgow, Nov.* 25.—I am glad to observe from you that the printed Address was not unacceptable to many. It has excited a good deal of speculation both in Glasgow and Edinburgh; and I confess I should have been better pleased had I heard of its practical impression on the consciences and lives of some readers than of all those approvals and objections which imply nothing more than an anxiety to give the truths I have brought forward a right adjustment in their speculative system. It would comfort me much to know that it told practically on a willing and obedient people in your neighbourhood. If it has no other effect than to set them a doing and be satisfied with themselves, it does mischief; and sorry should I be if, in my attempt to divide the word of truth, I have failed in giving the faith, the humility, the godliness of the New Testament, that high supremacy which belongs to them. Oh! my dear sir, never forget that while called upon to be strong, it is to be strong in the grace that is in the Lord Jesus. Have your eye ever directed to Him as the alone fountain out of whose supplies you obtain strength for doing anything aright. Go to God on the firm ground of His righteousness as your alone plea for acceptance before Him; and remember that it is only through the channel of His mediatorship that you get that washing of regeneration and that renewing of the Holy Ghost which lie at the bottom of all right and spiritual obedience.

"I was in Edinburgh a fortnight ago, giving a little assistance at their sacrament. From the top of the Calton Hill I saw Normanlaw, an object visible from the west window of my manse. Dr. Jones was with me, but this did not hinder me from gazing

on the pinnacle with a most eager direction of my heart to that dear vale which stretches eastward from its base. Oh! with what vivid remembrance can I wander in thought over all its farms and all its families, and dwell on the kind and simple affection of its people, till the contemplation becomes too bitter for my endurance—and contrast the days which now are with the days which once were, when I sat embosomed in tranquillity and friendship, and could divide the whole time between the pursuits of sacred literature and the work of dealing out simple and spiritual teaching among my affectionate parishioners. This system is now, I grieve to say it, greatly broken up; and one must signalize himself by resisting every established practice, or spend a heartless, hard-driving, distracting, and wearing-out life among the bustle of unministerial work, and no less unministerial company. I do not know what it will come to, but I can easily perceive that I shall not be right till I get myself emancipated from the multiplied drudgery of these ever-recurring avocations; and should I obtain this emancipation, then I grant you that Glasgow is a highly interesting field—that much kindness and much principle are to be found in it—that the good which is to be done and the good which might be done are incalculable, and that I have already met with individuals in whom I can enjoy all that undisguised sincerity of friendship, and all that sympathy of Christian feeling which so often cheered and refreshed me when I lived in your village, and could obtain at a call the benefit and the pleasure of your evening conversations."

After a refreshing fortnight in Fifeshire, Mr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow on Saturday the 16th September, and removed from his solitary lodgings in Rotten-row to a family establishment in Charlotte Street. The happy effect of this change is indicated in the contrast between two letters to his old friend and neighbour, the Rev. Mr. Watson, minister of Leuchars, the first written at the close of his first week in Glasgow, the second about a month after his settlement in Charlotte Street:—

"*Glasgow, July* 29, 1815.—I seize the opportunity of a half-hour to write you a few words. I can give you no satisfaction whatever as to my liking or not liking Glasgow. Were I to judge by my present feelings, I would say that I dislike it most violently; but the present state of my mind is not a fair criterion—at a distance from my family, and in a land of strangers; and though beset with polite attentions, feeling that there is posi-

tively nothing in them all to replace those warmer and kindlier enjoyments which friendship brings along with it. What is to come out of it I know not; but I may at least say, that all around me yet carries the aspect of desolation. This, however, I am sensible is due to me and not to them—for smarting, as I do, under the agonies of a sore separation, and broken loose, as it were, from the whole world of my former acquaintances, I am not in a state for appreciating or enjoying the undoubted worth and excellence of many who have come under my observation.

"I have got about one hundred calls in the course of this week, and I foresee a deal of very strange work in the business of a Glasgow minister. What think you of my putting my name to two applications for licences to sell spirits, and two certificates of being qualified to follow out the calling of *pedlars*, in the course of yesterday? Glasgow is a great thoroughfare to the religious world. The most remarkable men I have met with in that way since my arrival are Mr. Simeon of Cambridge and Mr. Walker of Dublin.

"I called at Pilmuir on my way west; and were anything necessary to revive and perpetuate the friendship I have ever felt for Mrs. Fortune, the kind and benignant reception I received from her, though I had not seen her for about six years, awoke my every sentiment of tenderness and regard. I was in great heaviness, and felt all the bitterness of a man who was going he knew not whither; and in my whole progress, indeed, from Kilmany to Glasgow, I had the feeling as if all the scenes and all the friendships of my former years were dying away from me, nor have I found a single object to occupy the cheerless blank which the warm associations of other days have left behind them.

"I would think of your dear and quiet neighbourhood if I could do it without anguish; but I have no pleasure in the roaming of my fancy over the charms of a scenery I have abandoned. Tell Mrs. Watson that she is the object of my daily prayers, and that I can never think of her without the most grateful sense of all her forbearance with me. May the blessing of God rest on your peaceful habitation. May your hearts be united to fear Him. May you live together as fellow-travellers to eternity; and may you and your children after you find their final settlement in that unfading home where there is no sadness and no separation."

"*Glasgow, Oct.* 27, 1815.—It is just as you said. Mrs. Chalmers has come, and time has had space to operate, and all the

familiarities of a sheltered home and a friendly neighbourhood are gathering around me, and I am every day getting more reconciled to my new situation, though I trust that the former home will never lose its place in my memory, and the former friends will never lose their place in my affection. I can think of you all with less pain, but with not less tenderness, and I regale myself with the hope of a deliberate visit in summer, as one of the most blissful visions of futurity on this side of time.

"This, sir, is a wonderful place; and I am half entertained and half provoked by some of the peculiarities of its people. The peculiarity which bears hardest upon me is the incessant demand they have upon all occasions for the personal attendance of the ministers. They must have four to every funeral, or they do not think that it has been genteelly gone through. They must have one or more to all the committees of all the societies. They must fall in at every procession. They must attend examinations innumerable, and eat of the dinners consequent upon these examinations. They have a niche assigned them in almost every public doing, and that niche must be filled up by them, or the doing loses all its solemnity in the eyes of the public. There seems to be a superstitious charm in the very sight of them, and such is the manifold officiality with which they are covered that they must be paraded among all the meetings and all the institutions. I gave in to all this at first, but I am beginning to keep a suspicious eye upon these repeated demands ever since I sat nearly an hour in grave deliberation with a number of others upon a subject connected with the property of a corporation, and that subject was a *gutter*, and the question was whether it should be bought and covered up, or let alone and left to lie open. I am gradually separating myself from all this trash, and long to establish it as a doctrine that the life of a town minister should be what the life of a country minister might be, that is, a life of intellectual leisure, with the *otium* of literary pursuits, and his entire time disposable to the purposes to which the Apostles gave themselves wholly, that is, the ministry of the word and prayer.

"My sacrament takes place on Sunday-week. I have had a very interesting set of young communicants. Their number is only twenty-two. The truth is, that in large towns, where it is so easy to escape observation, people do not come forward to the sacrament so much from the mere impulse of example. There is more of a real principle in the matter; and I have met

with some very delightful exhibitions of the genuine working of humility and conviction in the minds of my visitors.

"The University is now sitting, and the society of professors and students will add another very agreeable infusion to the general society of the place.

"Tell Miss Lawson that I was asking for her. I cannot name a person but my imagination summons up the localities of your dear and interesting neighbourhood. May the Lord Jesus see much of the travail of His soul among the people of your parish, and may He grant, that though here at a distance from each other, we may so live and so walk in His faith and obedience that we shall be found in fellowship together at the side of His everlasting throne. THOMAS CHALMERS."

The wide forthgoings of his own cordial disposition which invited and encouraged approach, and the celebrity which had now gathered round his name, made him the object of attraction to thousands. Modestly blind to all this, he continued to regard and to describe the annoyances to which he was consequently exposed as the ordinary accompaniments of every city ministry. One of the earliest of those details in which he so often afterwards indulged is given in a letter to his sister, who had recently been severely tried in her own family :—

"*Glasgow*, *January* 5, 1816.—MY EVER DEAREST JANE,—We have now fairly settled in Glasgow, and I can speak more confidently as to my taste and liking for my new situation. Our establishment consists at present of my wife, daughter, Charles, two boarders, Messrs. Laird and Scriba, and finally, three servants. Our domestic society is agreeable enough. My great time for it is an hour after supper, being much employed through the day. We live in a house at £75 a year, which is looked upon as cheap in Glasgow, and is a pretty fair specimen of the prices of other things. We have, however, a great deal of accommodation, insomuch that Miss Pratt lived some months with us, and Miss Margaret Balfour of Dundee, your favourite, spent a few weeks with us. Her father came for her, and he is almost the only interesting acquaintance we have seen from our old neighbourhood since our arrival in this place.

"So much for the home department. As to the foreign, my chief annoyance is the quantity of secular work which has been suffered to accumulate on the clergy—such as the business of the poor, and of hospitals, and of public institutions. This I

have set my face against, and though I have a good deal of opposition to encounter, yet I am persuaded that I have the solid countenance and approbation of all who value the pure objects of the Christian ministry, who have reflected well on the separate and spiritual nature of their employments, and formed a right comparative estimate of the benevolence which points to time and that which points to eternity.

"My next annoyance is the multitude of calls and invitations. The first I have not nearly returned, and they will not be repeated; the second I have accepted only to a limited extent, and of late I have been obliged by my tendency to cold to decline them all, which I shall probably continue to do during the winter months. In this I have a few clamours to contend with, but I have a numerous set of friends who value my health and usefulness, and am borne up by their approving testimony in this particular also.

"My third annoyance is the fatigue of preaching. The church is in a confined situation, and crowded to excess. It is partly my own fault, for I preach louder and longer than I used to do. I am to make the diminution of my fatigue a serious object, and in this I am so heartily sympathized with by my congregation, that they are just now pressing an assistant upon me for half the day. I hope I shall not find this necessary.

"My fourth annoyance is the want of seasoning to the air and climate of Glasgow. The frost has an opposite effect to what I was counting on. It condenses the smoke of the public works and sends it down in the form of darkness visible through the streets and passages. Here the kindness of the people is unbounded. I spend a great part of my time among the neighbouring villas of the town. I am just now writing you from one of those pure country houses. My feelings are not at all peculiar or alarming. Every new comer requires such a seasoning; and Dr. Lockhart, one of the clergy, told me that he was miserable his first winter here, and has enjoyed uninterrupted health ever since. I have said so much of the disadvantages that I have left no room for the encouragements;—these I shall postpone to my next letter, for I will not encroach on the space that I have been in the habit of devoting to the first and most valuable of all subjects.

"I trust that my dear Jane is every day finding the Saviour more precious to her soul, and is receiving such larger supplies of that faith which is not of ourselves, but is the gift of God,

that she is enabled more and more to rest on Him for the fulfilment of all His promises. What I should like to realize is the feeling of being a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth—to shake off that obstinate delusion which binds me to the world as my home—to take up with eternity as my settled habitation—and transfer the wishes and the interests and the hopes which are so apt to grovel among the objects of a perishable scene, to the realities and the glories of Paradise. Let this be our diligent aspiring at this season of the year; and oh how it would elevate and tranquillize us amid the troubles of that intervening period which is so soon to terminate! How little, my dearest, do all your past afflictions appear now that they have been endured! Be assured that in a little time all your present and all your future will just bear the same character of lightness and insignificance. Do, then, be of good cheer. Do summon up confidence in God. Do let the pure light of faith disperse those darkening clouds of anxiety which so often beset and bewilder us. By such an exercise as this you do honour to God. The more unstaggering your faith is amid the threatening appearances of sense, the more is God well pleased with it. It is a fine description of the faith of Abraham, that he hoped against hope. Do the same, my dear Jane; and if you fail not in your faith, God will not fail in His faithfulness. Let us walk no longer by sight. Let every trial of faith be to us a trial of patience also. Let the realities of a coming home be more and more familiar to us. Let us walk among them by contemplation, and let them shed a lustre over the daily doings of us who profess to be candidates for eternity.

"Give my kindest remembrance and the compliments of the season to Mr. Morton. Yours, very affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER XIX.

MR. THOMAS SMITH—SINGULAR ATTACHMENT TO AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIM—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.

The desolation of heart felt by Mr. Chalmers on first coming to Glasgow was speedily repaired. When the eight years of his residence in that city closed, he bade farewell to such a band of devoted personal friends and fellow-labourers as seldom if ever have been seen to cluster round any single Christian philanthropist. And ere the first month of that residence had gone by, his affections had alighted upon a youthful member of his congregation, to whom he speedily became bound by ties of such peculiar strength and tenderness as threw over their brief earthly intercourse all the air of a spiritual romance. Mr. Thomas Smith, the son of a well-known Glasgow publisher, was qualifying himself for the profession of a writer or attorney. His family having interested themselves in Mr. Chalmers's appointment, he was early introduced to the notice of his new minister, and occasionally invited to accompany him in his daily walk or ride. His intellectual accomplishments, his refined taste, his gentle bearing, his pure and aspiring aims, soon won Mr. Chalmers's heart. But what gave him a still stronger hold upon that heart than any personal endowment, was his being, so far as was known to Mr. Chalmers, the first-fruits spiritually of his ministry in Glasgow. As if all those affections, which wrenched from their old objects were in search of new ones, had suddenly concentrated on him, he became the object of an attachment which, in the brief entries of a private journal, now reduced to the ordinary measure of a single line for each succeeding day, vents itself in such expressions as the following:—"Called on Mr. Thomas Smith; O God, purify and christianize and give salutary effect to my regard for him."—"Had long walks and conversations with T. S.—O my God, save me from all that is idolatrous in my regard for him." The occasional soon turned into daily intercourse, a trysting-place being appointed on the banks of the Monkland Canal, where each day at a set hour

they met. And the general conversation of ordinary friendship soon flowed in that new channel into which it was directed by a heart yearning for the spiritual and eternal welfare of its object. Ere long, close and affectionate as it was, the out-door intercourse was not enough. There were meetings besides for reading the Holy Scriptures and for prayer; and great as were the efforts and fatigues of the Tron Church pulpit, an hour each Sabbath evening was set apart for conjoined devotion. Nothing was suffered to interfere with these daily meetings. "Should these flying showers be the order of this day," so writes Mr. Chalmers one bleak December morning, "it will blow up our proposed arrangement, in which case (and you can judge of this when the time comes) I would propose that you should call on me as soon after two as you find convenient, when we shall go through the regular business of the day; and if the weather does not admit of exercise out of doors, I should then like to go to Stockwell* and have half an hour at bagatelle." Upon another morning of this same month, and as if unable to wait till a few hours brought round a personal interview, Mr. Chalmers writes—"I am not so well as to go to the Presbytery, but not so unwell as to be confined from walking. At the same time, I should like the walk to be in my garden rather than at the usual rendezvous; and if this reach you in time, you will oblige me much by bending your course to Charlotte Street so soon as released from business.

"May your progress in all that is Christian become every day more sensible in your heart and life. May the grand peculiarities of the faith take their firm and effectual hold of you, and a resemblance to that very peculiar example which the Author of this faith set before you be more and more visibly inscribed on every lineament of your character. May you grow in all that is delicate and amiable and honourable and of good report. The semblance of all these may and has been attained out of Christ, but such a semblance as will not bear examination; and be assured, my dearest of earthly friends, that those things of which Christ cannot say in the day of reckoning that they are done unto me, will, when sifted to the interior, be found to be not well done. If, on the impulse of natural compassion, I surrender a sum of money to a charitable purpose, verily, I say unto you, that this deed has its reward. It is rewarded by the pleasure of the exercise, or by the gratitude of the object, or by

* The residence of Mr. Smith.

the reputation of a generous character in society, all of which rewards have their accomplishment in life, but reach not to eternity. Suppose I do the very same deed because Christ requires it of me, or because I have cultivated the feeling of compassion at His requirement, He who knows what is in man sees the principle of homage to Him in the performance, and He honours it accordingly with His testimony in the eventful day of our fate; and thus the same external deed, which in one is of no account on the great scale of immortality, is in another a treasure laid up in heaven, a jewel in that crown of splendour which is to encircle the head of the righteous. I have heard the saying of our Saviour on that day turned to the purpose of magnifying benevolence at the expense of faith. Now, the very reason why these deeds of benevolence are so accounted of is, that they were done *in faith*—'forasmuch as in doing it to these ye did it unto me.'

"Indulge this effusion, and rest assured that it is the effusion of a heart which longs and which rejoices over you. May God spare us for many days a comfort and a means of establishment to each other. May we have much sweet counsel together in this the land of our pilgrimage; and after our course is finished, and we have passed through the trials and allurements of this deceitful scene, may we be found without spot and blameless before the throne of God's glory. Oh! when I think of the exposures and the dangers of this world, and how the yearly thousands of victims are swelling the sad account of depravity and of its triumphs, when I think of all this and look to the blue serene of yon innocent and peaceful heaven of which our kind and good Saviour tells us that there is *nothing there to offend*, I can enter into the sentiment of the patriarch, 'I would not live alway.'"

"*Dec.* 8, 1815.—This cold of mine is getting a little obstinate, and I have determined on the confinement of another day. I leave you to guess the best earthly expedient I have for alleviating the irksomeness of this confinement, and trust the application of it to your much valued friendship.

"Leave not business on my account; but as you go through the world, O may the fear of God and a watchful and well principled conscience go as your guides and your safeguards along with you.

"My prayer is, that you may never cease your exertions after

an unsoiled gracefulness and brilliancy of character. Try and find your way to the sentiment, that this can only be done by the grace that is in the Lord Jesus, and should be done as an offering unto Him. Let all self-complacency be banished from our hearts. Let duty to God be the principle, and His glory, rather than the adornment of self, be the object; but amid all my distinctions about motives let me not perplex you out of that vigorous career in which I trust you will be always making progress and always abounding."

When a week at Blochairn or Kilmardinny* broke in upon the accustomed fellowship, an almost daily interchange of letters took place, occasioning a correspondence† in which the questions of election and vows and the propriety of attending public assemblies for dancing, were discussed. Step by step the Christian minister leads along the youthful and beloved disciple—thrown once or twice into anxiety, which breaks at last into exulting joy, as he discerns the clear and unmistakable tokens of a true and firm and advancing faith in the Redeemer. With exquisite wisdom, too, is the counsel of the Christian adviser tempered. "I could not," he says in a letter dated Kilmardinny, January 6, 1816, "write you my customary note yesterday, and propose to make up for it by a longer communication this day. I have received your different notes, which are every day advancing in interest, and suggest to my own mind most useful topics of consideration. May God grant you a large supply of the spirit of earnestness to be altogether what He would have you to be, and to do altogether what He would have you to do. You have great encouragement in the saying, 'that whosoever willeth to do His will shall know of His doctrine.' I shall not confine myself to one particular topic, but come forward with a few miscellaneous points suggested by our whole correspondence. First, —Your intercourse with me filled up so much of your time. Leave not this time in a state of exposure to any adverse or questionable influence. Be at no loss how to dispose of it. It is a wise and admirable arrangement of matters when such an employment is laid down for every hour as to beget no wavering, no idleness, no hesitation about what shall I turn to next. And remember that needful amusement is not idleness—healthful

* Blochairn, the country residence of C. S. Parker, Esq., and Kilmardinny, of J. Tennent, Esq., both attached friends, to whose neighbouring villas Dr. Chalmers delighted to retire for study from the oppressive bustle of the city.

† See "Correspondence of Dr. Chalmers," pp. 11-48.

relaxation is not idleness—attention to friends and acquaintances is not idleness—falling in with such arrangements in the way of business or visiting as your natural superiors expect you to concur in, and which are not hostile to principle, however offensive to taste and inclination, is not idleness. All this you may do *unto the Lord*, for He wills all this; but may Heaven ever preserve you from such idleness as, to escape from the misery of its own languor, flies for resources to any one quarter where it may find them. Do study such a filling up of time as will keep you away from the evil communications of a world in wickedness; and if, when you look around, you see an unvaried atmosphere of corruption, think that Christ came to make unto Himself a *peculiar* people, and do nobly signalize yourself; and in daring to be singular, lift your intrepid front against the tide of general example, and follow serenely the suggestions of principle amid all the ridicule of the world, and all its outery.

"Secondly,—You complain of the turmoil of business. In as far as it takes you away from the more congenial exercise of study or prayer or religious contemplation, I can conceive, my dear sir, that it might be a matter of violent dislike to you. But remember that this is not of your own voluntary adoption. In your present circumstances business is laid upon you by another, and you are acquitting yourself of your duty to Him when you are giving your time and your attention to it. I can conceive a man who felt more happiness in the duties of the closet than in those of society, to be making a sacrifice of principle to inclination in the very midst of religious exercises. Do feel that you are religiously employed when you are giving your faithful attention to the matters of the office; and instead of thinking that religion is a kind of secret indulgence to be snatched by a kind of stealth from the ordinary affairs of life, do make a study of spreading religion over all your daily path, and then will you realize the habit of walking before God *all the day long*, of doing all things to His glory.

"Thirdly,—On the subject of resolutions I postpone many things to our future conversation; but sure I am, that there are many things which God desires to be done, and which you could resolve upon the doing of, and actually do, on the inferior principle of prudence and interest. It delights me to think that on this ground you have already made such progress, and so signalized yourself. But this delight would all vanish did I see you stop short and rest satisfied with a victory over the grosser

profligacies of vice, and the attainment of obedience in its externals and its decencies; and I can scarcely say how much I feel drawn to you by your last note, when you talk of your higher aspirings—when you tell me of your attempts to realize the presence of God in the hours of business, and of your dissatisfaction with yourself at the want of an entire and successful accomplishment.

"Fourthly,—Do, my dear sir, hearken diligently when I say, that now is the time for casting yourself more than ever on the sufficiency of Christ. Forgetfulness of God is such an act of spiritual disobedience, that it is said in the Psalms—'They who forget God shall be turned into hell.' You complain of this forgetfulness. You may be mindful of Him more than others, but you are not mindful of Him up to the extent of His claim on you. You are therefore short of His glory; you are a debtor to His law to do the whole law, and this debt you are *never discharging*. It is accumulating every hour upon you; and with a right sense of this you must be an humbled, and unless you have fled to the refuge set before you, you must be a disquieted and alarmed sinner. Now, you may say that you have taken up with the Saviour already, and that all this is therefore gone by. But, my dear sir, this taking up with Him as the ground of your acceptance with God is not an act of the mind which starts into perfection at once. It is a growing sentiment. It is getting fresh accessions from the experience of every day. Every recollection of your failures and your shortcomings should be giving it new strength—should be shutting you more up unto the faith of His atonement—should be giving you a livelier and a more affecting sense of your extreme and constant need of Him. And though I meant to expatiate on another topic, which I find I must postpone for want of room, I will barely state to you that as it is affronting Christ not to put immediate faith in His testimony, so it is your duty *now* to trust Him; it is lingering about your acceptance of His offer not to accept of it at this moment. He makes you welcome to all the benefits of His mediatorship at this instant of time; and when there is strength offered along with forgiveness, be assured, my dearest friend, that when what is lacking in your faith is perfected, you will know what it is to rejoice in the Lord, and to combine with great quietness and great confidence a rapid and shining progress in the new obedience of the gospel.

"I have written the above in a very great hurry, and I fear

that it may darken instead of edifying. I fear you may think it written in a tone of reproof. This is so far from intended that I look on your mind as in a more satisfying state by your last than I ever before observed it. I am greatly interested in you. You fill up a large space in my heart. My prayers, I trust, will never cease to ascend daily in your behalf to our common Father. Do, my dear sir, minister more and more comfort to me by your growing decision and steadiness. May light and love and peace take up their firm establishment in your bosom; and may all the graces of the Spirit form you into one complete image of Him who is set before us as an example.—Yours, with warmest affection, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Towards the close of January an illness which did not for some weeks stop the forenoon interviews, occasionally prevented Mr. Smith from going to Charlotte Street on the Sabbath evenings. "My ever dearest sir," so writes Mr. Chalmers on an occasion of this kind, "I have now given up all hope of your coming, and do feel your absence to be a blank to me. I am reading 'Law,' and find him very powerful; and I have now sat down to the work of having that communion with my dear Christian friend in writing which I expected to have in the still sweeter exercise of talking face to face, and of exchanging animated converse on a theme to which I trust we shall ever be bound by one warm and affectionate sympathy. Our week-day conversation and letters will, I trust, have ever much of Sabbath unction pervading them; but there is one point of distinction I should like to establish between the seventh day and the remaining six. Let all argument if possible be banished from our Sabbath converse, and let us know what it is on that day to fill up an hour not with treating religion so much as an intellectual subject, but as an affair of the heart, a matter of feeling and of devotion, that love to God may be made to burn within us, and the hope of an eternal Sabbath to elevate our hearts, and a refining purity of thought and of purpose to sanctify our every desire, and faith in the great Redeemer to be working all its peaceful influences upon our souls, and the contemplation of His bright example to be likening us to Him more and more, and the whole effect of our happy Sabbath hour to send each of us to his separate employment in that frame and temper of heaven which fills the whole man with superiority to the vanities of the world, and a mild quiet benevolent tenderness for all who live in it.

"Agreeably to this I shall not take up the remainder of my time with any topic of observation whatever, but recollecting that Dr. Samuel Johnson often wrote his prayers, and found this a more powerfully devotional exercise than if he had said them, I entreat my dear friend's indulgence if I do the same at present; and as a blessing on that tender intimacy to which God, who turneth the heart of man withersoever He will, has turned our hearts, is the great burden of my present aspiration to heaven, I send it to you that you may, if you approve, join in it, and that the promise may be realized in us, that if two shall agree touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done unto them."

"O God, do Thou look propitiously on our friendship. Do Thou purify it from all that is base, and sordid, and earthly. May it be altogether subordinated to the love of Thee. May it be the instrument of great good to each of our souls. May it sweeten the path of our worldly pilgrimage; and after death has divided us for a season, may it find its final blessedness and consummation at the right hand of Thine everlasting throne.

"We place ourselves before Thee as the children of error. O grant that in Thy light we may clearly see light: for this purpose let our eye be single. Let our intention to please Thee in all things be honest. With the childlike purpose of being altogether what Thou wouldst have us to be, may we place ourselves before Thy Bible, that we may draw our every lesson, and our every comfort out of it. O that Thy Spirit may preside over our daily reading of Thy word, and that the word of our blessed Saviour may dwell in us richly in all wisdom.

"O save us from the deceitfulness of this world. Forbid that any one of its pleasures should sway us aside from the path of entire devotedness to Thee. Give us to be vigilant, and cautious, and fearful. May we think of Thine eye at all times upon us; and may the thought make us to tremble at the slightest departure from that narrow way of sanctification which leads to the house of our Father who is in heaven.

"We desire to honour the Son even as we honour the Father. We act in the presumption of our hearts when we think of placing ourselves before Thee in our own righteousness. Draw us to Christ. Make Him all our desire and all our salvation. Give remission of sins out of His blood. Give strength out of His fulness; and crowned with all might may we not only be fellow-helpers to each other, but may the work of turning sons and

daughters unto righteousness prosper in our hands. All we ask is for the sake of Thy Son and our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

By the end of February Mr. Smith's illness had assumed a more alarming aspect—not yet confining him entirely to the house, but exciting the darkest apprehensions that consumption had begun its fatal work. Anxiety now fanned affection; and not content with frequent visits, almost daily do such letters as the following pass from Charlotte Street to Stockwell:—

"*Feb.* 22, 1816.—I am so heavy and unwell that I am not to study this forenoon; but if I can get released from a round of visiting to-day, I mean to try an excursion on horseback, in which case I shall go to Shieldhall, and also pay a visit to my friend Mr. Heywood. I purpose, however, returning before dinner, and hope, if you cannot come to me, to be in sufficient strength and spirits for enjoying your much loved society in your house in the evening. It is remarkable, that when all taste for other employment has abandoned me, I still find relief in the work of unbosoming myself to you. I can assure you that frequent and friendly conversation with you, ever rising to higher degrees of Christian faith and purity and elevation, is a mighty ingredient with me of this world's happiness. May God turn this taste to such an account as that a happiness so mingled and so imperfect, and lying so open to interruption from the fearfulnesses of each of the parties in this dark scene of existence, may, after death has suspended it, reappear in a brighter and more enduring scene, and be fed with its immediate supplies from the throne of that God who will stand revealed to the pure in heart, and will dispense a blessedness which knows no alloy and shall experience no termination. I have not yet had heart either for my chapter or my prayer, but I trust that God will be present with me now that I am going to them. I shall pray for you I trust with a Christian tenderness."

"*Feb.* 23, 1816.—I mean to suspend our ordinary subject, having room for no other theme than that which is suggested by the fulness of a heart that never in the whole period of our short but most interesting acquaintance felt so much tenderness associated at the same moment with so much tranquillity.

"My heart is greatly enlarged towards you, and there is not a more congenial exercise for it at this moment than to pour

it out before my high and my heavenly Witness in the fervency of prayer, that He will cause you to abound more and more—that He will keep up and increase the supplies of that purifying influence by which you have hitherto been preserved from falling—that He will bless the common tenderness which fills each of our hearts and knits us together in a friendship far more endearing than any I ever before experienced—that He will Christianize the whole of this friendship, and direct it to the love of Himself, and make it the instrument of a growing knowledge of and attachment to His sacred word, and render us wise unto salvation, reducing us to the lowliness of little children, and making us to derive all our hopes of acceptance from the merits of His Son, and all our progress in sanctification from that kind and free Spirit which will never be refused to our humble, earnest, and persevering prayers.

"You have eased me and comforted me, and what I now ask is, that you will pray for me. I have great need, my dear sir, of all that your intercessions can do for me. I desire to be more and more humbled into a sense of my own nothingness; and sure I am that until I am so, God will disappoint all my vain expectations, and show me that it is only when He taketh unto Himself His great power that many are turned from sin unto righteousness."

"*Feb.* 25, 1816.—I fear from your non-appearance this day that in spite of your brother's favourable account of you, you may have felt yourself worse. May God speedily restore you to health, and may we both be spared to see much of His goodness, and to praise His holy name, and to serve His cause, and to war it in our respective spheres against every power of darkness, and to give much energy, derived by prayer from His Spirit, to the great work of turning many from the power of Satan unto God.

"I pray that you may be more and more shut up into the faith of Christ, that you may know how much strength is given in the mere act of resting upon Him, and how the quietness of a conscious reconciliation with God is the fittest attitude for receiving power to become one of His children. Now, this reconciliation is unto all and upon all who believe. The tidings of great joy do not have their right and their intended effect upon you if they do not make you joyful at the first moment of their import being understood. After being told that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, and that this privilege is given to

all believers, what is it that you wait for ere you look upon yourself as a justified person in the sight of God? Must you first qualify for the privilege by obedience, and then believe? No; believe, and take the comfort of the thing believed immediately; and believing all the testimony on the same principle that you believe any part of it, to the comfort of the promises add obedience to the precepts, and be assured that this obedience will go on with a vigour and animation after the comfort is established, which it could never reach out of Christ and away from Him. You will then serve God *without fear*, in righteousness and holiness all the days of your life.

"What should have been devotion I have turned into a dissertation. I miss our Sabbath prayer this night; and in lieu of it let me express it as the earnest topic of my supplication, that the Holy Ghost may teach you and guide you unto all truth—that you may every day become wiser unto salvation—that peace and joy and progressive virtue and approving Heaven may accompany your every footstep in the path of this world—and that we, my dearest and best loved friend I have on earth, may walk side by side through the narrowness of that way which leads to the heavenly inheritance."

"*Stirling Road, Feb.* 26, 1816.—I must again be permitted to deviate from our ordinary topic; and the occasion of my doing so is to me most deeply affecting—an occasion which, I trust, will take an effectual hold of your own heart, and be the mean of helping forward your progress to the realms of everlasting peace.

"I trust, and am sure, that on the day on which my dear Mr. Smith is reading this letter, his views are shooting far beyond the objects which engross the desires of ordinary men on their attainment of majority; that the world and its interests are not the only, and I hope not the chief or habitual topics of his contemplation; that he is looking upon that day which many call a step in human life as a step in his eternal history; and God grant that it may be a memorable epoch in that mighty line which commenced with the infancy of his being, and stretches forward without limit to that blissful futurity which is darkened by no sorrow, and knows no termination.

"Do, my dearest sir, on this day give yourself anew and unreservedly to God. Do bring to Him for forgiveness all the sins and infirmities and errors of the life that is past. Do approach

His throne with the holy purpose of a firm devotedness to His will in all things. Do feel yourself a most worthless and alienated creature up to the hour in which you are reading this, and throw yourself on that grace which, shed upon you through Christ the Mediator, can alone enable you to take your firm and decisive march from this day as the starting-point of a new and heavenly career—as the entrance into the new life of the new creature.

"Will you forgive me, my excellent and aspiring fellow-Christian, if I venture to state one point in which we both are deficient and have much before us. We are not yet sufficiently humbled into the attitude of dependence on the Spirit of God. We do not yet bow with enough of veneration at the name of Christ for sanctification. There is still a very strong mixture of self-sufficiency and self-dependence in our attempts at the service of God. I speak my own intimate experience when I say that, as the result of all this presumption, I feel as if I had yet done nothing. I can talk and be impressed and hold sweet counsel with you; but in the scene of trial I am humbled by my forgetfulness of God, by my want of delight in the doing of His commandments, by the barrenness of all my affections, by my enslavement to the influences of earth and of time, by my love to the creature, by my darkness and hardness and insensibility as to the great matters of the city that hath foundations, of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

"In these circumstances, let us flee for refuge to the hope set before us in the gospel. Let us keep closer by Christ than we have ever yet done. Let us live a life of faith on the Son of God. Let us crucify all our earthly affections, and by the Spirit mortify the deeds of the body, that we may live.

"And oh that this ceaseless current of years and of seasons were teaching us wisdom—that we were numbering our days—that we were measuring our future by our past—that we were looking back on the twinkling rapidity of the months and the weeks which have already gone—and so improving the futurity that lies before us, that when death shall lay us in our graves, we may both, on the morning of the resurrection, emerge into a scene of bliss too rapturous for conception, and too magnificent for the attempts of the loftiest eloquence."

March opened with brightening prospects of recovery, but closed amid greater darkness and uncertainty than ever. On

Sabbath the 24th, Mr. Chalmers was to preach before the magistrates of the city. Excited groups of expectant auditors were already hurrying along the Trongate, hastening to secure their places in the church; and it was within half-an-hour of the time when the bell was to summon the preacher into the crowded sanctuary, that he sat down and penned the following lines:—

"I cannot resist the opportunity of Mrs. C., who goes to inquire about you. May this be a precious Sabbath to you. If languid and weak, and unable to put forth much strength in the work of drawing near to God, may He put forth the strength of His resistless arm, and draw near unto you. May He benignantly reveal Himself to you as your gracious God and reconciled Father in Jesus Christ our Lord. Oh! may the consoling truths of the gospel be felt by you, and rejoiced in; and may you know what it is to have great peace and great joy in believing on Him who poured out His soul unto the death for you. Let Christ be on the foreground of all your religious contemplations. Feel that you are safely shielded from the wrath of God in the better righteousness of Him who yielded for you a pure and spotless obedience; and never, never let go your mild and pleasing and tender and confiding impressions of all that love which the kind and willing Saviour bears to you. You may have much pain and weakness: look on it all as coming from God. Feel yourself in His hand, my dearest friend, and this feeling will temper all your sufferings, and sweeten them all. I do God great injustice, for I feel that I do not rise to an adequate conception of His loving-kindness and tender mercy. O may this sweet assurance of God be more quietly and firmly established in your heart every day, and on this day may there be much of the comfort and tranquillity of Heaven's best influences to make you tranquil and happy. Expect me during the interval."

The projected visit was paid during the interval; the brilliant discourse on the Restlessness of Human Ambition was delivered before a prodigious multitude in the afternoon; but over all the excitement and fatigue the haunting anxiety still prevailed, and this evening billet was despatched:—

"*Six*, P.M.—Tell me by the servant *verbally* how you are. May the everlasting arms be round about and underneath you. May you have much peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. May you, throughout all the varieties of your condition, be enabled

to display the triumphs of faith; and however you are, may the blessed assurance of your reconciled God ever be present in your heart to strengthen and to sustain you.—My very dear Sir, yours, with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Not unfrequently Mr. Chalmers took his manuscript over with him to Stockwell, and carried on the composition of his sermon in the sick-room. A friend who one day found him so employed expressed his wonder that he could compose in such a situation. "Ah! my dear sir," said Mr. Chalmers, casting a look of profound and inexpressible sympathy towards the sufferer, "there is much in mere juxtaposition with so interesting an object."

The sacrament was now close at hand, and those evening hours which Mr. Chalmers had been accustomed to spend with his friend, now so weak and apparently dying, had to be devoted to the examination of intending communicants; but snatching intervals which few ministers either would or could so use, he sustained the intercourse.

"*March* 26.—I have seen seven people, and am now sitting in expectation of the eighth and last. I am never more cordially exercised than when I turn myself to the work of addressing you. Great is my friendship for you—rooted and firm is my regard for you; and with whatever feelings you may receive these reiterated professions of my unalterable attachment, I feel a very great pleasure in pouring them forth out of the fulness of a heart that is most tenderly and sincerely devoted to you; and I trust that with all the kindness you have ever shown me, you will also bear with me in my declarations of a love that I cannot disguise, and will never, never dismiss from my bosom.

"I have had less fatigue this evening than last. The people on the whole not so interesting, though there be three that I think remarkably well of. Oh! that the kingdom of God were at length to come, and His will to be done on earth as it is done in heaven!—that an effectual barrier were at length raised against the sweeping tide of wickedness that has spread so widely over the face of society!—and that in looking around us, instead of being sickened and distressed at every turn by the report of grievous and multiplied offences, the eye were refreshed by the spectacle of virtuous parents and dutiful children and ingenuous youth, and earnest, aspiring, devoted Christians among all ranks of society. Oh! that God may manifest Himself more and more to your soul! Do contemplate Him as God *in Christ*. Do

glory in nothing but in the Cross of Him who died for you. Do be conversant with the realities of an eternal world; and rest assured that you cannot be more happy in the prospect of heaven than those who are there now are happy in the prospect of having you to swell their numbers. Oh! what benignity and love reign in that place of blessedness! And how delightful to think, that by taking up with Christ, and cherishing through Him the hope of glory, and holding fast this confidence, and keeping it even unto the end, we shall not only sleep in Him, but be raised by Him to the triumphs of an unfading inheritance. May God, if it be His blessed will, prolong your stay amongst us—may He bless your affectionate friends with the continuance of your much loved society—may He spare you an example to a world that can ill spare any of the little flock who lie so thinly scattered among its wilds; and above all, may He minister to you in His good time an abundant entrance into His everlasting kingdom.—Yours, most affectionately,—THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Charlotte Street, March* 27, 1816.—I am left alone at the interval between my fourth and fifth person, and fondly recur to you. I have had one young man of good promise, and a father of a family, on whom I trust a good work of grace is decidedly going on. Oh! how humble I should feel when I think of my own extreme deadness and want of spirituality; and I am well assured that nothing but a leaning on Christ will ever carry me to repose or to any sufficiency of actual attainment. Do, my dearest sir, so lean. He lets Himself down to you for this very use and purpose. He likes you to rest upon Him the whole burden of your dependence. When sickness and languor came upon you, He knows your frame and pities you, and excuses your weakness; but if even then a faint thought of the Saviour gives one gleam of comfort to your heart, He puts it down to the account of your faith, and He will minister strength to you, and bear you up under all the darknesses and difficulties of a trial which He himself hath experienced.

"Be not afraid, only believe. Feel yourself encompassed by the everlasting arms of a God who has no pleasure in your death; and oh! look upon Him in the face of Jesus Christ, in the face of Him who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them, in the face of Him who lifts a call which He circulates through the world—Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth. Oh! my dearest sir, He is your friend, He is the friend of sinners, He

speaks to us all from heaven, and looks at us with a tenderness I cannot describe or imitate. He did not shed His blood in vain; and oh that its cleansing and its peace-speaking power were felt by you in all its preciousness. His pardon is free, His Spirit is free, His purchased immortality is free—all preparations for this immortality are His free gifts to those who believe. Do make yourself wholly over to Him, and you shall be wholly His. He will undertake your whole care and provide for the whole cure of that guilt and helplessness which you put into His hand. Be assured you are in your best attitude when you are thus rejoicing in Christ, making Him your refuge and your hiding-place, telling Him all you want and all you feel deficient in, giving Him to understand that you are counting on Him as your friend, and trusting that through His powerful mediation all will be forgiven, and all will be purified and made meet for the inheritance.

"It is not necessary that this be pleaded with a fatiguing energy. He knows what is in you. He knows what you need before you ask it. Your feeling of this need, though silent and unexpressed by language, is seen by Him; and the direction of your wishes to Him, as your all-sufficient helper, will not be lost on that kind Saviour who confounds none who put their trust in Him.

"I feel the truest satisfaction in ministering any one thing that pleases you. I love to call on you; I am happy in the act of writing you; I am ever and anon thinking of you; and my poor unworthy prayers rise occasionally to heaven in your behalf. But let us not trust in human friendships. Let our rejoicing be this, that the great Intercessor liveth, and that He is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through Him."

"*March* 28, 1816.—I am just now between my second and third visitant, and have been much refreshed by the warm, earnest, and apparently resolved tone of the two I have examined.

"I was interrupted at this point, and have now got over them all. The third one most congenial with myself on some points; and I trust that on this interesting occasion I have had converse with some whom I shall meet in the realms of peace and of perfect virtue. This, my dear sir, is the only interest that is worth the striving after, and everything else has the most impressive mockery stamped upon it. I doubt not that you in your sick-chamber have had very near and powerful impressions of the

littleness of all that is earthly, and the most fervent earthly wish I have is that you may long be spared to us, and come back to the world with all the freshness of those feelings and lessons you have gathered from the chastening hand of God, and be a burning light and an eminent example of all that is pure and pious and honourable, in the midst of a perverse and crooked generation; and as you have heretofore been my attached friend, I pray God that you may be preserved to me as my kind adviser, and my zealous fellow-worker in the great cause of turning others to righteousness, and the mild, judicious, tranquil composer of all my constitutional violence, the partner of my every thought, the sweetener of my every care, the companion of my familiar hours, and my fellow-worshipper in the closet when we offer to the throne of God our united aspirations.

"But, oh! it is wise to shoot ahead of all earthly anticipations—to pierce the dark barrier which separates time from eternity—to possess our whole hearts with the realities of another world, and instead of looking on the region beyond the grave as a wilderness or land of darkness, to look on it as peopled with all that can delight or interest a mind animated with the best affections and directed to the best objects.

"The idea of eternal life should ever suggest to us the idea of Him who alone has the Word and the gift of it. I purpose to make Christ Jesus the great burden of all my communications. It is by our honouring Him that the Father is honoured. It is by looking to Him that we receive forgiveness and sanctification. It is for the excellency of the knowledge of Him that Paul counted all but loss. Without Him you can do nothing. And oh! my dearest sir, lean upon Him, and then it is impious and unbelieving and distrusting His promises and dishonouring His power, not to feel that you are safe. May God enlighten you more and more. May He minister great comfort to you, and reveal to you more and more every day of the preciousness of the Saviour."

Although the Thursday on which the last of these notes was written was one of peculiarly severe suffering, Friday not only brought relief, but treacherously raised once more the hope of friends. Upon report of the favourable change Mr. Chalmers writes on the evening of that day:—"Could we only lift the veil which hides from our eye of flesh the designs and the doings of the Almighty, what a deep interest it would confer on every

thing that befalls us! The minutest turn in the movements of that vast machinery over which He presides takes place by His will and for His purpose. He had a something to accomplish by all the pain of yesternight, and by all the relief which you now experience from it; and one of the finest results that can happen from events is for us to look on events as His, and on duties as ours—to extract a sentiment of piety from every one step and occurrence in our history—and be it in the shape of resignation, or thankfulness, or virtuous resolve, or a higher tone of steady and determined abhorrence of all that is evil, it is our part ever to be plying the throne of God with such offerings.

"Should He be pleased to bring you round again to our wonted opportunities of converse—to place us side by side on those walks where we heretofore have held sweet counsel together—to surround us with the glories of that magnificent summer which He spreads in rich and varied colouring over His beauteous and innumerable landscapes—to give to each of us the vigorous inhalation of health, and restore my dearest friend to the duties and the enjoyments of society—should this turn out to be His event, oh! how weighty and how incumbent will be our duty to praise the name of the Lord for all His goodness to us—to magnify His cause, and do all that in us lies to spread His kingdom among men—to consecrate our whole lives to the honour of their great Preserver—and seeing that it is by receiving the Son that the Father is honoured, to attach ourselves more firmly than ever to our dear Redeemer, and make Him all our desire and all our salvation. THOMAS CHALMERS."

For a few days Mr. Chalmers was now himself an invalid. On the 31st, the Sabbath which preceded his communion, he was unable to officiate. Whilst another was conducting for him the public services of the sanctuary he thus consecrated part of the forenoon hour to the work of instruction and comfort:—"I wish to fill this ere the interval, when I expect your brother. My gratitude to God is very strong for the portion of health and of recovery He has been graciously pleased to deal out to you; and I have to entreat that, on this solemn day of the remembrance of a risen Saviour, your eye may be often directed to that celestial sanctuary where He sits at His Father's right hand to advocate your cause—to plead His own merits for your forgiveness—to pour upon you out of His fulness—to give you abundantly those two precious privileges for the dispensation of which

He was exalted a Prince and a Saviour, even repentance and the remission of sins; and oh! that this chastisement of a wise God had the effect of drawing you closer than ever to Him, in whom alone you have reconciliation and strength—to extinguish in your heart any remains that may have lodged in it of that independent natural religion which disowned Christ, and was blind to the excellency of the knowledge of Him—and to subordinate your every feeling and every opinion to the great Mediator, that you may feel all your security to be in the everlasting righteousness which He hath brought in, and all your fitness for right and acceptable obedience to be in that washing of regeneration and that renewing of the Holy Ghost which is shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour (Titus iii. 5). There is a text which some of our older divines have turned to very substantial account—(Psalm lxxxvii. 7)—'All my springs are in Thee.' It is applied by them to Christ; and sure I am, that so applied, it encloses a sentiment which, if fixed in the heart and proceeded on in the conduct, would cause to emanate from its powerful influence all the grace of a holy walk, all the joys of a heavenly contemplation. Give me a man actuated by such a sentiment as this, and there is not one cloud of despondency between him and God. He draws comfort out of the wells of salvation. His hope is linked with that great work of redemption of which Jesus Christ is the Author and the Finisher, and is as vigorous and clear as is his faith in the entireness and sufficiency of that work. But more than this, his obedience is as much superior to that of a mere natural aspirer after virtue, as the strength dealt out by Him to whom all power is committed both in heaven and in earth is superior to the impotency of corrupt, feeble, fallen, and degenerate man. The believer has all his springs in Christ; and hence a joy as full as the sufficiency of the Saviour, and a walk as pure as the power of the Sanctifier. Do, my dear sir, have this great and exalted Redeemer full in the eye of your mind. It is He in whom your life is. It is He through whom you stand on clear ground with the God whom you have offended. It is He through whom God will enter with you into peaceable conversation; and be assured, my dearest friend, that in the act of doing honour to the Son, you please and propitiate the Father by whom He is glorified. . . .

"I am now getting interrupted by interval callers, and must come to a close. . . . I will not say that I shall see you before

Tuesday; but let us ever feel resigned and thankful in the hands of a God who has His own purpose with us both, and whose counsel respecting each of us must stand amid the multitude of all our desires. My callers have left me, but my bell is ringing every half-minute with inquirers. Do, my dear sir, pray for me. It is my earnest prayer that your soul may this day experience much of a Sabbath frame, and that you may know what it is to feel all the tranquil sweetness of Sabbath contemplations. Do not fatigue yourself. God will answer your wish for the light of His countenance by revealing Himself to you without any violent stirring up of yourself on your part to lay hold of Him. He will delight your heart with the pleasing and comfortable suggestions of His Spirit, and give you great peace and elevation and joy."

The sacramental week brought its many ministerial visitors and its multiplied ministerial work, but it could not wholly stop this singular correspondence. At five o'clock on the Tuesday evening Mr. Chalmers wrote—"My time from one o'clock to this hour has been most completely filled up with callers and miscellaneous work; but I trust I shall have some leisure now to fill a sheet for you. The most interesting call I have had is from Rev. Mr. Grey, who is one of the mildest and most spiritual men I ever met with—a fine unction of Heaven running through all his conversation, and a most enviable tranquillity of mind under all the annoyances of society—a point on which it were better for my frame of spirit that I could resemble him, though perhaps the violence of my antipathy to the senselessness of an oppressive conformity to fashion may be practically the mean of keeping me at a greater distance from the frivolities and the time-consuming employments of this present generation.

"I am better, but there is still a lingering of lumbago. I have got many recipes for it; and the honest folks of Glasgow have been pouring in such a multitude of specifics, that had I taken the one-half of them I should not have been able to crawl for six weeks. Among the rest my beadle, John, told me of a wright, an acquaintance of his, who had been greatly afflicted with the same complaint, and had a cure to propose. I desired him to call between one and two o'clock, when in he came, a fat, well-conditioned-looking person, and proposed a blister round the whole amplitude of my back, where the disease is situated.

This I begged leave to decline; and have since been entertained with the mention of others in the shape of pills, and external applications of hartshorn, and plasters of mustard, and rubbings of turpentine, and triplicate coverings of flannel, and last, though not least, a process of ironing, with as great heat as was consistent with the feelings of the patient. I have reason, however, to be thankful that I am greatly better, and earnestly hope that I shall be able to see my dear friend in the course of to-morrow. I augured much good from the slight rains of yesternight and to-day; but the wind still keeps in the east, and the penetrating cold is unfavourable for us both. I was a good deal damped by the report of your yesternight, and have not yet heard Dr. Cleghorn's account of you. Do, my dearest sir, keep tranquil. I know your constitutional mildness; but I trust you have within you a deeper foundation of peace. I have been reading since I saw you in the Colossians, and have had a more thorough possession of the essential importance of Christ as our foundation than I ever recollect before. Oh! it is a wondrous statement, that 'in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.' Who would ever think, after this, of seeking after God by another road, or in another direction? No man cometh aright unto the Father but by Him; and in Him we have all that is to be found or sought for in God, for 'in Him dwelleth all the fulness of God.' Never separate, then, a looking unto Jesus—a faith in the sufficiency of His doings for a sinful world—a reposing sense of the power of His intercessions with that Being of whom He says, 'I and the Father are one'—an unshaken confidence in the honesty of this announcement, 'that whosoever cometh unto me shall in *no wise* be cast out,'—never separate any of them from that act by which you draw near unto God, and then will you draw near with full assurance of heart—then will God draw near unto you through the channel of His own appointed Mediator—then may you enter into peaceful conference with the Lawgiver whom you had offended—then may you cast off all suspicion and all dismay in His holy presence—then may you go to Him with the affectionate confidence of a friend—and then will He, pouring out upon you the Spirit of adoption, make you feel to your reconciled Father all the love and joy and trust of one of His children.

"Charles has not been out to-day, and it grieves me that Mrs. Chalmers is too much occupied with sacramental preparations to have it in her power to wait upon you. In this way you will

have no personal intercourse with our house this day. Do bear up under the solitude of your present circumstances. Oh! my dear sir, know that God has a purpose and a plan in every one of your concernments. He knows what is best for you; and how encouraging the declaration that *all things* work together for good to those who love Him. Pray that your heart, by nature dead and alienated and insensible, may be directed to the love of Him more and more. At every little turn of your history let your mind turn itself to God. In the multitude of the thoughts of that spirit which is ever thinking, let His consolations delight you. Know that you are in a Father's hand, a Father who will never leave you nor forsake you; a Father who, for the sake of Christ, is willing to admit you into the number of His chosen; a Father who has no pleasure in your death, but whose pleasure it is to rejoice over you that He may do you good, to sustain you under all the sickenings, and faintings, and languishings of your earthly disease, to recruit your spirit amid the visitations which afflict your body, to guide the every footstep, and watch over the every vicissitude of your pilgrimage below, and, be it longer or be it shorter, to have a final purpose of mercy concerning you, a purpose which, though matured and established in the mind of the Deity, will not have its personal consummation upon the object till you awaken in the morning of the resurrection, and are satisfied with His likeness, and are placed at His right hand, where there is fulness of joy, and in His presence where there are pleasures for evermore.

"I have written very fast, and scarcely think I can be legible. If made to understand that I am, I may be as rapid as I like in all time coming. I look for your brother to officiate as the bearer of this communication. My wishes and my prayers and my warmest affections are for you. Greatly have I been interested in you."

Again, at eight o'clock on Thursday evening the coveted fellowship is resumed:—"I have never been alone to this moment from one o'clock, and must be ready with this for your servant whom I expect to call. . . . Mr. Hamilton* has at this point come in here to my study from Dr. Scott's sermon. He and my wife are talking while I am writing, and I offer this as my apology for all the incoherency of my future train. Did you ask me what you could say to me within the shortest space of time

* The Rev. Dr. Hamilton of Strathblane.

which is of most importance for me to know, I would answer, Look to Jesus. Why, my dear sir, this is the Gospel attitude, and it is an attitude in which He will not fail to meet you, and recognise you as His, and undertake your cause, and represent you to the Father as another guilty and dependent and weak creature, who has thrown himself upon the revealed Mediator, and in the powerful appeal He makes to His merits and His atonement, will He obtain for you at the hand of God acceptance and reconciliation and forgiveness, and all needful grace for the reformation of your heart, and the making you wholly meet for the inheritance of the saints.

"Now what I want you practically and in plain earnest to do is to look full upon this great agent between God and a guilty world—to throw yourself more dependingly upon Him than you have ever yet done—to fill and possess your mind more entirely than ever with the completeness and the sufficiency of Christ—to do homage to Him as all in all—to bow at His name for holiness as well as for pardon—to draw from Him as your only fountain, and rest on Him as your only foundation. Oh! what a rich, what a thoroughly furnished provision does a man carry with him to eternity, who goes there thus hoping, thus trusting, thus believing, and, of course, thus obtaining all these promises of grace here and glory hereafter, which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus.

"I have just received ——'s note, and observe with great satisfaction that you have had an easy afternoon."

Shortly after this communion Mr. Chalmers sought relief and recruital in an excursion to Fifeshire. As Mr. Smith was now somewhat better, that it might interest and amuse him, journal letters from which the following extracts are presented, were addressed to him.

"*Kirkcaldy, April* 18, 1816.—I am not yet thoroughly rested, but am certainly getting on in vigour, though I believe it will require all the intended time of my excursion to recruit me completely. I am much struck with the tranquillity of the streets here, but this is merely comparative. However, I do enjoy the opportunities and the quietness of the place. This has not been so successful a forenoon of composition as yesterday. This is a very capricious matter, depending not merely on the accidental mood of the mind, but on the accidental strain of observation and sentiment on which I may happen to fall. Oh! it is wise

and pious to look up to God in all our works and in all our ways —to feel that a man receiveth nothing unless it be given him from heaven—to sink and absorb self in the glory and sufficiency of God, to be ever looking toward His sanctuary as the quarter out of which all help cometh, and all light is made to emanate in the soul of the believer. I trust I am feeling a greater desire towards Him; and amid all my imperfections, and all my waywardness, and all those melancholy blanks of my existence over which there is spread the forgetfulness of God and alienation from God, it is my prayer that He may draw me nearer unto Himself, that He may make the light of His countenance more to shine upon me, that He may recall and rescue me from the banishment of nature, and give me, through grace, all the joys and all the exercises of a near, confiding, and affectionate fellowship.

"I have been much disappointed again in the weather of this day. We had snow over night, and in the morning it was somewhat milder, but towards mid-day it got very cold, and for these four or five hours there has been an incessant fall of snow. I pray that this may at length mitigate the weather for you. I speak with an uncertainty about you which I feel to be painful."

"*April* 19.—I mean to leave the small fragments of the other side to the evening, and in the meantime I trust to bear you in my heart all the day long. Oh! how delightful to think that this is the very thing which the great Intercessor does with all who love Him in sincerity. He knows our frame. He has a compassion for our infirmities. He is a merciful High-priest, and touched with an earnest sensibility in behalf of us all. He bends in love and benignity over us. He is our advocate with God the Father; and as His errand on earth was not to destroy men's lives but to save them, so His employment in heaven is to minister to His people all the helps and all the preparations which lead to life everlasting.

"I have had on the whole a pleasant and a successful day, and am making distinct progress in strength. Oh! it is bitterly cold; and my dear friend hangs upon me wherever I go. I am greatly disappointed in not hearing of you."

"*April* 20, 1816.—I feel the pain of unsated anxiety respecting you. The habit of your society, and the feeling of your friendship, have become part of my constitution; and I shall

ever look back on all the circumstances of the origin and progress of our acquaintance as among the most memorable and interesting events of my history. I trust that there is something more than the mere romance of attachment in all this, that good has and that good will come out of it, that the intimacy begun on earth will be perfected in heaven, and that in that holy and happy place all the joys of friendship will be purified from the alloy of distressing apprehensions, and from the pain of offensive and deadening exposures, and be refined by the mixture of all that is sublime in contemplation and all that is tender and elevated in piety."

"*April* 22, 1816.—Let Mrs. Chalmers know that I was delighted to see the first man from Kilmany parish I had seen for nine months, that is, Mr. Anderson of Star—that old Mr. C—— of Rathillet is dying—that I walked from Kirkcaldy to Duniface, about eight miles, on Saturday afternoon—that I there got a horse, which carried me forward to Pilmuir—that I have been enjoying myself on the verge of a most beautiful landscape, and, what is still more exquisite, that in Mr. Fortune's family here I have revived an early friendship, and am delighted with all that heart and kindness, and aspiring piety, in the bosom of which I have been reposing—that I did not go to the church at Largo, but that I did what I am not sorry for having done, gave a service in the house to about twenty-five people; and she will be much interested to know that Miss Robina Coutts, who is on a visit to her grandfather, was among my auditors. . . .

"I did not carry with me here the book I brought from Glasgow, but trusted my reading to such as I could find when I came, and the one I fell upon was the English Prayer-book, with which I was greatly refreshed and edified all yesterday. It will determine me, I think, when I get a church so cool that I can afford to prolong the service a little, to have a great deal more reading of the Bible introduced into my public ministrations. The prayers and—with the exception of two flaws, one in the Burial and the other in the Baptismal service—all the other devout compositions are very admirable, and I do regard the whole composition as an interesting monument of the piety and sound intelligent Christianity of better days.

"The weather was milder yesterday, and I never felt a more delicious calm than when I walked a little at the front of the house, and my eye rested on the beauteous perspective before

me, and the whole amplitude of the Forth stretched majestically in front and on each side of me, and the intervening country which lay between the rising ground on which my hospitable lodging stands and the shore, spread itself around me in all the garniture of fields, and spires, and woods, and farms, and villages, and the sun threw its unbounded splendours over the whole of this charming panorama, and the quietness of the Sabbath lent an association of inexpressible delight to these scenes of my nativity and youthful remembrance. If there be so much beauty on the face of this dark and disordered world, how much may we look for in that earth and those heavens wherein dwelleth righteousness!"

"*April* 24, 1816.—I have been hindered three-quarters of an hour, and must not be so improvident in future. My history since the date of my last letter has been a very monotonous one, consisting of a few calls in my native town, a good deal of society with my deaf and infirm parents at home, conversation with an aunt and two sisters, and last, though not least, a pretty severe course of application to study, in virtue of which I have this day completed my third astronomical sermon. I have the prospect before me of lighter employment for a fortnight to come, and feel as if I would be much the better of a little mental repose.

"This day my young friend, Mr. Robert Edie, has come to me from Kilmany, and discharged on me all the news of that beloved neighbourhood. I told you in my last that I was not just so well. I am now greatly better, and trust, through the kindness of my heavenly Protector, to be restored to your much loved society by Saturday week. I wrote in a tone of impatience about not receiving any letter respecting you on Monday night. Let the people of Charlotte Street know that I got my brother's letter on Tuesday night. . . .

"I have been reading a sermon of Hervey's this day, and I trust it has done me good. It has given me a more reposing frame of confidence in the all-sufficient Saviour; it has exalted my every feeling of security in His better righteousness; and however great a mystery it may appear to an alienated world, I do feel, in point of fact, that the more I feel the faith of forgiveness through the blood of Jesus the more do my temper, and my principles, and my purposes, and my performances, become animated by the spirit of His mild and holy gospel. Oh! that I

could hold, then, this confidence fast—that I were never to let it slip; but, alas! I am a poor imbecile wavering creature, and have great reason to be humbled at my many sins and my many shortcomings."

"*April* 25, 1816.—*Twelve o'clock.*—I take up my pen thus early that I may be enabled to execute my proposed quantity of correspondence in a more regular and complete manner than I have yet done. I have turned this into an entire letter-writing day. Mr. Robert Edie, who spends the whole of this day with me, and is now in the room beside me, gives me a most tempting opportunity of writing to my various acquaintances in the north of Fife, and I do feel the advantage of a little repose from the severe exertions of the understanding.

"The history of my doings is less diversified, and of course less describable, than at any former period of my excursion; but I may at least tell you how much I have been satisfied with the full and statistical intelligence I have gotten about my dear old parish. Several of them are thriving in the Christian sense of the word, though all of them, from their agricultural connexion, are declining in the worldly sense of it. Alexander Paterson, whose letter to me you may recollect, is going on prospering, and, I trust, to prosper and to shine as a star for ever and ever, by his having turned many to righteousness.

"I am much grieved to learn, by Mr. John's letter, that you are not stronger. It is our duty to cultivate resignation on this subject, so deeply interesting to all of us; and as to your duty, He to whom the desire of your heart is—He in whom there is no condemnation—He who suffered all your pains, and has a fellow-feeling for all your infirmities—He who is abundantly able to succour and to direct, and to uphold you, He will rule your spirit, and carry all its affections upwards unto Himself—He will shed abroad by the Holy Ghost such a love for God, such a relish for the joys of the coming eternity, such a mild and forgiving spirit towards everything that breathes, such a piety towards the Father of men, and such a benevolence for all His children, as to attune the whole of your inner man to a meetness for the inheritance of the saints. I have been greatly more directed of late to the power that is above me and without me. I have hitherto been too independent in my own strength, and had too much the feeling of a native competency within me to control my own will, and exert an absolute mastery over my

own doings. I trust I shall be beaten out of this—that, like Paul, I shall glory in nothing but mine infirmities—that I shall be brought to lie low at the feet of Christ, and have His power to rest upon me; and oh! with what unceasing progress towards perfection should we be enabled to advance did we cast all self-seeking and self-confidence away from us—did we lay the whole burden of our helplessness on Him who is able to bear it—did we consent to be altogether guided by His strength, and be altogether accepted in His pure and unspotted righteousness."

Mr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow on Saturday the 4th of May, and on the following Tuesday, after a blank of many days, makes the following entry in his Journal:—

"*May* 7.—Have had a two Sabbaths' excursion to the country. The most interesting event was my visit to Pilmuir, where I preached, and the rising appearance of seriousness in that dear family. On my return Thomas Smith was dead. He died on Thursday the 2d of May at eleven o'clock at night, and was buried this day. I have been thrown into successive floods of tenderness. On Sabbath evening I visited his corpse.—O God, may this afflicting event detach me from time, and carry my thoughts onward to eternity."

On receiving a ring with Mr. Smith's hair, Mr. Chalmers wrote—"I received with much interest the very touching memorial you have sent me of one with whom I have held sweet counsel on earth, and to whose society in heaven I look forward with such a confidence as, I trust, the gospel warrants, and for which the influences of the gospel can alone prepare me." The ring thus sent, after being laid aside for many years, was resumed and worn for a month by Dr. Chalmers during the year which preceded his own death.

CHAPTER XX.

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF DIVINITY CONFERRED—RENEWED AGITATION ON THE SUBJECT OF PLURALITIES—SERMON BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE CLERGY IN EDINBURGH—DEBATE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1816 ON UNION OF OFFICES—ANECDOTE OF DR. M'CRIE—REMARK OF LORD JEFFREY AFTER HEARING DR. CHALMERS'S SPEECH—SERMON BEFORE THE LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Directors of the London Missionary Society had requested Mr. Chalmers to preach one of the anniversary sermons on behalf of that institution in May 1815. As his compliance would have removed him for a fortnight from Kilmany, and that at time when his official connexion with the parish was so near its close, this invitation was respectfully declined. It was renewed, however, in the spring of 1816, and relying upon an acceptance, his brother James had written to Mrs. Morton, announcing the expected visit to the Metropolis. "You are mistaken," was the reply of his better-informed correspondent, "as to Thomas being in London this spring. He expects to be a member of the Assembly, and therefore cannot accept of the invitation to preach in London. You will require to change your address in writing to him, and direct no longer to the 'Reverend Mr.,' but to the 'Reverend Doctor Chalmers.' Helen writes me that he was quite astonished, as he had no expectation of it, till one of the professors called and told him that he had been created Doctor by the *unanimous* voice of the University, which she says is very uncommon, as parties run high there." The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on Mr. Chalmers by the Senate of the University of Glasgow on Wednesday the 21st February 1816. His election soon afterwards by the Presbytery of Glasgow as one of its representatives for the ensuing General Assembly might not perhaps have hindered his going to London, had it not been for an impending discussion in which he particularly desired to take a part. The General Assembly of 1814 had prohibited the holding of a country living in conjunction with a professor's chair. The prohibition was ostensibly grounded on such a union of offices being a violation of that fundamental law of the Scottish Establishment which binds

every minister to reside within his parish. It took the form, therefore, of a declaratory act, by which the Assembly put a definite construction upon the old law of residence, and applied it to a particular case. The friends of pluralities, defeated in the Assembly of 1815 in the attempt which they made to rescind, by a direct vote, the resolutions of the preceding year, had entered upon a new and more hopeful agitation by endeavouring to convince the Church that instead of being merely declaratory, the enactment of 1814 was in reality a piece of altogether new legislation, and that as such it came fairly within the limits of the Act 1697, commonly denominated the Barrier Act, which provides that no new law of permanent obligation shall be made without consulting and obtaining the consent of a majority of Presbyteries. So successful was this agitation, that no fewer than thirty overtures were transmitted to the approaching General Assembly, praying, that because of their not having been sent down to Presbyteries in terms of the Barrier Act, the resolutions of 1814 should be held and declared to be of no force or authority within the Church. While thus the Church was urged to take a decisive step in retreat, Dr. Chalmers's zeal upon this question had been so greatly quickened by his experience of the onerous duties and responsibilities of a city charge, that he longed for the opportunity to urge the Church to take a step in advance, and to abolish not one alone, but all species of pluralities. The General Assembly met in Edinburgh on Friday the 17th May 1816. On the forenoon of that day Dr. Chalmers preached in St. Andrew's Church, before the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, the same sermon which he had delivered before a similar institution in Glasgow. "Probably no congregation since the days of Massillon," such was the testimony of an auditor, "ever had their attention more completely fixed, their understandings more enlightened, their passions more agitated, and their hearts more improved. When, at the conclusion of his discourse, Dr. Chalmers drew the picture of a clergyman's family leaving the place of their nativity and long residence, we observed many an eye suffused with tears."* The debate on the question of pluralities was fixed to be on Wednesday the 22d. From so early an hour as eight o'clock in the morning that part of the Assembly Hall allotted to strangers had been occupied, and when the hour approached for the commencement of the discussion, the crowd had become so great, that it was found neces-

* Extracted from the "Edinburgh Correspondent."

sary to clear the lower galleries in order to furnish accommodation to ministers of the Church not members of the Assembly. In one of these galleries the distinguished biographer of Knox, who, as is well known, was not a member of the Established Church, happened at the time to be sitting. Although advised by many around him to remain, Dr. M'Crie quietly and good-naturedly rose and went out with the others. This fact having been stated to the Assembly, it was at once and unanimously resolved to invite him to return and take his seat along with the members in the body of the house. An officer was instantly despatched in quest of him, and on his return, he was welcomed with feelings of cordiality and respect equally honourable to those who cherished them and to him who was their object. The debate commenced at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and did not close till half-an-hour before midnight. "I got up," says an interested spectator, "to the window opposite the throne, and stood a complete round of the clock, from 11 A.M. till 11 P.M." The argument was conducted by both parties with great spirit and ability; nor did one unpleasant personality or one unseemly word disturb the lively interest felt by the crowded audience throughout the whole of this twelve hours' debate. Dr. Chalmers rose to address the House immediately after Lord Succoth. Having stated the grounds of his belief that the act of 1814 had done nothing more than put a simple and obvious interpretation on the old law of residence, and having illustrated at once the advantages which had thus been gained, and the perils that would be encountered should they be relinquished—"I would not," he continued, "again, upon this subject, plunge the Church into the fathomless obscurities of law, or commit the fruit of the battles she has already won to the ocean of a thousand uncertainties. O Moderator, let us have a care not to bedim the conscience and the honesty and the vigorous but plain understanding of our brethren, by running into the dark unknown of legal perplexities and legal arguments. Here is an object that has been practically gained. Here is an abuse that has been practically done away. Here is a something which recommends itself to the common sense of every man as an obvious improvement in the practice of our Church, and as a no less obvious test of her pure and disinterested principles. I would not, Moderator, I would not let ourselves down from this high vantage-ground on which the hardly contested victories of former times have so honourably placed us. I should feel the most fearful insecurity

were this question, so clear when brought to the light of common principle and common honesty, and so dark when shrouded in the mysticism of technicals and forms—I should feel my every apprehension awakened were this question to be again encountered, with the risk of floundering its uncertain way through amongst the palaverments of law, and the labyrinth of its inextricable reasonings, and the darkness of its bewildering phraseology. I would make no such experiment. I would keep a firm hand upon what I had gotten; and I trust that a third attempt and a third victory over it will give to the law of residence its fixed and conclusive establishment.

"But though there were no risk whatever of losing what we have already acquired; though the proposed law on the subject were to find its triumphant way through amongst all our presbyteries; though it were welcomed through every step of its progress over the face of our Establishment; though it was made sure to me at this moment, as by the light of prophecy, that it was to find an unimpeded circulation through the land, and the unanimous Assembly of a future year were to set its conclusive seal on this expression of the public sentiments of the Church against the pluralities in question—yet I recur to my former objection, and aver that such a measure as this carries along with it a sanction little short of an express pronouncement in favour of another set of pluralities no less frequent than the former, and far more hurtful to the moral and religious interests of a larger population;—I allude to the population of the towns where the universities are situated. To enact against the union of professorships with country charges, and not to enact against the union of these professorships with town charges, is to leave half the work of reformation unaccomplished. It is true that you raise a barrier against the violation of residence, but this can be as effectually done by an interpretation of the existing laws on the subject of residence. This is already done if you leave the deed of 1814 unrescinded: and to substitute in the place of that deed such a partial enactment as the one that is now specified, while it presents us with no better security for the residence of the clergy in country parishes, it gives in the university towns a strongly implied licence to all the mischief of non-residence. Separate the residence of a clergyman from the duties of a clergyman, and you only present me with the unsubstantial mockery of a name. You may immure the man within the geographical limits of his vineyard, but if you suffer

him to be otherwise employed than in the work of it, you have positively done nothing. If he know not his people, if he go not round among his people, if he be not the personal acquaintance of his people, then, with all this bodily juxtaposition which residence secures, he is morally and substantially a non-resident amongst them. This is wofully the case in cities where the minister may live out all his existence in the field that is assigned to him, and multiply his daily rounds through the peopled intricacies which abound in it, and listen to as many calls of duty as time and strength and the other elements of exertion make him able for, and ply his conscientious labours amongst the tenements of the sick and the destitute and the dying, and after many years spent in making his way through the throng of that countless and ever-shifting multitude by whom he is surrounded, be as little known to the vast majority of his people as if—separated from them by the whole diameter of the earth—he took his station at the antipodes. Give a professorship to such a man, and you widen still further this lamentable distance."

Our manuscript copy of this speech breaks off here at the very topic on which the speaker proceeded to lavish the whole power and wealth of his oratory; and we must be content to be informed that "the Reverend Doctor then contended, that if it was necessary to prevent a country minister from holding a professorship on account of his having enough to do in discharging the duties of his office without it, *a fortiori* was it proper to prevent such union in the case of a town minister. This topic was illustrated by the speaker in a torrent of eloquence which seemed to astonish the House, and which has, in the opinion of the best critics and judges, perhaps never been exceeded. He contended that there was no other way of preventing the danger arising to the good order of society from the hostile attacks of an illiterate rabble, who were seen in such crowds at certain hours to issue from their workshops and manufactories, than by the kindly and unwearied attentions of their pastor among them. This would reclaim them when the gibbet with all its terrors would have no effect. Who could view without alarm that neglected population who scowled upon you as you passed with an outlandish stare, who had never spoken to a clergyman in their life, and who were perfectly amazed when he began to put a few plain questions to them in the way of his official duty? There could be no more fitting object than

these people for the attention of all who wished well both to religion and to the civil Government. Give not, therefore, a town clergyman anything else to do beyond his clerical duties. They will be enough—more than enough in most cases. He wished that a petition should be presented to an enlightened and paternal Government (who, he had no doubt, would listen to it when once they knew the fact, which at present they did not) to employ some other persons than clergymen to give certificates for the receiving of prize-money and of money granted to soldiers' wives, and numberless things of this sort, which harassed a clergyman, and cut up his time intolerably, which totally secularized him, and converted him from a dispenser of the bread of life into a mere dispenser of human benefits."*

"I know not what it is," said the greatest critic† of our age, after hearing Dr. Chalmers upon this occasion, "but there is something altogether remarkable about that man. It reminds me more of what one reads of as the effect of the eloquence of Demosthenes than anything I ever heard." When the debate had closed, and the vote was taken, it carried in favour of consulting the Presbyteries, by a majority of 118 to 94. It was found, however, in the General Assembly of the following year, that upon being consulted a majority of Presbyteries had decided against that species of pluralities then in question, which, accordingly, was permanently abolished in the Church.

At his Grace's particular desire, Dr. Chalmers had been appointed to preach before the Lord High Commissioner on the Sabbath which immediately succeeded this extraordinary display of eloquence and zeal in the Assembly. At so early an hour as nine o'clock in the morning, a crowd began to gather in front of the High Church, which long ere the doors were opened was manifestly greater than any church could contain, so that when entrance at length was given, in one tremendous rush, hazardous to all and hurtful to many, pews and passages were densely filled. It was with the greatest difficulty that the Commissioner, the Judges, and the Magistrates reached their allotted seats. Dr. Chalmers's text on this occasion was—(Ps. viii. 3, 4)—"When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which Thou hast ordained; what is man, that

* Extracted from a pamphlet entitled "Proceedings in the General Assembly on the 23d May 1816, on the Overtures for the Repeal of the Enactment of Assembly 1814, anent Union of Offices: to which is added, An Account of Dr. Chalmers's Sermon preached before the Lord High Commissioner at His Grace's particular request." Glasgow, 1816. Pp. 24.

† The late Lord Jeffrey.

Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that Thou visitest him?" Having strained every imagination to the utmost, by carrying his audience up to and abroad over those vast fields of space, teeming with unnumbered worlds, which science had brought within the circle of her discoveries,—"What," asked the preacher, "is this world that we inhabit, in the immensity above and around it, and what are they who occupy it? We give you but a feeble image of our comparative insignificance when we say that the glories of an extended forest would suffer no more from the fall of a single leaf than the glories of this extended universe would suffer though the globe we tread upon and all that it inherits should dissolve." The infidel objection, grounded upon the unlikelihood that upon a theatre so narrow and for a race so insignificant such high and distinguishing attentions should be lavished as those which Christianity describes, was then stated in its full strength. Argument after argument in refutation of it was advanced. "The attention of the auditory," we are informed, "was so upon the stretch, that when the preacher made a pause at the conclusion of an argument, a sort of sigh, as if for breath, was perceptible through the house."* "Thirdly," said Dr. Chalmers, renewing, after one such pause, his theme, "it was the telescope that, by piercing the obscurity which lies between us and distant worlds, put infidelity in possession of the argument against which we are now contending. But about the time of its invention another instrument was formed which laid open a scene no less wonderful, and rewarded the inquisitive spirit of man with a discovery which serves to neutralize the whole of this argument. This was the microscope. The one led me to see a system in every star; the other leads me to see a world in every atom. The one taught me that this mighty globe, with the whole burden of its people and of its countries, is but a grain of sand on the high field of immensity; the other teaches me that every grain of sand may harbour within it the tribes and the families of a busy population. The one told me of the insignificance of the world I tread upon; the other redeems it from all its insignificance, for it tells me that in the leaves of every forest, and in the flowers of every garden, and in the waters of every rivulet, there are worlds teeming with life, and numberless as are the glories of the firmament. The one has suggested to me, that beyond and above all that is visible to man, there may lie fields of creation which sweep im-

* From pamphlet already quoted.

measurably along, and carry the impress of the Almighty's hand to the remotest scenes of the universe; the other suggests to me, that within and beneath all that minuteness which the aided eye of man has been able to explore, there may lie a region of invisibles; and that, could we draw aside the mysterious curtain which shrouds it from our senses, we might there see a theatre of as many wonders as astronomy has unfolded, a universe within the compass of a point so small as to elude all the powers of the microscope, but where the wonder-working God finds room for the exercise of all His attributes, where He can raise another mechanism of worlds, and fill and animate them all with the evidences of His glory. . . . They, therefore, who think that God will not put forth such a power and such a goodness and such a condescension in behalf of this world, as are ascribed to Him in the New Testament, because He has so many other worlds to attend to, think of Him as a man. They confine their view to the informations of the telescope, and forget altogether the informations of the other instrument. They only find room in their minds for His one attribute of a large and general superintendence, and keep out of their remembrance the equally impressive proofs we have for His other attribute of a minute and multiplied attention to all that diversity of operations, where it is He that worketh all in all. And when I think, that as one of the instruments of philosophy has heightened our every impression of the first of these attributes, so another instrument has no less heightened our impression of the second of them—then I can no longer resist the conclusion, that it would be a transgression of sound argument, as well as a daring of impiety, to draw a limit around the doings of this unsearchable God; and, should a professed revelation from heaven tell me of an act of condescension, in behalf of some separate world, so wonderful that angels desired to look into it, and the eternal Son had to move from His seat of glory to carry it into accomplishment, all I ask is the evidence of such a revelation; for, let it tell me as much as it may of God letting Himself down for the benefit of one single province of His dominions, this is no more than what I see lying scattered in numberless examples before me, and running through the whole line of my recollections, and meeting me in every walk of observation to which I can betake myself; and, now that the microscope has unveiled the wonders of another region, I see strewed around me, with a profusion which baffles my every attempt to comprehend it, the evidence that

there is no one portion of the universe of God too minute for His notice, nor too humble for the visitations of His care."

"At the end of this passage," one present upon the occasion* has told us, "there ran through the congregation a suppressed but perfectly audible murmur of applause—an occurrence unprecedented in the course of the delivery of a sermon, but irresistible, in order to relieve our highly excited feelings."

The discourse closed with the following manly and noble utterance from this great Christian advocate:—"Anxious as we are to put everything that bears upon the Christian argument into all its lights, and fearless as we feel for the result of a most thorough sifting of it, and thinking, as we do think it, the foulest scorn that any pigmy philosopher of the day should mince his ambiguous scepticism to a set of giddy and ignorant admirers, or that a half-learned and superficial public should associate with the Christian priesthood the blindness and the bigotry of a sinking cause—with these feelings we are not disposed to shun a single question that may be started on the subject of the Christian evidences. There is not one of its parts or bearings which needs the shelter of a disguise thrown over it. Let the priests of another faith ply their prudential expedients, and look so wise and so wary in the execution of them. But Christianity stands in a higher and a firmer attitude. The defensive armour of a shrinking or timid policy does not suit her. Hers is the naked majesty of truth; and with all the grandeur of age, but with none of its infirmities, has she come down to us, and gathered new strength from the battles she has won in the many controversies of many generations. With such a religion as this there is nothing to hide. All should be above boards. And the broadest light of day should be made fully and freely to circulate throughout all her secrecies. But secrets she has none. To her belong the frankness and the simplicity of conscious greatness; and whether she has to contend with the pride of philosophy, or stand in fronted opposition to the prejudices of the multitude, she does it upon her own strength, and spurns all the props and all the auxiliaries of superstition away from her."

* John Marshall, Esq., Advocate.

CHAPTER XXI.

EXCURSION IN FIFESHIRE—VISIT TO MR. BROWN AT INVERKEITHING—WALK BY THE SEA-BEACH AT ELIE—COMPLAINTS OF THE GLASGOW WEAVERS—SOCIETY AT ANSTRUTHER—A TWO HUNDRED YEAR ANCESTOR—KILMANY RE-VISITED.

FATIGUED with past labour, but with all the fresh feeling of the schoolboy on the first day of his summer holidays, Dr. Chalmers left Glasgow on Monday the 15th of July, for a six weeks' visit to Fifeshire. Selecting the route which would carry him most conveniently from house to house of old acquaintance, eschewing all public conveyances, travelling on foot on horseback or in friendly carriage, with luggage sometimes in advance and sometimes in the rear, his progress was, on the whole, but slow, though very crowded and busy-like does each succeeding day appear, as seen in the pages of that faithfully minute chronicle kept on Mrs. Chalmers's behalf. Between Glasgow and Kirkcaldy an entire week was consumed—one happy evening having been spent with the venerable Mr. Brown of Inverkeithing, who put into his hands a very complimentary review of his sermon on Peace,* which had recently appeared in the Christian Repository, an Edinburgh periodical. The second week saw him wending along with still slower pace from Kirkcaldy to Anstruther, walking whenever it was possible close by the sea-shore, detained, though not unwillingly, one entire "dark scowly" rainy day at Pilmuir, but getting on the day following a "quiet, grey, sober, but steady evening," during which he "skirted it most pleasantly along the delightful beach" at Elie. He reached Anstruther on Friday evening, and was plunged at once into the bosom of that sore conflict of significations and cross purposes, his own description of which has already been presented to the reader. When he had retired to his own room that night, he spread out his folio page of journal-letter, and thus wrote:—

* The sermon entitled "Thoughts on Universal Peace" was preached in the Tron Church on Thursday the 18th January 1816, the day of national thanksgiving. It was first published by John Smith and Son, in a separate form, on the 8th February 1816, 1000 copies of it selling in four days. A second edition was published on the 5th April. A third edition was issued by Chalmers and Collins some years previous to its embodiment in the 25 volume series, where it will be found in vol. xi. p. 57.

"*Friday evening, half-past ten o'clock.*—I took a turn in the garden before supper. I am in a most pleasurable state of physical sensation, and I trust that God will give me His enabling grace, that I may conduct myself with that temper, patience, and attention which become me. I have sat two hours with my parents this evening, and I trust have acquitted myself to their satisfaction, having answered their every question, and felt a real pleasure in meeting their observations, and helping forward the crack with observations of my own." His father's sight had now so entirely failed that he was led to church on Sunday. This office, on the following Sabbath, Dr. Chalmers personally undertook; and as he guided the tottering steps of one who, true to the faith he so long had cherished, still loved to go up to the house of God and to worship in the sanctuary, days bygone arose upon his memory, and he recalled the time when an Anstruther Sabbath had been to him an object of aversion and disgust. His feeling was now changed. "I know nothing," he now writes, "that brings back the olden time more forcibly than an Anstruther Sabbath. Oh! that I could improve it more, and enter with greater life and devotion into its peculiar exercises." He staid the following week with his parents; and many a pleasant walk with one or more "old Anstruther crony" had he to the Billowness. One morning he breakfasted with Mr. Henderson, an ancient burgh ally of his father, and who, through their grandmother, Barbara Anderson, was in some indistinct and remote way connected with his family. "Mr. Henderson was most cordial. He has presented me with what appears to give my father high gratification, a massive gold ring, with a large pebble, and big enough for a seal, having a coat of arms over the initials J. A., which I am informed is John Alexander, my great-great-great-grandfather, or a two hundred year ancestor. N.B.—It was customary for the people of other days to wear rings on their thumbs. It is the only way in which I can wear the one I have gotten, for it would nearly let in any two of my fingers." On the evening of the same day a family tea-party assembled at his aunt's. "The party," he writes, "consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Goodsir, Mrs. Ross, aunt of the latter, and Mrs. Carstairs. The Doctor and I were the cooky-handers. In came the papers, and I behoved to read them to my father in the midst of an uninterested company. I have stolen away for a moment for the purpose of closing this letter, and left the Doctor to read till my return." The forenoon of that day, whose morning and evening

were devoted to these quiet convivialities, had been partly spent in letter writing. In the reading-room of Kirkcaldy he had found two Numbers of the Glasgow Chronicle for the preceding week, and was "grieved to see so much inflammatory matter about the weavers." He now unburdened his mind upon this topic in the following letter to his friend, Mr. R. Tennent of Glasgow:—"*Anstruther, July* 31, 1816.—I long to have your news. There is no pressure here among the lower orders. The country is quiet, and in abundance; and the population lists tell us that they bear to towns the proportion of two to one. But in towns all is clamour and noise and broad manifestation. Out of a single case a world of alarm and exaggeration is constructed, and a fraction is magnified into a whole. I am convinced, that while the equable distribution of comfort is a little out of order at present, there is a full average of comforts amongst the labouring classes of the country *at large;* and even in those places where there is a deficiency, it is greatly overrated. At Kirkcaldy, the other day, the export weavers came in a body to the magistrates, and prayed for public relief. The town was portioned into districts. A weaver and manufacturer went over each of them for the purpose of investigation; and mark how the reality fell short of the *fama*:—only one loom out of twenty was out of employment, and this because some young women who wrought at looms were out at summer work, and all the rest were getting about as much as the price of a peck of oatmeal in the day. I do not deny the pressure that is in Glasgow, but my every impression is that it is more bawled and bustled and belaboured about, both in print and in conversation, than it ought to be.

"*N.B.*—The foreign trade is below par at present; but all my inquiries are favourable to the fact that the coasting trade is fully up to par. Now mark, that even in the most prosperous times the showy foreign trade is to the substantial and indestructible home trade as twelve to twenty-eight."

From Anstruther Dr. Chalmers proceeded to Kilmany. "The first parish hamlet," he says, "I landed at was at the back of Mountquhannie, where I turned out the population, and went through a great deal of *speering*, and hand-shaking. I did the same among all the houses immediately around Mountquhannie. One of my female scholars wept aloud, and I was much moved myself. I then went down to the mansion-house. Mr. Gillespie was at Cupar, but arrived in about half an hour. I walked with

him in the garden before dinner. We were altogether most cordial. Major Horsburgh came to meet with me after dinner. He was very tender and friendly. I left them about eight o'clock. Mr. Lawson walked to Rathillet with me. I met with several people here, and had a turn out of population from several of the houses. I called on Mr. Lees, and walked along the road with him till we fell in with Mr. Cook, who came out to meet with me, and with whom I proceeded to the manse. We passed the new inn, got over the crazy bridge, fell in ere we reached the gate with Messrs. Robert Edie and George Aitken, who were kindly invited to sup with me. I remarked that the large gate laboured under its wonted difficulty of being opened, and this circumstance, though minute, brought back the olden time with a gush of tenderness. Supped, showed the guests to the door as usual, but felt a coldness and a melancholy at the difference; presided at family worship; was conducted to the best bedroom, where I indulged for some time in lively recollections which carried a mournfulness along with them, and at length, by a sound and lengthened repose, repaired the whole sleeplessness of the preceding night." After two hours' severe composition in the drawing-room, Dr. Chalmers sallied out next forenoon, and completed a walking survey of the village. The long roll of their names, with little descriptive touches as to the diverse modes of the interviews, is here inserted, and the day closes by his saying, "I was happy to see W. S., who had returned to Dairsie the day before, and came back to meet me. He feels a little humbled at being my satellite, and to complete the joke, he calls me the comet that has appeared in their hemisphere, and I call him a little bouncing cracker at my tail. We had a pleasant evening at the manse, and staid up till nearly one o'clock. I complete this day's narrative by saying, that I should have mentioned in that of yesterday how young D. G. is turned remarkably stout, talking and walking, with a head as curly as ever I saw on a water-dog, and the hair so grown that his face looks like half-a-crown with a prodigious system of head-dress all round it."

"After breakfast on Thursday I went to convoy W. S. towards Dairsie, ascended to the top of a romantic height at Airdit along with him, and then took leave; called on Mr. Anster, who was just mounting his horse with Mr. Heriot of Ramornie. I walked back with them up the hill to Logie, and had there about an hour of severe composition. Reached the manse of Leuchars after eight o'clock." Friday night was spent under the hospi-

table roof of Mr. Lawson, Pitlethie, and Saturday night with the Balfours at East Kinneir, a family to whom he was peculiarly attached, as one of the few in his own parish which rejoiced aright over the change that had taken place in the character of his ministrations. "I started," he proceeds, "on Sunday morning about eight o'clock, after a sound sleep, walked in the garden to the south of the house, and enjoyed the quietness of the Sabbath morn. But my whole sensations in this place are mixed up with a painful and melancholy tenderness. I have made a great sacrifice of personal comfort by going to Glasgow, and all that I read about the poor and the riots, and the calling upon ministers to exert themselves, adds to the repulsion I feel towards that city. Even Mr. Tennent's observations about the impatience of my hearers, and that I must preach more than I told him I was to do, give me the feeling that I have a hydra-headed monster to deal with. This is all very wrong perhaps, and I should strengthen myself in God. I breakfasted at Kinneir, and conducted family worship. I walked with James to Kilmany. The road was lined with crowds of people. Had several hand-shakings on my way to the manse. Mr. Melvil had proclaimed 'no sermon' in his own parish, and he and Mrs. Melvil came down to hear me. I had an unpleasant feeling about the crowd, though the groups coming down the short-cut of the Cupar road gave me a lively and interesting recollection of the olden time. Messrs. Melvil and Cook insisted on my preaching at the window of my farewell Sabbath, and I was prevailed on. This was unfortunate, for the day was windy, and a great number of the people without did not hear me,* and the

* The wind interfered with the preacher's *reading*, as well as the people's hearing. He had much difficulty with his manuscript; and I believe that it was upon this occasion that one portion of it escaped from his hands altogether—the people making great efforts to recover it, and the preacher assuring them that it was of no consequence, as nobody could make any use of it but himself. It had been written, in fact, in short hand. His power of reading so fluently from this kind of manuscript has often surprised even the most expert stenographers; but from all kinds of manuscript his mode of reading was unique—so entirely peculiar as to prevent his example being turned into an argument or precedent upon the general question as to how sermons should be delivered. He was himself greatly amused by the manner in which this peculiarity of his had once been described. After dinner one day, at his friend Mr. Bruce's, the conversation happened to turn on the prevalent intense dislike of our common people to the reading of sermons, or what they call the *paper*. One of the company remarked, that if ministers who read would but do it with more spirit, the popular prejudice would ere long disappear, adding, that she knew of a country wife who, in spite of her great general abhorrence of the "paper," was much attached to the preaching of a "paper minister," and who, on this strange inconsistency being remarked upon, replied in her own defence. "Ay, very true; but then he has a *path* wi' his paper." "That reminds me," said Dr. Chalmers, "of an old anecdote of myself. A friend of mine expressing his surprise to a country woman in Fife, that she who so hated reading should yet be so fond of Mr. Chalmers, she replied, with a serious shake of the head,—'Nae doubt, but it's *ful readin' thon.*'"

effect on myself was very fatiguing, and I have really gotten a most nervous repugnancy to crowds. They are too much for me, and should I preach any more in the country after this jaunt, I shall take care not to make my appearance till Saturday night or Sunday morning. It was not a preaching to my good old people. Many of them were jostled out, and instead of them I had an immense and most oppressive multitude. Mr. Cook and Mr. Melvil could not make their way to their own seat in the afternoon, and had to return to the manse, losing that way half the day. I went over to Mr. Edie's after tea, and had a private half hour of very pleasant conversation with Robert and Alexander Paterson in a room up stairs. . . . *Monday.*—Started at eight o'clock; was much interested in the view of the road before the window. I had two hours of severe composition after breakfast. At one sallied out; went down the Moutray, and recollected how often I had taken Anne down the bank and entertained her with the ducks of Sandy Robertson I saw sailing in the burn. Dined in Mr. Cook's with a large party. There is a sideboard opposite to the fireplace in the dining-room, and the table is set from the south window to the opposite wall, Mr. Cook sitting at the window as the head. I looked out incessantly to the brae and upon Michael Matthew's ploughs running in their wonted style. Robie Dewar (the carrier) came from Cupar with a letter to me. I had a sentimental interview with him at the kitchen portico. He told me that he had no phrases, but that there was much in his heart." Escorted at different times by one or more of his old parishioners, and making many a visit by the way, late on the Monday evening he was welcomed to Starbank by his wife's relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Simson. His earliest visits on the following morning were to those spots made dear to him by the most peculiar recollections. In the midst of scenes so familiar to Mrs. Chalmers, his narrative now becomes, if possible, more minute than ever, and he tells how the shrubbery, in absence of the tending hand, had become a tangled wilderness—how Alexander Dun, however, still wrought the garden, and kept it in very good order—how half the strawberries on the bank had been renewed and yielded nothing, and the other half in their old state were not peculiarly productive—how, striving to get into the upper park, he had found all the gaps so closed that he had difficulty in penetrating into it—how he had tried to find out the place where once they had sat together, but could find no vestige of the seat which they had

occupied,—and how he had taken up his station for some time upon the elevation which, because of some tender remembrance, he denominates "the sentimental knowe." On Tuesday night he supped with Mr. Simson's neighbour, Mr. Lawson. "I left him about ten o'clock, and was conveyed to Starbank. The clearness and beauty of the moonlight resting on a scene so lovely and so dear to me made it a most agreeable walk. On entering Starbank, I found that Mr. S. had gone to bed. Mrs. S. received me in the dining-room, where they keep a good fire, and where I amuse myself tracing the figures on the marble jambs. The fox-tails are still in great preservation. After family worship I retired to bed about eleven." Next day saw another gathering of old friends at L——. "I got to Starbank before nine. Cracked about an hour. Proposed to stay and read a little in the dining-room after they moved up stairs; but this I should not have done, as Mrs. S.'s anxiety about fire made her sit up till she heard me moving, and then she came down and saw that everything was safe. We met on the stair, and after many apologies, and offers of service, and explanations, and civil sayings, which we scarcely knew how to give over, we at length fairly got quit of one another." Thursday was claimed by Balmeadowside. The family were all at home. "I spent half an hour in the drawing-room, which is just the same as before, with its window transparencies, and mantelpiece gim-cracks, and boarding-school performances. We had music from the three Miss N.'s and Miss R. I was much delighted with it; and we had three reels. After R. went away we had family worship, and I am now writing you from our wonted bedroom." Saturday evening afforded him his last look of the village of Kilmany. He had dined at the manse. "Mrs. Cook most kind and civil. After tea took a tender adieu of them all. As I went through the burn on my horse saw the wives of the 'long row' at their doors looking towards me. Passed the manse gate with the weight of feeling upon me that it was my home no more. The evening was beautiful, and sweetly did the declining sun shine upon all the groups of hamlet objects that were before me. The manse in a glow of luxuriance. I took many a look, till it sunk beneath the summit of the road."

A fortnight more of such delightful cordialities at Cupar, Dundee, and elsewhere, brought him once more to Glasgow, the thought of whose multiplied responsibilities had ever and anon arisen upon him by the way, and forced from him such expres-

sions as the following:—"I will not disguise from you that there is much in and about Glasgow which inspires my distaste for it. I should like to get attached to it, but I have not yet succeeded in this, and I fear, I fear, I shall at length be glad to take refuge in the country from the many untoward and discouraging circumstances which surround my present situation. . . . I feel an increasing interest as the time draws near for returning to Glasgow. I trust I may in time like it. Do away all secular business, and all blame for my avoiding it, and I think I should like it." These dark thoughts of the future were however but the few and flitting shadows thrown upon a period of almost unbroken sunshine—a period, too, as productive as it was pleasant; for throughout the whole of these six weeks, scarcely a single day was suffered to elapse in which an hour or two was not redeemed from its busiest periods, and consecrated to composition. Between Glasgow and Kirkcaldy the full preparations for a Sabbath's services were completed. At Kirkcaldy, on the Saturday, "Dr. Jones's Sermons," with a copy of a letter from Mr. Josiah Conder, then editor of the Eclectic, accepting his offer to review the volume, were put into his hands; and though he "never preached with greater fatigue or discomfort" than on the succeeding Sabbath, the Monday's Journal has the following entry:—"I yoked to the review of 'Jones;' have read three of his sermons, and thrown off a tolerable modicum of observations on sermons in general. I trust I shall be able to finish my review of him this week." He carried the volume in his pocket, reading it often as he walked, and snatching the readiest hours in the houses of his acquaintances to carry forward his review. "I have this forenoon," is his entry on Wednesday at Pilmuir, "thrown off a full modicum of additional review of 'Jones's Sermons.' I have also written to Dr. Ireland, and offered him a sight of the manuscript on its way to London, lest the friends should be resting too high an expectation on my account of the volume."—"After breakfast," such is the note of progress at Elie, "I retired to my bedroom, where I read 'Jones.' His sermons at Glasgow and Kilmany are in the volume, but they look sadly reduced and enfeebled in print. Anstruther, Saturday, half-past one,—I have now finished the review of 'Dr. Jones's Sermons.'* I am heartily tired of this kind of work, and should like henceforward to decline it altogether."

Tired, however, as he felt on the Saturday of the work of re-

* See Eclectic Review, vol. vi. p. 238; and Works, vol. xii. p. 324.

viewing, another work was taken up on the Monday, and one, we should have thought, as little likely to be undertaken amidst such a life of varied and perpetual motion as he now was living. "I began," he says, "my fourth astronomical sermon to-day." And in a small pocket-book, with borrowed pen and ink, in strange apartments, where he was liable every moment to interruption, that sermon was taken up and carried on to completion. At the manse of Balmerino, disappointed in not finding Mr. Thomson at home, and having a couple of hours to spare—at the manse of Kilmany, in the drawing-room, with all the excitement before him of meeting for the first time, after a year's absence, many of his former friends and parishioners—at the manse of Logie, into which he turned at random by the way and found a vacant hour—paragraph after paragraph was penned of a composition which bears upon it as much of the aspect of high and continuous elaboration as almost any piece of writing in our language.

I believe that literary history presents few parallel instances of such power of immediate and entire concentration of thought, under such ready command of the will, exercised at such broken intervals, amid such unpropitious circumstances, and yet yielding a product in which not a single trace either of rupture in argument or variation in style appears. Those ingenious critics, who, on the first appearance of the "Astronomical Sermons" in print, spoke of the midnight oil which must have been consumed, and the vast elaboration which must have been bestowed—how much would they have been surprised had they but known the times and modes and places in which one at least of these discourses had been prepared!

But higher even than the literary interest which attaches to the record of this visit to Fifeshire, are those brief notices given to us of the spiritual condition of the writer. "I am not attempting," he in one place says, "any more at present than a a sheet of severe composition in the week; and as I had nearly completed this, I resolved to abandon myself to the stream of events throughout this day (Saturday), and upon the whole, I hope that the uncomplying severity of system is now giving way with me under a milder and more attractive principle of forbearance with others. I speak, however, with great humility, and am sure that nothing but Divine grace will uphold me in that which is good and acceptable unto the Lord. I trust, amid all my imperfections, that I may be getting on in earnest, hum-

ble, and spiritual Christianity. I feel, however, my barrenness, my forgetfulness of God, my miserable distance from the temper and elevation of the New Testament, my proneness to self and its wilful and headlong gratifications, and, above all, a kind of delusive orthodox satisfaction with the mere confession of all this, without a vigorous putting forth of any one revealed expedient for getting the better of it." Again, in reference to a family of whose hospitalities he had been partaking, he says—"There has a great tide of prosperity set in upon this family, and they are kind, upright, amiable people. But I am strongly impressed with the fact, that with these many things we may lack one thing—and that one thing may be the love of God. I feel the vanity of time; I feel the insignificance of present things. These meetings and partings speak loudly to the folly of trusting in any worldly enjoyments. I fear that I have not improved sufficiently my opportunities on this journey, and all conversation has been suffered to run into the light, the secular, and the trifling. I expatiated upon this with —— by herself, but did not make a better of it at ——, where there was much kind-heartedness, and much cordiality, and much playful remark, but not one distant reference to the main subject of interest and regard to an immortal creature. I have to request of my dear G., that she stir herself up to lay hold of God. Do act faith on the great truths of the Christian revelation. Do cry mightily to God for pardon in the name and for the sake of Christ; and relying on the power of His blood and of His Spirit, commit yourself to Him in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator." . . . "I have much to learn in the way of observing all the kindnesses and all the facilities of social intercourse; and I cannot withhold it, as a testimony to the power and importance of gospel faith, that the more I feel of peace with God, the more largely and the more freely I take in of those promises which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus, the more I have my eye open to the sufficiency of His atonement and the subduing efficacy of His Spirit—in a word, the more I am exercised with all that is direct and peculiar in piety, the more do I feel my heart attuned to the cordialities and the patience and the facilities of benevolence and good-will. O that I was making more steady and decided progress than I have ever yet done—that all the asperities of temper were softening within me—that I was becoming better as the member of a company and the member of a family, and growing every day in conformity to the image of my all-pure and all-perfect Saviour!"

CHAPTER XXII.

FIRST DELIVERY OF THE ASTRONOMICAL DISCOURSES—SCENE IN THE TRONGATE—PUBLICATION OF THESE DISCOURSES—THEIR EXTRAORDINARY POPULARITY—TESTIMONIES OF HAZLITT AND CANNING—FOSTER'S REVIEW—VISIT TO LONDON—LETTER FROM JAMES MONTGOMERY, ESQ., OF SHEFFIELD—SERMONS IN THE METROPOLIS—LONDON POPULARITY—ANECDOTES OF MR. CANNING, MR. WILBERFORCE, ETC.—THE JOURNEY HOME—LETTER TO HIS SISTER—LETTER FROM ROBERT HALL.

At the time of Dr. Chalmers's settlement in Glasgow, it was the custom that the clergymen of the city should preach in rotation on Thursday in the Tron Church, a duty which, as their number was then but eight, returned to each within an interval of two months. On Thursday the 23d of November 1815, this week-day service devolved on Dr. Chalmers. The entire novelty of the discourse delivered upon this occasion, and the promise held out by the preacher that a series of similar discourses was to follow, excited the liveliest interest, not in his own congregation alone, but throughout the whole community. He had presented to his hearers a sketch of the recent discoveries of astronomy—distinct in outline, and drawn with all the ease of one who was himself a master in the science, yet gorgeously magnificent in many of its details, displaying amid "the brilliant glow of a blazing eloquence,"* the sublime poetry of the heavens. In his subsequent discourses Dr. Chalmers proposed to discuss the argument, or rather prejudice, against the Christian Revelation which grounds itself on the vastness and variety of those unnumbered worlds which lie scattered over the immeasurable fields of space. This discussion occupied all the Thursday services allotted to him during the year 1816. The spectacle which presented itself in the Trongate upon the day of the delivery of each new astronomical discourse, was a most singular one. Long ere the bell began to toll, a stream of people might be seen pouring through the passage which led into the Tron Church. Across the street, and immediately opposite to this passage, was the old reading-room, where all the Glasgow

* Foster.

merchants met. So soon, however, as the gathering quickening stream upon the opposite side of the street gave the accustomed warning, out flowed the occupants of the coffee-room; the pages of the Herald or the Courier were for a while forsaken, and during two of the best business hours of the day the old reading-room wore a strange aspect of desolation. The busiest merchants of the city were wont, indeed, upon those memorable days to leave their desks, and kind masters allowed their clerks and apprentices to follow their example. Out of the very heart of the great tumult an hour or two stood redeemed for the highest exercises of the spirit; and the low traffic of earth forgotten, heaven and its high economy and its human sympathies and eternal interests, engrossed the mind at least and the fancy of congregated thousands.

In January 1817, this series of discourses was announced as ready for publication. It had generally been a matter of so much commercial risk to issue a volume of sermons from the press, that recourse had been often had in such cases to publication by subscription. Dr. Chalmers's publisher, Mr. Smith, had hinted that perhaps this method ought in this instance also to be tried. "It is far more agreeable to my feelings," Dr. Chalmers wrote to him a few days before the day of publication, "that the book should be introduced to the general market, and sell on the public estimation of it, than that the neighbourhood here should be plied in all the shops with subscription papers, and as much as possible wrung out of their partialities for the author." Neither author nor publisher had at this time the least idea of the extraordinary success which was awaiting their forthcoming volume. It was published on the 28th of January 1817. In ten weeks 6000 copies had been disposed of, the demand showing no symptom of decline. Nine editions were called for within a year, and nearly 20,000 copies were in circulation. Never previously, nor ever since, has any volume of sermons met with such immediate and general acceptance. The "Tales of my Landlord" had a month's start in the date of publication, and even with such a competitor it ran an almost equal race. Not a few curious observers were struck with the novel competition, and watched with lively curiosity how the great Scottish preacher and the great Scottish novelist kept for a whole year so nearly abreast of one another. It was, besides, the first volume of Sermons which fairly broke the lines which had separated too long the literary from the religious public.

Its secondary merits won audience for it in quarters where evangelical Christianity was nauseated and despised. It disarmed even the keen hostility of Hazlitt, and kept him for a whole forenoon spell-bound beneath its power. "These sermons," he says, "ran like wildfire through the country, were the darlings of watering-places, were laid in the windows of inns, and were to be met with in all places of public resort. . . . We remember finding the volume in the orchard of the inn at Burford Bridge, near Boxhill, and passing a whole and very delightful morning in reading it without quitting the shade of an apple-tree." The attractive volume stole an hour or two from the occupations of the greatest statesman and orator of the day. "Canning," says Sir James Mackintosh, "told me that he was entirely converted to admiration of Chalmers; so is Bobus, whose conversion is thought the greatest proof of victory. Canning says there are most magnificent passages in his 'Astronomical Sermons.'"* Four years before this time, through the pages of the "Edinburgh Christian Instructor," Dr. Chalmers had said, "Men of tasteful and cultivated literature are repelled from theology at the very outset by the unseemly garb in which she is presented to them. If there be room for the display of eloquence in urgent and pathetic exhortation, in masterly discussion, in elevating greatness of conception, does not theology embrace all these, and will not the language that is clearly and appropriately expressive of them possess many of the constituents and varieties of good writing? If theology, then, can command such an advantage, on what principle should it be kept back from her? . . . . In the subject itself there is a grandeur which it were vain to look for in the ordinary themes of eloquence or poetry. Let writers arise, then, to do it justice. Let them be all things to all men, that they may gain some; and if a single proselyte can be thereby drawn from the ranks of literature, let all the embellishments of genius and fancy be thrown around the subject. One man has already done much. Others are rising around him, and with the advantage of a higher subject, they will in time rival the unchristian moralists of the day, and overmatch them." He was one of the first to answer to his own call, to fulfil his own prediction. No single writer of our age has done so much to present the truths of Christianity in new forms, and to invest

* "Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh," vol. ii. p. 43. The person known among his particular friends by the name of "Bobus" was Robert Smith, who had held the office of Advocate General in Bengal, and who is not to be confounded with his namesake, the brother of the Rev. Sydney Smith.

them with all the attractions of a fascinating eloquence; nor could a single volume be named which has done more than this very volume of "Astronomical Discourses" to soften and subdue those prejudices which the infidelity of natural science engenders.

In his critique of these Discourses, presented in two articles in the Eclectic Review, Foster blamed their author "for dragging into notice a stale and impotent objection against the truth of the Christian religion, and giving a wide spread by his discourses to an argument which, so far as we can find, is almost unknown." Had Dr. Chalmers's sole aim been to furnish a distinct and original contribution to the deistical controversy—had his terminating object been the logical overthrow of an alleged argument of the infidel philosophy, his volume might not have stood the test to which the profound but severe intellect of Foster subjected it; but although the argument, or let us rather say the impression, which it was the main object of Dr. Chalmers to set aside and subdue, had never found a place in the pages of the controversialist, it had been felt by many an intellectual and imaginative spirit, elevated to sublime conceptions of the Divinity by the boundless magnificence of the material universe, but over which the chill of an unacknowledged perhaps but most disturbing doubt had crept, when told of the incarnation and death of God's eternal Son, in a world so narrow in its limits, and for a race so obscure as ours. It was Dr. Chalmers's chief merit in these Discourses, that after unfolding the wonders of the starry heavens, so as to make our puny globe shrink into shaded insignificance, and after such representations of the universe and its great Governor in relation to our race, as showed how thoroughly he could understand at least, if not sympathize with, the very prejudice which it was to be his effort to remove, he proceeded so to illustrate and exalt the condescension and kindness of the Deity, and so to picture forth the magnitude of those interests which human salvation involved, and so to glorify that act of incalculable grace to which, for the effecting of this salvation, He has been pleased to stoop, as to throw around the character and doings of the God of the New Testament, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, a splendour far higher than even that which the sovereignty of the heavens confers. In doing so, another if not a higher service was rendered to the Christian cause than any which the mere force of triumphant reasoning could achieve.

In many parts of Foster's review of these sermons Dr. Chalmers himself acquiesced. A year or two before his death, a friend, in whose house he was spending the day, found him deeply engaged with a volume, and giving, as he read, by significant movements of his head, visible tokens of approbation. He told at once, on rising from the book, that it was Foster's review of his "Astronomical Discourses" that he had been reading, which he had not looked at for many years, but in much of which he entirely and cordially concurred. He had quite the feeling towards these Discourses that they were a juvenile production, with too rich an exuberance of phraseology to which the pruning-knife might beneficially have been applied. Even among his Sermons he did not think that they stood first, his "Commercial Sermons" being always regarded by him as in every respect superior to them. In this, however, as in so many other instances, the judgments of the author and his readers have been at variance; for not only do these "Astronomical Discourses" continue to be favourites with the public, but to this day they command a larger sale than any other portion of Dr. Chalmers's writings.

It was amidst the full burst of that applause which his volume of sermons had elicited that Dr. Chalmers appeared for the first time in a London pulpit. Mrs. Chalmers and he, accompanied by Mr. Smith his publisher, left Glasgow for London on the morning of Monday the 14th April 1817. Their progress was slow and circuitous. Crossing from Cumberland to Yorkshire, visiting the scenery of Rokeby, and pausing to inspect the Moravian establishment of Fulneck, they did not reach Birmingham till the evening of Friday the 23d. From this place Mr. Smith wrote to his friends in Glasgow :—"Our utmost expectations of a delightful journey have been more than realized. It is impossible to conceive how all should have so contributed to our gratification. I am sure that there has not been a desire ungratified in the heart of any one of us. At the outset it was determined that the Doctor should chronicle character, and that I should narrate occurrences and describe scenery. We have already many most interesting memoranda—the Fulneckers, Montgomery at Sheffield, Mr. Hall at Leicester, and many other worthy persons, are to emblazon our sketches. I have gleaned some curious historical anecdotes for my department. Carlisle, Harrowgate, Wakefield, Ripon, Leeds, Fulneck, Sheffield, Nottingham, Leicester, &c., also figure in it. We have been very

merry and very wise, and I am sure three travellers were never happier than we have been."—I have not been able to recover the chronicle here referred to, both parts of which were retained by Mr. Smith.* Mr. Montgomery has been kind enough to furnish the following interesting details of his first interview with Dr. Chalmers:—

"The Mount, Sheffield, *Jan.* 23, 1850.

"Rev. and dear Sir,—The circumstance which I once mentioned at Glasgow concerning the late Rev. Dr. Chalmers, was simply this:—On a dark evening, about the end of April (I have forgotten the year) two strangers called at my house in Sheffield, where I then resided, one of whom introduced himself as Mr. Smith, bookseller, of Glasgow, and his companion as the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of the same city, who, being on a journey to London, where he was engaged to preach the annual sermon for the Missionary Society, desired to have a short interview with me. Of course I was glad to have the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with so great and good a man, and we soon were earnestly engaged in conversation on subjects endeared to us both; for, though at first I found it difficult to take in and decipher his peculiar utterance, yet the thoughts that spoke themselves through the seemingly uncouth words came so quick and thick upon me from his lips, that I could not help understanding them; till, being myself roused into unwonted volubility of speech, I responded as promptly as they were made to his numerous and searching inquiries concerning the United Brethren (commonly called Moravians) among whom I was born, but especially respecting their scriptural method of evangelizing and civilizing barbarian tribes of the rudest classes of heathen. In the outset he told me that he had come directly from Fulneck, near Leeds, one of our principal establishments in England, and where there is an academy open for the education of children of parents of all Christian denominations, in which I had been myself a pupil about ten years in the last century. At the time of which I am writing, and for several years in connexion, there were many scholars from the North, as well as Irish and English boarders, there. My visitor said that he had invited all the Scotch lads to meet him at the inn there, and 'How many, think you, there were of them?' he asked me. 'In-

* I have been extremely indebted to A. Macduff, Esq., of Bonhard, the representative of Mr. Smith, who has not only furnished the materials of the nineteenth chapter in this volume, but has made every effort, though in vain, to recover the journal above alluded to.

deed, I cannot tell,' I replied. He answered, 'There were *saxtain* or *savantain*'—(I cannot pretend to spell the numbers as he pronounced them to my unpractised ear;)—and I was so taken by surprise, that I exclaimed abruptly, 'It is enough to corrupt the English language in the seminary!' In that moment I felt I had uttered an impertinence, though without the slightest consciousness of such an application to my hearer: and, as instantly recovering my presence of mind, I added, 'When I was at Fulneck school, I was the only Scotch lad there.' Whether this slip was noticed, or passed off as mere waste of breath in the heat of conversation, I know not; but on we went together in another vein on a theme which deeply interested my illustrious visitor, and to the discussion of which I was principally indebted for the honour of this sudden and hasty call upon me, as he was to set off for town early the next morning. 'An angel visit, short and bright,'* it was to me, and I do not remember that I ever spent half an hour of more animated and delightful intercommunion with a kindred spirit in my life. As I have noticed already, our discourse turned principally on the subject of the Moravian Missions in pagan lands, and the lamentable inability of our few and small congregations in Christendom to raise among themselves the pecuniary expenses of maintaining their numerous and comparatively large establishments in Greenland, Labrador, North and South America, the West Indies, and South Africa, but that, providentially, they received liberal help from the friends of the gospel of other evangelical denominations; hereupon Dr. Chalmers said—evidently *not* from sudden impulse, but a cherished purpose in his heart—'I mean to raise five hundred pounds for the Brethren's Missions this year!' 'Five hundred pounds for our poor missions!' I cried; 'I never heard of such a thing before!' He rejoined, 'I will do it.' But while I heartily thanked him, and implicitly believed in the integrity of his intention, I could only hope that he might be able to fulfil it, and within myself I said, 'I will watch you, Doctor.' I

* "I have borrowed this phrase neither from Blair nor Campbell, but from 'John Norris' of the seventeenth century:—

> 'How fading are the joys we dote upon!
> Like apparitions seen and gone:
> But those which soonest take their flight,
> Are the most exquisite and strong;
> Like angels' visits, short and bright,
> Mortality 's too weak to bear them long.'

Can we doubt that these lines were actually inspired by such a visit in the presence of the heavenly visitant? Such poetry is not of the earth, earthy."

did so, and traced him through sermons, subscriptions, collections, and donations, till these had realized, to the best of my recollection, a sum nearer to six than five hundred pounds. Now, considering in how many comprehensive concerns he was at that very time putting forth all his strength—originating, promoting, and accomplishing economical, local, patriotic, and Christian plans for the wellbeing of populous communities—in comparison with which this effort in aid of the Brethren was like the putting forth of his little finger only—yet, I confess, that 'small thing,' not to be despised, gave me a most magnificent idea of the intellectual, moral, and sanctified power for good with which the human being who stood before me was endowed from on high. And surely, if ever ten talents were committed by Him who is Lord of all in His kingdom of heaven on earth, Dr. Chalmers was so invested; and judging by the labours which he did in his day, and the works *which remain, as well as have followed* him to his account, we may fervently believe that the treasure lent to him was doubled by his faithful occupation of the same, and that his 'joy of the Lord,' which was his 'strength' in life, is now his portion for ever. I must conclude here, or I shall lose another post, and have to beg pardon for not earlier communicating the small intelligence which you required; but cold weather in the 78th winter of my age is paralysing and disheartening when called upon to do anything in the right time. —I am, however, truly and respectfully, your friend and servant, J. MONTGOMERY.

"P.S.—Several years later, being in London when Dr. C. was there, I had the happiness to meet him repeatedly at Homerton, and was every time more and more pleased with him, as indeed a good and faithful servant of his Lord."

At Warwick the travelling party broke up, Mr. Smith proceeding to Paris, Dr. and Mrs. Chalmers going to Gloucestershire to spend a fortnight with Mr. and Mrs. Morton. From his sister's residence Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Miss Smith:—

"PUDHILL, MINCHING HAMPTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE,
May 2, 1817.

"MY DEAR MISS SMITH,—We reached this a week ago, and propose spending another week here ere we set out for London. We are in full expectation of meeting your brother upon our

arrival, and of journeying homewards with him by the circuitous route of Portsmouth, Bristol, Wales, and the Lakes. . . .

"I expect to see the great Foster this evening, author of the profound and eloquent 'Essays' which you may have heard of. We were much delighted with Mr. Hall at Leicester, and have indeed the whole of our journey scattered over with very pleasant remembrances.

"Our tendency to forget God is on no occasion more visible than in travelling. We had the Bible in the chaise-pocket, which I think a good habit on a journey; and yet how often have I looked at the variety and richness of the scene around me in total insensibility to the consideration that it was God who spread it all before me, and filled it with its beauties. There is a hêlpless enslavement on the part of man to the things of sense and of time, and nothing will rescue him but a habit of leaning upon Christ, a drawing out of His fulness, a constant commitment of ourselves to Him as the Lord our strength, who alone can perfect it in our weakness, and make His grace sufficient for us.

"May He draw you more and more towards Him, and may you grow every day in a more perfect resemblance to all those virtues which adorned His character.

"With best compliments to Mr. Smith, in which Mrs. Chalmers joins, believe me, my dear Madam, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The three travellers met again in London on the evening of Tuesday the 13th May. On the following day Dr. Chalmers preached, in Surrey Chapel, the anniversary sermon for the London Missionary Society. Although the service did not commence till eleven o'clock, "at seven in the morning the chapel was crowded to excess, and many thousands went off for want of room." The two front seats in the gallery were reserved for ministers and students of theology to the number of between two and three hundred. An occupant* of one of these seats informs us, that "on the termination of the Church service, and after an extempore prayer by Dr. Kollock from America, Dr. Chalmers entered the pulpit in his usual simple and unpretending manner, and sat down, while all eyes were fixed upon him. He rose and gave out his text from 1 Cor. xiv. 22-25. The singularity of

* The Rev. Mr. Lothian of the Independent Church, St. Andrews, at that time a student in one of the Dissenting Colleges of the metropolis.

the text and the originality of the exordium awakened a breathless attention, which was increased by the northern accent of the preacher, and the apparent weakness or unmanageableness of his voice. The late Dr. Styles of Brighton, and Dr. Henry Burder of London, who were sitting directly before me, looked at each other with anxiety and regret, as if doomed to disappointment; but he had not proceeded many minutes till his voice gradually expanded in strength and compass, reaching every part of the house, and commanding universal attention. At the close of many of his long and well-turned periods there was a sensible rustling throughout the audience, as if stopping to take breath. Towards the middle of the discourse the preacher became quite exhausted by the violence of his action, and sat down while two verses of a hymn were singing, accompanied as usual by the organ. He then rose and recommenced his sermon, which occupied about an hour and a half in the delivery. Old Rowland Hill stood the whole time at the foot of the pulpit, gazing on the preacher with great earnestness, and whenever any sentiment was uttered which met his approval, signifying his assent by a gentle nod of the head, and an expressive smile." On returning from this exciting scene, Mr. Smith sat down to inform his friends in Glasgow of the result:—"I write under the nervousness of having heard and witnessed the most astonishing display of human talent that perhaps ever commanded sight or hearing. Dr. Chalmers has just finished the discourse before the Missionary Society. All my expectations were overwhelmed in the triumph of it. Nothing from the Tron pulpit ever exceeded it, nor did he ever more arrest and wonderwork his auditors. I had a full view of the whole place. The carrying forward of minds never was so visible to me: a constant assent of the head from the whole people accompanied all his paragraphs, and the breathlessness of expectation permitted not the beating of a heart to agitate the stillness."

On Tuesday the 20th, Mr. Smith snatched again a few minutes for his friends in the North:—"Since I wrote last we have been in great bustle. On Thursday evening we were introduced at the meeting of the Royal Society, where we saw all the most distinguished philosophers of the nation. On Friday evening we were in the House of Peers during the debate on the Catholic Question. The House was very numerously attended. On Saturday Dr. Chalmers and I, with Dr. Mason of New York, went to Cambridge—Mrs. Chalmers remaining at Walworth with Dr.

Chalmers's brother's family. Our Cambridge expedition passed over most happily. All honour was showered on the Doctor. In every particular we were highly gratified. The agitation here on account of Dr. Chalmers is quite unprecedented. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Melville, and others, have desired to be introduced to him. At present he is off to the Chancellor, and we have just had a message from the Lord Mayor, telling us of his intention to call here to-day."

On Wednesday the 21st, Dr. Chalmers attended the anniversary dinner of the London Correspondent Board of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In reply to a toast given by the Rev. Henry White, Rector of All Hallows, London, in which his own name was coupled with that of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Chalmers, after eulogizing the Scottish system of education which he described as his country's "cheap defence," referred with admiration and delight to the symptoms then showing themselves of approximation between the Churches of England and Scotland. He closed by proposing as a toast, "The Rev. Sir Robert Pratt and the Church of England."

On Thursday the 22d, Dr. Chalmers preached again in Surrey Chapel on behalf of the Scottish Hospital for the relief of aged and destitute natives of Scotland, who, never having acquired a settlement in England, had no claim for parochial aid. In announcing this discourse in the newspapers, the Committee of the Hospital had thought it desirable to make the following intimation:—"Divine Service begins at eleven o'clock, but the Committee having issued tickets to a part of the church, for the better securing of accommodation to the friends of the charity, it is requested that those holding tickets may be at the chapel at the opening of the doors, at half-past nine o'clock, to prevent disappointment." The sermon preached for this Hospital was the same which Dr. Chalmers had delivered before the Society of the Sons of the Clergy in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The growing evils of the Poor-laws, as then administered in England, were attracting much of the attention of public men; and while they were only planning methods for mitigating these evils, it must have surprised a London audience not a little to hear from the pulpit a bold and uncompromising attack on the principle and expediency of all forms of legalized charity. Upon the Saturday which followed the delivery of this discourse, Mr. Smith writes—"The Doctor has come off with great *éclat*. Sir James

Mackintosh, Lord Elgin, and all the *literati*, were at the church on Thursday last. To-morrow will be a day of much expectation."

On the forenoon of Sabbath the 25th, Dr. Chalmers preached in the Scotch Church, London Wall, for the benefit of the Hibernian Society. "The desire," says the Rev. Dr. Manuel, who at that time was minister of this church, "felt by all classes, but particularly by the higher classes of society, to hear him upon this occasion, was extreme, exceeding almost all precedent.* Among his auditors were a number of the most distinguished clergy of the Church of England, several Peers, many members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor of the city, and literary characters of all classes and denominations. Anticipating the pressure, a large chapel in the neighbourhood was engaged to receive the overflow. Not only the Scotch Church, but this chapel also was crammed to suffocation, hundreds seeking admission, but going away without getting into either place of worship. . . . At the close of the sermon, the Lord Mayor went up into the pulpit, and importuned Dr. Chalmers to preach on behalf of some city object, which he was obliged to decline." "All the world," writes Mr. Wilberforce in his Diary, "wild about Dr. Chalmers. He seems truly pious, simple, and unassuming. *Sunday, 25th.*—Off early with Canning, Huskisson, and Lord Binning, to the Scotch Church, London Wall, to hear Dr. Chalmers. Vast crowds. Bobus Smith, Lords Elgin, Harrowby, &c. I was surprised to see how greatly Canning was affected; at times he was quite melted into tears." The passage which most affected him was at the close of the discourse.† He is reported to have said, that although at first he felt uneasy in consequence of Dr. Chalmers's manner and accent, yet that he had never been so arrested by any oratory. "The tartan," so runs the speech attributed to him, "beats us all."

On the afternoon of the same Sabbath, Dr. Chalmers preached for the Rev. Dr. Nicol, minister of the Scotch Church, Swallow

* Amid all this excitement, which, of course, would be greatest among Dr. Chalmers's own countrymen, there was at least one Scotchman in London who continued quite unmoved. His own brother James never once went to hear him preach. He could not escape, however, hearing much about him, for the stir created had penetrated even into his daily haunt, the Jerusalem Coffee house. "Well," said one of his merchant friends to him one day, wholly ignorant of his relationship, "have you heard this wonderful countryman and namesake of yours?" "Yes," said James, somewhat drily, "I have heard him." "And what did you think of him?" "Very little indeed," was the reply. "Dear me!" said the astonished inquirer; "*when* did you hear him?" "About half an hour after he was born."

† "Mr. Canning was present at the sermon preached for the Hibernian Society. The beautiful passage on the Irish character affected him to tears. I saw it myself."—Letter from the Countess Dowager Elgin.

Street. The crowd here had nearly lost its object by the very vehemence of its pursuit. On approaching the church, Dr. Chalmers and a friend found so dense a mass within and before the building as to give no hope of effecting an entrance by the mere force of ordinary pressure. Lifting his cane and gently tapping the heads of those who were in advance, Dr. Chalmers's friend exclaimed, "Make way there—make way *for Dr. Chalmers.*" Heads indeed were turned at the summons, and looks were given, but with not a few significant tokens of incredulity, and some broad hints that they were not to be taken in by any such device, the sturdy Londoners refused to move. Forced to retire, Dr. Chalmers retreated from the outskirts of the crowd, crossed the street, stood for a few moments gazing on the growing tumult, and had almost resolved altogether to withdraw. Matters were not much better when Mr. Wilberforce and his party approached. Access by any of the ordinary entrances was impossible. In this emergency, and as there was still some unoccupied space around the pulpit which the crowd had not been able to appropriate, a plank was projected from one of the windows till it rested on an iron palisade. By this privileged passage Mr. Wilberforce, and the ladies who were with him, were invited to enter, Lord Elgin waving encouragement and offering aid from within. "I was surveying the breach," says Mr. Wilberforce, "with a cautious and inquiring eye, when Lady D., no shrimp you must observe, entered boldly before me, and proved that it was practicable." The impression produced by the service which followed, when all had at last settled down into stillness, was deeper than that made by any of those which preceded it, and we may hope it was also more salutary, as the preacher dealt throughout with truths bearing directly on the individual salvation of his hearers.*

* I have not been able to ascertain positively what sermon Dr. Chalmers preached on this occasion. From the brief notice of it by Mr. Wilberforce—"Chalmers most awful on carnal and spiritual man," and from the subjoined sketch taken from the Morning Chronicle, I am inclined to believe that it was the sermon which stands first in the tenth volume of his Works.

"*Monday, May* 26, 1817. Rev. Dr. Chalmers.—Yesterday the public had another opportunity of hearing this eminent divine previous to his leaving town for Glasgow. He preached in the forenoon for the Hibernian Society, in the Rev. Mr. Manuel's Church London Wall, and in the afternoon in Swallow Street. In the forenoon he advocated the cause of the Society with his usual ability, but his sermon in the afternoon, on 'the degeneracy of man,' was one of the finest specimens of eloquence that could possibly be delivered from the pulpit, and displayed the most profound knowledge of the human mind. The progress of vice, its fascinating allurements, and its tendency to the eternal ruin of its votaries were depicted in the most glowing colours. The discourse was concluded by an animated and powerful address to the various on the folly and absurdity of their conduct. The pressure at both places of worship was immense, and though every accommodation was made, many thousands went away

"I pronounce London"—so had Dr. Chalmers written to his brother James some months before coming up to the metropolis —"I pronounce London to be intolerable. I have had to issue a whole swarm of refusals to your London applications, and though I mean to be there in May, yet I believe that the insufferable urgency of the place will drive me away from it so soon as I have liquidated my engagements to two Societies." The insufferable urgency had its apprehended effect. He did not enter London till the day immediately preceding that on which he preached his first sermon, and he left it on the day immediately succeeding that on which his last discourse was delivered. With Mr. Smith once more as their travelling companion, Mrs. Chalmers and he left London on Monday the 26th May. In the much regretted absence of the lost Journal, we must, nevertheless, be grateful to Mr. Smith for the following notices of their homeward route. Visiting Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, Ryde, East and West Cowes, Gosport, Southampton, Salisbury, Warminster, Bath, and Bristol, the party penetrated into South Wales, whence Mr. Smith thus writes:—"*Brecon, June* 3, 1817.—You would hear of the distinguished reception we had at Portsmouth from Sir George Grey, the Commissioner for the Admiralty there. Lady Grey, in point of Christian excellence, is deemed in this country to be second only to Mr. Wilberforce. At Bath we were quite as fortunate. At Bristol even more so. The Doctor saw Mrs. Hannah More; but as she had recently lost a sister, Mrs. Chalmers and I did not intrude. We all saw and had much enjoyment in Mr. Foster. Mrs. Chalmers and I heard him preach on Sunday evening. The Doctor could not be present as he had to officiate in Bristol. Mr. Foster was beyond all our expectations marvellous. Yesterday we came to what may truly be denominated the paradise of England—Piercefield, the seat of Mr. Wells, on this side the passage. He detained us for the evening in the most gentlemanly and pleasing manner. In Wales we have seen Tintern Abbey, Chepstow Castle, Ragland Castle, &c. The remainder of this week is to be devoted to the Devil's Bridge, Llanidloes, Oswestry, Llangollen, Wrexham, Chester, and Liverpool. Next week we proceed to the Lakes."

very much disappointed for want of room to stand even at the doors. Mr. Wilberforce and several Members of Parliament were present in the afternoon. We understand that the collection made after the sermon for the Scottish Hospital, which he preached in Surrey Chapel on Thursday, exceeded £260, which was very great, considering that every day during the last three weeks collections have been made in the Metropolis."

"*Newby Bridge, June* 12.—The whole of the proposed route has been most successfully accomplished. The scenery around the Devil's Bridge in South Wales, and that of Llangollen in North Wales, most interested us. On Saturday evening we arrived at Liverpool. The interest excited by the Doctor's appearance there was perhaps greater than anywhere else; of course the number of Scotchmen there must have had some effect. Kindnesses were almost overwhelming. We breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone on Monday, after which he carried us to all the lions. On Tuesday we dined with him. Yesterday morning we got away from them, arrived at Lancaster about four o'clock, crossed the great sands (ten miles) as the tide was out, and got to this place, at the head of Windermere Lake, by nine o'clock. Our detention at Liverpool makes it impossible we can arrive, as I had hoped, on Saturday evening first. I shall make every effort to be in Glasgow on Monday. Mrs. Chalmers will accompany me, but as the Doctor could not do any duty till Sunday, and has not had many opportunities for study during this journey, he proposes to remain at some retired place among the mountains, for the purpose of composition."

The place selected for this purpose was Douglas Mill, whence Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Mrs. Morton:—"*June* 18, 1817.—I was left here two days ago for the purpose of study, this being a quiet inn, about thirty miles from Glasgow. My elder, Mr. Collins, has come out to spend the time with me, and I am living in great comfort and retirement. At London I had many introductions. Mr. Wilberforce is by far the most valuable acquisition I have made there, though I count Lord Grenville and Mr. Canning to be very splendid acquaintances. Do you know Sir Thomas Ackland spent the evening with us at Mr. Wilberforce's. I should suppose him to have at least strong Christian inclinations, and with the most exquisite gentility I think him to have much of the ardour and generosity of an open and susceptible heart. . . . We spent three days at Liverpool. I was greatly delighted with the Gladstones, to whom I got an introduction. I should have mentioned also the pleasure we had at Portsmouth and throughout Wales, but the places and the people we have passed are so manifold that I have but a dazzling and indistinct remembrance of the whole, and can only say that the Pudhill fortnight is the period of our journey to which I look back with the truest satisfaction. I must be more frequent in my letters to you in all time coming.

The truth is, that you occupy the second place in my regard of all the people in this world who have attained full stature. Perhaps these constitutional preferences are not easily accounted for; but I cannot tell you how much my visit to Gloucestershire has refreshed and renewed and deepened all my former attachment to you. If God spare me for another English journey I wish it were for Gloucestershire wholly. . . . I beg you to dwell much and affectionately on the great peculiarities of the Gospel. Remember they were given for us to receive, and to rely upon, and to feed upon. Christ our propitiation—Christ our Sanctifier —Christ in us the hope of glory—Christ all in all. Do admit these, and such as these, into your willing and determined faith; knowing that it is only through faith that we can find our way to love, and only through love that we can find our way to acceptable obedience."

Some time after his return to Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers received a communication from the Rev. Robert Hall, in which he says —"It would be difficult not to congratulate you on the unrivalled and unbounded popularity which attended you in the metropolis, but that I am convinced, from the extreme modesty of your nature, such an overwhelming tide of distinction and applause would be quite distressing to you. When you consider, however, the thousands who have probably benefited by the unparalleled energy of your public ministrations, you will be the more easily reconciled to the inconvenience inseparable from high celebrity. The attention which your sermons have excited is probably unequalled in modern literature, and it must be a delightful reflection that you are advancing the cause of religion in innumerable multitudes of your fellow-creatures, whose faces you will never behold till the last day. My ardent prayer is, that talents so rich in splendour, and piety so fervent, may long be continued to be faithfully and assiduously devoted to the service of God and of your generation."

CHAPTER XXIII.

FIRST VISITATION OF HIS PARISH—ITS METHODS AND RESULTS—CHECKS AND INTERRUPTIONS—THE GREAT QUESTION AT THE TOWN HOSPITAL—THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY SECULARIZED—HIS PUBLIC DENUNCIATIONS OF THE EVILS OF THIS SYSTEM—SPEECH AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIBLE SOCIETY—ADDITION TO THE ELDERSHIP—SABBATH-SCHOOL SOCIETY—THE QUESTION OF PUNISHMENT—ORIGIN OF LOCAL SABBATH-SCHOOLS—DR. CHALMERS'S ACCOUNT OF THEIR FIRST INSTITUTION AND EFFECTS—HIS DEFENCE OF SABBATH-SCHOOLS.

It is the acknowledged duty, and in rural districts the general practice, of clergymen of the Established Church of Scotland to make an annual visitation of their parishes, when every house is entered, and the general condition of each family as to education and church attendance is ascertained. Even in the earlier days of his more careless ministry this duty had been punctually discharged by Dr. Chalmers; and when new life and spirit were breathed into that ministry, he had been peculiarly impressed by the signal efficacy of these household ministrations. But in the larger towns, even under the most zealous pastoral superintendence, parishes had become so populous, and congregational and other public services had become so burdensome, that regular parochial visitations had fallen very much into disuse. Dr. Chalmers was convinced that the degraded condition of large masses of the city population—then little understood, though occasionally lamented—might mainly be attributed to this ecclesiastical neglect. In his estimation of it, that degradation was neither a necessary nor an irremediable evil. There was nothing in any town population so essentially different from a rural one as to render the ministrations of a devoted clergyman less efficacious in the one case than in the other. Let but the same kind and the same amount of spiritual appliances, which in every well-served country parish secured such universal education of the young and such regular attendance at church, be brought to bear on the very worst districts of the most crowded city, and he was satisfied that they would accomplish the very same results. He commenced his ministerial labours in Glasgow with the immovable conviction of the perfect practicability of assimilating

the worst-conditioned town to the best-conditioned country parish. As the basis of all after operations, his first object was to ascertain by personal inspection the actual condition of that community with whose spiritual oversight he was intrusted. At this time the Tron Church parish comprised that portion of the city which lies to the east of the Saltmarket and to the south of the Gallowgate. Its population was not exactly known, but it was believed to contain somewhere between eleven and twelve thousand souls. To visit every family of such a population within a year or two was a Herculean task, yet Dr. Chalmers resolved to accomplish it. To have a religious service in each house, and yet complete this first survey within the time projected, would have been impossible. His visits, therefore, were generally short. A few questions were asked regarding the state of the family as to education and church attendance, a few kindly observations were made, and Dr. Chalmers then passed quickly into the next house, leaving it to his elder to announce the discourse which in some neighbouring schoolroom or other convenient place was to be delivered on an approaching week-day evening for the special benefit of the inhabitants of the district. "Doctor," said an old and pious widow whom he thus visited, "you will surely not leave me without offering up a prayer." The practice, however, must be uniform—the established rule must not be broken; he refused, therefore, saying in his defence —"If I were to pray in every house I enter, it would take me ten years to get through the work." That work was hard; the wynds were often close and filthy, the stairs narrow and steep, the houses vile and ill ventilated,—yet cheerfully and resolutely did he carry it through, cheering ever and anon the flagging spirit of his companion as they went along. "Well," said he, looking kindly over his shoulder upon his elder, who, scarcely able to keep pace with him, was toiling up a long and weary stair—"Well, what do you think of this kind of visiting?" Engrossed with the toils of the ascent, the elder announced that he had not been thinking much about it. "Oh! I know quite well," said Dr. Chalmers, "that if you were to speak your mind, you would say that we are putting the butter very thinly upon the bread." The discoveries which broke upon him as he entered upon this visitation astonished and distressed him. Writing to Mr. Edie early in February 1816, he says—"I have commenced a very stupendous work lately—the visitation of my parish. A very great proportion of the people have no seats in

any place of worship whatever, and a very deep and universal ignorance on the high matters of faith and eternity obtains over the whole extent of a mighty population."

While such a laborious visitation was prosecuted throughout the week, suggesting at every stage new schemes of usefulness, and while, at the same time, the demands of the Tron Church pulpit and of the thousands now crowding around it had to be satisfied each returning Sabbath, was it wonderful that Dr. Chalmers should be grievously provoked by the distracting interruptions to which from every point of the compass he felt himself exposed?

He had been not a little alarmed, even before he left Kilmany, by reports of the vast accumulations of unministerial labour which the customs of the place and the requirements of authority had devolved upon the ministers of Glasgow. It was his fear that neither time nor strength would thus be left to him to prosecute aright the higher objects of the Christian ministry which made him hesitate for a season to accept the offered appointment to the Tron Church. Dr. Balfour succeeded in quieting his alarms, by giving as mitigated a representation as possible of the extra-ministerial work which would be required; expecting doubtless that when once the movement was made, Dr. Chalmers would yield to the pressure as it came upon him, and, like all the other city ministers, quietly accommodate himself to the demands and necessities of his position. But he was ignorant of the glowing ardour of that intense devotedness with which certain favourite projects were cherished, and of the determined and indomitable energy of that will which was waiting the opportunity to realize them. Soon after Dr. Chalmers's settlement in Glasgow, the fears which it was imagined had been allayed broke out with redoubled strength. It was sufficiently annoying to sit an hour in grave deliberation as to whether a gutter should be shut up or left open. He might remain, however, a silent auditor at that solemn farce; but it was worse to be called upon, as he was soon afterwards at a meeting of the Town Hospital, to take a personal share in a similar discussion. Some of the gravest of the city ministers, and some of the wisest of the city merchants, had been summoned to the conclave, when the weighty and perplexing question was propounded, whether pork broth or ox-head broth should be served to the inmates of the Hospital. Opinions differed, the debate waxed warm, and at last it was resolved to subject the matter to actual trial. A quantity of

both kinds of broth was produced, each sitter tasting it as it made its circuit of the Board. The judgments were then collected and compared, when the sapient decision was given forth —that henceforth there should be served sometimes the one kind of broth and sometimes the other. It was but seldom, however, that, as in this case, the ludicrous aspect of the required service relieved the annoyance of its discharge. And a worse evil than the mere waste of time soon showed itself to be connected with that administration of the public charities which had to so large an extent been thrown upon clergymen. When examined some years afterwards before a Committee of the House of Commons, Dr. Chalmers was asked—

"95. Have you any observations to make to the Committee with respect to the condition of the first parish to which you were appointed, the Tron Church, at the time of your appointment, and during the period of your ministry?—I disliked very much the condition of the parish at the outset of my connexion with it, and withdrew altogether from any share in the management of its pauperism. I felt it my duty to do so. In the eyes of the population the minister stood connected not merely with the administration of this compulsory fund, but with the administration of a great many such charities as we call Mortifications in Scotland, which are endowments for indigence, left by benevolent citizens, and who generally constitute the clergy their trustees. Among the earliest movements I made through the families, I was very much surprised at the unexpected cordiality of my welcome, the people thronging about me, and requesting me to enter their houses. I remember I could scarcely make my way to the bottom of a close in the Saltmarket, I was so exceedingly thronged by the people; but I soon perceived that this was in consequence of my imagined influence in the distribution of these charities; and I certainly did feel a very great recoil, for it was so different from the principle upon which I had been received with cordiality in my country parish, where the topic of their temporal necessities was scarcely ever mentioned: I therefore resolved to dissever myself from the administration of these charities altogether. I soon made the people understand that I only dealt in one article, that of Christian instruction; and that if they chose to receive me upon this footing, I should be glad to visit them occasionally. I can vouch for it that the cordiality of the people was not only enhanced but very much refined in its principle after this became the

general understanding: that of the ten thousand entries which I have made at different times into the houses of the poor in Glasgow, I cannot recollect half-a-dozen instances in which I was not received with welcome."*

All share in the management of the pauperism of his parish he could and he did decline. The draughts which were continually made for his attendance at this meeting or the other he could and he did dishonour. But he could not protect his study from a thousand invasions; nor could any private remonstrances turn the tide of that public opinion which asked and expected of the city ministers a whole host of secular services. Harassed at every point of his progress, and exposed to ignorant and ill applied reproach, he resolved at last, in some more public and effectual manner, to assert the proper and spiritual functions of the Christian ministry, to vindicate its injured prerogatives, and, if the voice of remonstrance and rebuke could do it, to effect a deliverance for himself and for his brethren. He chose the pulpit as his instrument; and few congregations ever listened to a minister with greater astonishment than did that to which his two discourses, delivered in the Tron Church on Sabbath the 13th October 1816, were addressed. His text was appropriate and ominous:—"Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables," Acts vi. 2. The forenoon discourse was devoted to a minute and most singular detail of the multiform exactions and services by which the ministers of the Gospel in Glasgow had been withdrawn from prayer and the ministry of the word. He told his wondering audience of schedules, and circulars, and printed forms, with long blank spaces which the minister should have the goodness to fill up, and how of all his doings in this one department the simple achievement of seventy signatures in a day was all that his dizzy recollection had been able to retain. Pursuing the strange narration, in which pathos and satire and burning indignation were all blended, "I have already said much," he continued, "of the interruption and the labour which the public charities of the place bring along with them; and yet I have not told you one-half the amount of it. I have only insisted on that part of it which takes a minister from his house, and from which the minister, at the expense of a little odium, can at all times protect himself, by the determined habit of sitting immovable under every call and

* See Works, vol. xvi. pp. 312, 313.

every application. All that arrangement which takes a minister away from his house may be evaded—but how shall he be able to extricate himself from the besetting inconveniences of such an arrangement as gives to the whole population of a neighbourhood a constant and ever-moving tendency towards the house of the minister? The patronage with which I think it is his heavy misfortune to be encumbered, gives him a share in the disposal of innumerable vacancies, and each vacancy gives rise to innumerable candidates, and each candidate is sure to strengthen his chance for success by stirring up a whole round of acquaintances, who, in the various forms of written and of personal entreaty, discharge their wishes on the minister in the shape of innumerable applications. It is fair to observe, however, that the turmoil of all this electioneering has its times and its seasons. It does not keep by one in the form of a steady monsoon. It comes upon him more in the resemblance of a hurricane; and like the hurricanes of the atmosphere, it has its months of violence and its intervals of periodical cessation. I shall only say, that when it does come, the power of contemplation takes to herself wings and flies away. She cannot live and flourish in the whirlwind of all that noise and confusion by which her retreat is so boisterously agitated. She sickens and grows pale at every quivering of the household bell, and at every volley from the household door, by which the loud notes of impatience march along the passages, and force an impetuous announcement into every chamber of the dwelling-place. She finds all this to be too much for her. These rude and incessant visitations fatigue and exhaust her, and at length banish her entirely; nor will she suffer either force or flattery to detain her in a mansion invaded by the din of such turbulent and uncongenial elements.

"But though I talk of cessations and intervals, you are not to suppose that there are ever at any time the intervals of absolute repose. There is a daily visitation, though it is only at particular months that it comes upon you with all the vehemence and force of a tornado. There was of late an unceasing stream of people passing every day through the house, and coming under the review of the minister on their road to the supplies of ordinary pauperism. This formed part of the prescribed conveyance through which each of them trusted to find their way to the relief that they aspired after. This always secured a levee of petitioners, and kept up a perennial flow of applications, varying in rapidity and fulness with the difficulty of the times—but never,

in the whole course of my experience, subsiding into a rill so gentle that it only ministered delight and refreshment to the bosom by the peacefulness of its murmurs. O no! my brethren —there is a something here about which our tearful sons and daughters of poesy are most miserably in the wrong. I know that they have got many fine things to say about the minister of a beneficent religion having a ready tear for every suffering, and an open ear for every cry, and room in his house for every complainer, and room in his heart for a distinct exercise of compassion on the needs and the distresses of every afflicted family, and an open door through which the representations of dejected humanity may ever find a welcome admittance, and a free unoccupied day throughout every hour of which it is his part to act the willing friend of his parishioners, and to yield the alacrity of his immediate attentions in behalf of all the wants and all the wretchedness that is among them. Yes! all this ought to be done, and agents should be found for the doing of it. But the minister is not the man who can do it. The minister is not the man who should do it. And beset as we are on the one hand by a hard and a secular generation, who, without one sigh of remorse, could see every minister of the city sinking the spiritualities of his office under the weight of engagements which they themselves will not touch with one of their fingers; and deafened as we are on the other hand by the outcry of puling sentimentalists, who, without thought and without calculation, would realize all the folly and all the fondness of their fancy sketches upon us, I utterly refuse the propriety of all these services—and yet proclaiming myself the firm, the ardent, the devoted friend of the poor, do I assert these advocates of theirs to be the blind supporters of a system which has aggravated both the moral and the physical wretchedness of a most cruelly neglected population."

In the afternoon the subject was resumed, and in demonstrating the evils of the system which he denounced, Dr. Chalmers expatiated on the serious losses which the literature of theology and the learning of its ministers had thereby suffered, closing his impassioned oration in these words:—

"But I shall be told by some that all this literature is of no consequence;—that it is an unhallowed innovation upon the simplicity that is in Christ now to plead for it as I have done; that to lament its decay and its departure as I have done is to take up the Sabbath with a topic of unsuitable contemplation, and to profane the pulpit by an argument which, in the eyes of

many, may wear a complexion so classical and even so heathenish as positively to scandalize them. Oh! my brethren, I am afraid that upon this subject there has been a most unmanly surrender of Christianity and of all that strength and honour which belong to it, that so much authority has been given to the conceptions of a narrow and ignorant bigotry as to have laid open our religion to the scorn of philosophers, and to have brought down upon her the contempt and the disgust of the upper classes of society; that in this way she has been associated with all that is mean and with all that is ignoble, and has been banished from the circles of literature, and has been looked upon as such a tame vulgar and unworthy thing, as to be totally unfit for a man of eloquence and of liberal illumination; ay, and when they cast their glance upon her, and see nothing in any of her features but the plain and the coarse and the ordinary, let us not wonder though it should be a glance of hard and infidel disdain. What! are we to be told that in behalf of Christianity nothing can be summoned up either in the way of argument or of illustration to compel the homage and to school the superciliousness of these men? Are we, in truckling compliance with the humours of a baseless fanaticism, to strip away all learning and cultivation and eloquence, as so many unseemly appendages from the business of the priesthood? Are we to let down the defences of our faith, and to withdraw from it the labours of the understanding, and to mar any one of its legitimate recommendations, and to proclaim in the hearing of the public that instead of being all things to all men, our men of science and of scholarship are altogether beyond the range of its artillery, that they may assemble in their halls, and sit in the conscious superiority of reason above all the pretensions of this homely and unlettered superstition—that they may bid a proud defiance to all her anathemas, and leave it to the abject credulity of unenlightened minds to be shaken by her terrors—that they move in a secure and elevated region, where all the weapons of Christianity and all the remonstrances of her illiterate defenders cannot reach them, and that looking down on a vulgarized priesthood, they may feel how they have nothing to fear from such a tame and feeble host of assailants—how the bulwarks of philosophy are safe from all the inroads of this loathsome fanaticism, and that it might be left to do all its slovenly work and to reap all its humble triumphs over the mass of an untaught population.

"Now, my brethren, what I strongly contend for is, that in

like manner as the Bible of Christianity should be turned into all languages, so the preaching of Christianity should be turned to meet the every style of conception and the every variety of taste or of prejudice which can be found in all the quarters of society. The proudest of her recorded distinctions is that she is the religion of the poor—that she can light up the hope of immortality in their humble habitations—that the toilworn mechanic can carry her Sabbath lessons away with him, and enriching his judgment and his memory with them all, can bear them through the week in one full treasury of comfort and improvement—that on the strength of her great and elevating principles a man in rags may become rich in faith, and looking forward through the vista of his earthly anticipations, can see, on the other side of all the hardship and of all the suffering with which they are associated, the reversion of a splendid eternity. Ay, my brethren, such a religion as this should be made to find its way into every cottage and to circulate throughout all the lanes and avenues of a crowded population, and the friend of the species might take it along with him to the tenements of want and of wretchedness, and knocking at every door where there is a human voice to bid him enter, he may rest assured that if charged with the message of the gospel, humanity in its rudest forms may hang upon his lips, and rejoice and be moralized by the utterance which flows from them. But, my brethren, while I would thus have the religion of the New Testament to send her penetrating influences through the great mass of the towns and families of the community, I would not have her to skulk in timid and suspicious distance from the proudest haunts either of wealth or of philosophy. I would have her to carry, as she well might, such a front of reason, and to lift such a voice of eloquence, and to fill her mouth with such a power and variety of argument, as should compel the most enlightened of the land to do her reverence. I would have her—with as firm and assured footstep as Paul ascended the hill of Areopagus, and amid the assembled literature of Athens drew an argument for the gospel from the poetry and the mythology of Athens—I would have her even now to make her fearless way through the halls and the universities of modern Europe, and as she stood confronted with the erudition of academic men, I would have her to equal and to outvie them. Oh! tell me why it should be otherwise! Tell me why the majesty of truth should ever want an able advocate to assert and to proclaim it, or why the recorded communication

from God should ever want a defender of learning to vindicate its evidence and its history!

"I shall only say, that if the public, on the one hand, and the advocates for a learned, and a spiritual, and a separated order of clergymen, rich in mental accomplishments, and at liberty to give their ample and their exclusive leisure to the labours of the closet and the strict work of the ministry, on the other—if these two parties be at variance, then we do not hesitate for a single moment to assert that the public are most glaringly and most outrageously in the wrong; that, in this instance, as in many others, the voice of the people is most assuredly not the voice of God; that be it as loud or as urgent as it may, it is the part of a conscientious man to let it rave idly around him till its own violence shall expend it; and wishing, as I do, my brethren, to combine the firmness of principle with the mildness of friendship to every one of you, I think it right to say, that after we have fairly emerged out of this contest it will be found that he with whom it originated, while he appeared to many of you to be the advocate of his own selfish accommodation, was, in fact, advocating the best interests of that misguided population who were opposed to him."

One way in which the clerical emancipation so strongly contended for might be at least partially attained, was by the lay members of the Church coming forward to the relief of their ministers, and the platform as well as the pulpit was employed to invoke their aid. Dr. Chalmers was invited to take part in the proceedings of the Anniversary Meeting of the Glasgow Bible Society. It was the first meeting of this kind at which he had spoken in that city. This was, besides, his own favourite Society, for which he had written and laboured so much during the first years of his regenerated ministry at Kilmany. The motion, however, which happened to be assigned to him was a vote of thanks to *one* clergyman and *two* laymen. This conjunction of the two species of agency was irresistible; and the special objects of the Bible Society being all for the time forgotten, he launched out upon the engrossing topic, summoning his fellow-citizens to the help of an overburdened ministry, and strenuously urging that the administration not only of the benevolent but of the religious institutions of the city should be thrown mainly, if not wholly, upon laymen.

But even that, could it have been gained, was not enough. A

few weeks among the wynds of the Saltmarket had wrought the conviction in his mind, that if these swarming multitudes were to be reclaimed, who, hidden from the public eye, were living in ignorance and guilt, and dying in darkness, a large band of fellow-labourers must go down and enter with him upon the spiritual cultivation of the neglected territory. As yet, however, but little could be expected from the regular office-bearers of his congregation. "Till Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow," so says a most competent authority,* "parochial Christian influence was a mere name—it was not systematic, it was not understood—there was not the machinery for the moral elevation of a town population. The people were let alone. Some of the elders of the Tron Church were excellent men, but their chief duty was to stand at the plate, receive the free-will offerings of the congregation as they entered, and distribute them to the poor by a monthly allowance. Their spiritual duties and exertions were but small, and almost exclusively confined to a few of the sick." On Friday the 20th December 1816, in the vestry of the Tron Church, a few younger and less prejudiced men, who might be more efficient coadjutors, were ordained to the office of the eldership, and we refer such of our readers as desire to enter fully into the spirit of the earlier period of Dr. Chalmers's ministry in Glasgow, to the Charge which he delivered upon this occasion. One thing that address very clearly tells us—that the wisdom, caution, and kindness with which he urged forward his contemplated reformations were equal to the indomitable energy displayed. His strong hand not only never tried to put new wine into old bottles, but it was with a very gentle motion that even into the new bottles the new wine was poured.

There was, however, one region of effort open to instant occupation, without waiting for any official reformations. It had surprised Dr. Chalmers to observe the lamentable extent of ignorance among the young—very few of the children among the lowest class of the community being in attendance upon Sabbath evening schools. Convinced that if more of these schools were opened in various districts of his parish, and vigorous means were taken by actual visitation of the families to bring out the children, a very large increase of attendance might be secured, he invited a few members of his congregation to form themselves into a Society for this purpose. At the second meeting of this Society, held on the 10th December 1816, Mr.

* David Stow, Esq.

Collins reported, that on the preceding Sabbath he had opened in Campbell Street the first of the projected schools, with an attendance of thirteen children. The schools rapidly multiplied —the attendance in each increased—new teachers volunteered, and at the end of two years it was found that upwards of 1200 children were under regular religious instruction. No young person was received into these schools who could not read the Bible with considerable distinctness and accuracy. The Bible, the Shorter Catechism, and the Scripture References were the class-books generally used, but no fixed rules for the management of the schools were laid down. Subject to the regulation that he should introduce no new class-book without submitting it for the consideration of the Society, each teacher was left to take his own way in the teaching or training of his own class. Monthly meetings afforded regular opportunities of communication as to the best and most effective methods of instruction. "Our meetings," says one of the members of the Society, "were very delightful. I never saw any set of men who were so animated by one spirit, and whose zeal was so steadily sustained. The Doctor was the life of the whole. There was no assuming of superiority—no appearance of the minister directing everything; every one was free to make remarks or suggestions, Dr. Chalmers ever the most ready to receive a hint or a suggestion from the youngest or least experienced member; and if any useful hint came from such a one he was careful to give him the full merit of it—calling it, indeed, generally by his name. Although we had no set forms of teaching, yet we conversed over all the modes that we might find out the best. On one point we had much discussion, namely, whether or not punishment should be resorted to in a Sabbath-school. Mr. Stow was very strenuous in condemning its introduction—I was rather inclined the other way. Among other strong cases, Mr. Stow told us of a boy who had been so restless, idle, and mischievous, that he was afraid he would have to put him away, when the thought occurred to him to give the boy an office. He put, accordingly, all the candles of the school under his care. From that hour he was an altered boy, and became a diligent scholar. An opportunity soon occurred of trying my way of it also. A school composed of twenty or thirty boys, situated in the east end of the parish, had become so unruly and unmanageable, that it had beaten off every teacher who had gone to it. The Society did not know what to do with it, and the Doctor asked me if I

would go out and try to reduce it to order. I was not very fond of the task, but consented. I went out the next Sabbath, and told the boys, whom I found all assembled, that I had heard a very bad account of them, that I had come out for the purpose of doing them good, that I must have peace and attention, that I would submit to no disturbance, and that, in the first place, we must begin with prayer. They all stood up, and I commenced, and certainly did not forget the injunction—Watch and pray. I had not proceeded two sentences, when one little fellow gave his neighbour a tremendous *dig* in the side; I instantly stepped forward and gave *him* a sound cuff on the side of his head. I never spoke a word, but stepped back, concluded the prayer, taught for a month, and never had a more orderly school. The case was reported at one of our own meetings. The Doctor enjoyed it exceedingly, and taking up my instance and comparing it with Mr. Stow's, he concluded that the question of punishment or non-punishment stood just where it was, inasmuch as it had been found that the judicious appointment of a candle-snuffer-general and a good cuff on the *lug* had been about equally efficacious."*

The first schools of this Society were strictly parochial, that is, none but children residing within the bounds of the Tron Church parish were admitted to them, but they were not strictly or limitedly local. About a year after their institution, a new teacher having been admitted, Dr. Chalmers asked one of his elders to go with him to the Saltmarket, that from a number of contiguous families they might collect as many children as would fill the new school. They secured a room at the entrance of a long close. After going through the families living in this single lane, and summing up the number of children, there were found to be twenty-eight who had promised to attend. "I think," said Mr. Thomson, "that we have got plenty." The idea of a separate school in and for a single close pleased Dr. Chalmers amazingly. "Yes!" he exclaimed, "this is the true local plan: we will just fix down Mr. R. to this close; we will make it his parish; let him visit all the families here, and look after all the children; that will be an effectual preaching of the gospel from door to door." From this time the plan of marking out a small and definite locality, getting a room for the school within its limits, and charging the teacher with the educational oversight of all its families, was adopted and enforced. The

* MS. Memoranda by James Thomson, Esq.

strong additional stimulus imparted to the teachers by having a small and specific locality to work in, and a definite and overtakable work to do; its increased efficacy in calling out the attendance of the children, who were far readier to go to a schoolroom so near than to one more distant, and upon whom the gregarious principle came thus to operate with much more force; the bringing of the teacher into closer acquaintance with all the families of his district, and the bringing of those families into something like acquaintance with one another; but, above all, its pervading influence, its power thoroughly to diffuse the leaven of Christian influence through that portion of the mass on which it operated, these all pleaded so many recommendations of this system of local Sabbath-schools. To those schools in the Saltmarket in which it was first adopted a historic interest is attached. At a meeting held in Glasgow twenty years afterwards, and when he was engaged in the still greater work of adding two hundred churches to the equipment of the Establishment, Dr. Chalmers "adverted to a letter he had received from Mr. Heggie, a Sabbath-school teacher in the Saltmarket. This gentleman, he said, had been attached to that locality for a long period. And that which conferred the chief importance on this Sabbath-school was, that with it was connected every opinion he had formed of the necessity of the parochial and of the territorial system. When he came to Glasgow he was connected with the Tron parish. His first attention was directed to the young. He found that there was a general Sabbath-school Society existing in Glasgow, by which many Sabbath-schools were established throughout the city. The schools were taught on no particular plan, and scholars were welcome to come to them from all parts of the city to receive religious instruction from the teachers on Sabbath evenings. A survey was taken of the Tron parish—the population of which was then 11,000—and he found that the number of children in the parish who attended the Sabbath-schools, on the general Sabbath-school system, did not exceed one hundred. He was satisfied that such a parish might yield a greater number of children capable of receiving Sabbath-school instruction. Accordingly he devised the *local* Sabbath-school system. In other words, instead of having schools for children coming from all parts of the city, and for those who had a previous will to attend on a particular teacher, he divided the parish into forty different sections, allotting thirty or forty houses to each section. He appointed local teachers for

each section, and told each of them that his specific business was, instead of taking children from all parts of the city, and those who had a previous inclination to attend, that he should go forth within the limits of his district, and visit every family, telling them he had a Sabbath-school in the neighbourhood, and requesting the parents to send their children to it. Instead of waiting for them to come to him, his part was to go to them, and induce the parents to send their children to the school. What was the result? His excellent friend, Mr. Heggie, had one or two closes in the Saltmarket attached to his school, and there was not a single family who did not send their children to him to be instructed. He had a goodly attendance of thirty or forty of them. What was true of his district was also true of all the other districts in the Tron parish. In consequence of attaching a territorial district to each Sabbath-school, and making it the business of the teacher to go to the children to get them to attend it, instead of waiting till they came to him—instead of having an attendance of little more than one hundred, as under the old general system, he had the satisfaction of preaching to an assemblage of not less than one thousand two hundred Sabbath scholars. Now, this had convinced him of the great superiority of the local to the general system of Sabbath-school instruction. The first thing that suggested the great argument he employed in support of the territorial system was the difference in the amount of attendance between the local and the general system of Sabbath-school instruction."*

On Dr. Chalmers's removal from the Tron Church to that of St. John's, four of the teachers in these Saltmarket schools organized themselves into a separate Society. They chose as the field of their operations both sides of the Saltmarket, with the numerous lanes which branch off from them, containing a population of 3624 souls, out of which when they began their labours there were only 128 children attending any Sabbath-school. Instead of extending their operations at once over the whole of the space, each appropriated a small locality, exerting all his influence to induce others to come and help them. In six months their numbers were complete—the space was covered—twenty-six schools were opened—thirty-three teachers, including visitors, were engaged, and instead of 128 children 732 were in attendance. "These schools continue to the present day, and there have flowed from this small local Sabbath-school

* Extracted from the *Scottish Guardian*, December 25, 1838.

Society eight other Societies, in different parts of the city and suburbs, all fairly traceable to the impetus given in the Tron parish by Dr. Chalmers in this branch of parochial economy. I consider had Dr. Chalmers done nothing more than promote the principle of this local system of Sabbath-schools, he would not have lived in vain. You can easily conceive the labour and fatigue he must have undergone, first to convince his agents of the propriety of his plan, and then to keep them from breaking the rules. You also know the difficulty of retaining Sabbath-school teachers for any lengthened period under any system of management, untrained as they are to the art, and over-sanguine of *immediate* results. The Doctor's Christian simplicity, however, operated powerfully in retaining nearly all."*

It was not, however, upon a flowing tide of approval or popularity that these Sabbath-school operations at the commencement moved. It was very much the reverse. There were indeed a few, who from the very beginning hailed them with delight. But over the general public of Glasgow the spirit of religious indifference as yet strongly prevailed. That spirit looked upon such efforts with cold dislike, and when stirred into quicker life by such energy as was now embarked in their prosecution, it kindled into a disdainful opposition, and tried to fill its mouth with arguments. These Sabbath-schools, it was said, would interfere with the proper domestic training of the young. They were engaging laymen in what was fit and suitable employment for clergymen alone. They would be the means of disseminating a spirit of fanatical piety throughout the land. Not satisfied with the actual doing of the work, Dr. Chalmers desired to be its protector, and to turn, if he could, that tide of public feeling which was running against it. In one of his Tron Church sermons, delivered about the end of the year 1816, he entered upon a vigorous and most animated defence of Sabbath-schools, the very tone and manner of which sufficiently testifies as to the state of public feeling at that time in Glasgow. "It is not easy for me," he said in closing this defence, "to describe my general feeling in reference to the population with which I have more immediately to do. I feel as if it were a mighty and impenetrable mass, truly beyond the strength of one individual arm, and before which, after a few furtive and unavailing exertions, nothing remains but to sit down in the idleness of despair. It is a number, it is a magnitude, it is an endless succession of houses

* Memoranda by David Stow, Esq.

and families, it is an extent of field which puts at a distance all hope of a deep or universal impression—it is an utter impossibility, even with the most active process of visitation, to meet the ever pressing demands of the sick, and the desolate, and the dying,—it is all this, I confess, which tempts me to seek for relief in some wise and efficient system of deputation. In these circumstances I do feel greatly obliged by every contribution to the great cause of instructing and of moralizing. I do rejoice particularly in the multiplication of those humble and often despised seminaries. I think, I am certain that they are well suited to the present needs and circumstances of our population, that they may be made to open up a way through a mass that would be otherwise impenetrable, and to circulate a right and a healthy influence through all the untravelled obscurities which abound in it—that an unction of blessedness may emanate abroad upon every neighbourhood in which they are situated—that they occupy a high point of command over the moral destinies of our city,* for the susceptibilities of childhood and of youth are what they have to deal with. It is a tender and flexible plant to which they aim at giving a direction. It is conscience at the most impressible stage of its history which they attempt to touch, and on which they labour to engrave the lessons of conduct and of principle. And I doubt not that when we are mouldering in our coffins, when the present race of men have disappeared and made room for another succession of the species, when parents of every cast and of every character have sunk into oblivion, and sleep together in quietness, the teachers of these institutions will leave behind them a surviving memorial of their labour, in a large portion of that worth and piety which shall adorn the citizens of a future generation."

* "One fact is not an argument, or rather we must not draw a general conclusion from any one particular fact; but I may state one which occurred in reference to St John's parish, which is very conclusive in its own department. Sixteen or eighteen of my Sabbath scholars, who had come to the knowledge of the truth, and who had been my pupils for about a dozen years, desirous of extending a knowledge of Christ to their perishing brethren, chose for themselves a locality in the Barony parish, which was only 200 yards distant from my district, and in which most of these young men and women resided. I may mention that the two parishes of St John's and Barony are divided simply by the breadth of a narrow street. The opposite side to St. John's, therefore, was fixed upon for establishing themselves as local Sabbath school teachers, and as particular a note was taken of the statistics of each family as Dr. Chalmers recommended in St. John's. The following is the result of that survey on the subject of education:—Out of 123 families on the Barony side there were found 134 children above six years of age who could not read, and were not at school; whereas on the St. John's side of the street, out of 106 families, there were only three not at school. Of the former scarcely any were in Sabbath-schools; in the latter the greater proportion were in attendance. These young Sabbath-school teachers were afterwards active agents in getting up St. Luke's Church, and getting it formed in a *quoad sacra* parish."—MS. Memoranda of David Stow, Esq.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE VACANCY AT STIRLING—THE APPOINTMENT OFFERED AND REFUSED—ARTICLES ON PAUPERISM IN THE EDINBURGH REVIEW—EXCURSION TO ANSTRUTHER—SUDDEN RECALL—SERMON ON THE DEATH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—REASON OF ITS PUBLICATION—ARGUMENT ON BEHALF OF RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS—ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH SYSTEM OF PAUPER MANAGEMENT COMPARED—HIGHEST EXHIBITIONS OF HIS POWER AS A PULPIT ORATOR—SINGULAR SCENES IN THE COLLEGE CHAPEL AND IN THE TRON CHURCH—EXTRACTS FROM HIS JOURNAL—INSTANCE OF HIS USEFULNESS—HIS OWN ESTIMATE OF POPULARITY.

A REPORT of the two memorable sermons of the 13th October 1816, and of the circumstances which had occasioned their delivery, reached the good town of Stirling when the first ministerial charge there happened to be vacant. Believing that the discomforts of his existing position might tempt him to leave Glasgow, the Town-council promptly resolved to offer the appointment to Dr. Chalmers. That their application might bear upon him with the greatest possible effect, the Provost, and a select deputation of the citizens, visited Glasgow and invited Dr. Chalmers to dine with them at the Tontine. Everything was done by them to set forth the facilities which the offered situation would present for the furtherance of his cherished designs. They guaranteed an entire deliverance from all distracting external annoyances: in the city nothing but purely ministerial work would be required of him, and at home his hours for study would be sacredly guarded from invasion. The manse lay almost within the shadow of the Castle rock, and, if needful, the Castle guns would be turned upon the way which led to it, to drive back all disturbers of his time or tranquillity. The prospect of such perfect freedom and security was too tempting to be at once and peremptorily declined. His final decision was communicated to Provost Littlejohn in the following terms:—

"GLASGOW, *February* 17, 1817.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Be assured I perform a most painful duty in stating to you my resolution of declining the offer of the charge in Stirling with which you have favoured me. You have incurred much trouble in this matter, and I cannot bear that you

should incur any further suspense. To yourself personally, and to the good town over which you are called in Providence to preside, I feel the most unbounded gratitude, and shall ever look upon myself as united with them by a tie of no common interest and obligation. My friends in this quarter have, in fact, disarmed me of every one argument for leaving them. That exemption from secular duties which, with a liberality and a correct estimate of the importance of ministerial work you were so willing to allow, I consider as most thoroughly and conclusively established for me in this place; and my congregation have come forward with such an offer of assistance to me in my ministerial duties as to give to my present office all the lightness and facility of a collegiate charge. In these circumstances I feel that I have no alternative. There is an extent of field in this quarter which gives a decided preponderance to its claims; and I can assure you, that upon any other decision than the one I have taken, I could not have felt myself acquitted in the sight of God and of my own conscience. With assurances of the tenderest and most grateful regard, and many prayers that you may be abundantly directed to the choice of a pastor who, after God's own heart, shall feed you with words of knowledge and understanding, believe me to be, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The same post which brought this letter conveyed also to Mr. Littlejohn the following communication from his friend the late Dr. Chrystal:—"MY DEAR SIR,—I leave Dr. Chalmers's letter of this date to speak for itself. His answer was only made known to-day, and the moment he made up his mind he sent me a note of the result. I have been with him since. He is confined to the house in consequence of exerting so much yesterday. The magistrates were in his church, and he is supposed never to have acquitted himself so ably. No sooner was it known that you and your brethren had been here and made him the offer of your first charge than the whole town was astir. He was like to be mobbed by solicitations suggested by friendship, respect, gratitude, arising from clergy, laity, general session, congregation, urging on him duty, religion, and everything I can name or suppose—not to move. At first he remained firm, as his objections to certain things he has to do here were well known. Everything however has been done which can be done to relieve him, and he now assures me that he has a moral

certainty of getting these difficulties removed. A congregational meeting was held. They have offered him a regular assistant, to be chosen by him and twenty-one of a committee named by themselves. This assistant is to do half the duty on Sabbath, and to relieve him through the week. They bind themselves to bear this additional burden during Dr. Chalmers's incumbency, and although little time has elapsed since the idea was fixed, they have already subscribed nearly £200, to be continued annually. They are to buy or rent a house for him in any place he wishes, and propose raising his stipend to I know not what. Considering what they have done, and are doing, and probably will do, it was impossible for him to tear himself from people so sincerely attached, and so forward to do everything which they could think agreeable to him. It is supposed that he will not allow them to carry things to the proposed length, but it obliged him to give the refusal to you which was painful to him. I am persuaded that you will see that he could not well do otherwise. I think you had his private wishes, if he could have sacrificed to private ease and emolument the strong claims which his people here have to his labours among them."

Dr. Chalmers did not allow things to be carried to the proposed length. The offer of a manse and of an increase of income were respectfully declined; but he gratefully accepted the offer of an assistant. Additional labour would be thereby bestowed upon parochial cultivation, while at the same time additional leisure would be secured to himself for literary engagements. His first article on Pauperism appeared in the March number of the Edinburgh Review, and he had engaged to follow it up by a comparison of the English and Scottish systems of parochial relief. His visit to England, and the large arrears of ministerial labour awaiting his return, filled up the summer months; and there was so little hope of finding time enough in Glasgow, that he resolved on a short excursion to Anstruther, during which his second article was to be drawn up.* His first journal letter upon this occasion was addressed to his eldest daughter.

"Polmont, *November* 10, 1817.

"My dear Anne,—You want me to stay away only four days, but I must stay away nineteen days. However, by the time you have gotten this letter it will only be fifteen days. After I shook hands with you I went to Mr. Harley's and got my horse. Then

* For both these articles on Pauperism, see Works, vol. xx. pp. 247-363.

I met Dr. Rainy, who wanted me to go and see poor Mr. A., who used sometimes to drink tea with mamma, and who was dying. He was so very ill that he could not see papa, and his sister was lying on a sofa, very sorry and crying because she was going to lose her brother. She was in great distress, insomuch that papa could say nothing to comfort her. Nobody knows when they are to die. I hope Mr. A. was a good man, and will go to heaven. And I should like Anne to be a good girl, so that when she dies God may take her to heaven too. He loves all good people, and Jesus Christ, His Son, will come down to the world and take them up with Him to the place where God dwells, and there they will always be happy and will never die.

"When papa saw that he could say nothing to relieve poor Mrs. B., he went away and got upon his horse and rode on to Cumbernauld. He has got no rain all this day, but the road was very very bad, and his boots were very dirty. It was after one o'clock when he arrived at Cumbernauld, and his horse was very much tired, and he gave it a feed of corn, and he himself dined, and read a book about the poor; but what he is very sorry for, he also read some of the small Testament, and forgot to bring it away with him. But he has written to the master of the house to send it by one of his drivers to Glasgow. It was given him by Captain Gordon, and he would not like to lose it; so if it should come, you must see that it be taken great care of, and be ready to give it to Papa when he comes back again.

"I rode after dinner to this place, and came here at five o'clock, and have drunk tea, and am spending an hour or two here before supper, and am reading about the poor, and spending part of the time in writing to Anne. The name of the gentleman who lives in this house is Mr. M'Farlane, and there are four children, three girls and one boy. One of the girls is just as tall and as old as you. The little boy is a good deal burned in the face by an accident that happened yesterday to him. I am now going down to talk with Mr. M'Farlane before supper. You must know that the little children here have no mamma, though they have a papa. Their poor mamma died some time ago, and you should be very thankful to God that He still lets your papa and mamma live, and if you pray that God may spare the life of your parents He perhaps may hear you."

"I should think," Dr. Chalmers writes, "that the reading of the above may amuse Anne. It is a good thing to keep her mind

in exercise, and I beg that you may give her every impression you can of the magnitude and sacredness of this topic."

"*Tuesday.*—Had about two hours and a half of study in the forenoon. Have begun my review. Took an early dinner at Polmont, and left it at two. There was slight rain so that Mr. M'Farlane could not accompany me in a convoy. I got to Queensferry before five. Am still on this side of the water. Have had a very diligent and successful evening in the inn, wrote above my average quantity of the review. Have written to Sandy about my Kirkcaldy plan, so as to get a secure retreat in his room, and am now going to bed. The inn is quiet. The people do not know me, and I am not treated with very great distinction. I proposed family worship to the landlady, and she declined it, though civilly, and on the score of being very throng.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at half-past seven, breakfasted between nine and ten. Had some composition before breakfast, and in the forenoon I completed more than my average quantity, though not so satisfactorily as yesterday. Dined at two. Before I left the place I was recognised, and more distinction was awarded to me. I was addressed as Doctor, both by the ostler and in the boat. Crossed between three and four. Had a passage of fifteen minutes. Rode smartly to Burntisland, which I reached at five. Was most cordially received. . . .

"Mr. Young is very angry with me just now, because I am expressing some polite regrets at the trouble that I am giving him in procuring me a wafer. He insists on my closing this letter, as the post goes off at eight. So we will even keep Mr. Archibald waiting a little. I said to Mr. M'Farlane that I understood Thomson was going to give me a dressing in his 'Instructor,' at which he expressed his surprise, for that he knew Mr. Thomson admired the 'Discourses' most enthusiastically. In which case it is probable that his application will not be altogether of an unpalatable nature."

Filling the week up pleasantly, and having made a prosperous outset in his article for the Edinburgh Review, Dr. Chalmers reached Starbank on Saturday evening, and having announced his arrival to Mr. Cook, was requested to preach at Kilmany on the following day. On the way to church a letter was handed to him which broke up all his plans. The recent death of the Princess Charlotte had plunged the nation into a grief wider,

deeper, and more tender than perhaps any similar event has ever occasioned in this country. Partaking in the general desire to observe it with all due solemnity, the Magistrates of Glasgow had resolved that there should be public and appropriate services in all the churches of the city on Wednesday the 19th—the day fixed for the burial at Windsor. The letter which Dr. Chalmers got at Kilmany on the 16th was a summons to return and occupy the pulpit of the Tron on the approaching solemnity. His answer to the unwelcome summons was brief and laconic:—

"*Kirkcaldy, Sunday Night.*—Your letter only reached me as I was going to the church at Kilmany, where I preached this day. I shall try and be with you. But I understand now that the funeral is to be on Wednesday, and I shall find this convenient. It is a shocking place Glasgow; and I never knew what it was yet to have an excursion from it without some trash or other being sent after me." On Monday Dr. Chalmers posted from Kirkcaldy to Queensferry, got an outside seat on the Edinburgh mail, arrived in Glasgow between five and six o'clock on Tuesday morning, and on Wednesday forenoon preached one of his most brilliant discourses, composed during the intervals, and after the exhaustion of this rapid and fatiguing journey. It was at one or other of the inns by the roadside that, escaping from the bustle, and throwing himself into the pathetic incident which had touched the nation's heart so deeply, he penned the following sentences:—"A few days ago, all looked so full of life, and promise, and security, when we read of the bustle of the great preparation, and were told of the skill and the talent that were pressed into the service, and heard of the goodly attendance of the most eminent in the nation, and how officers of state, and the titled dignitaries of the land, were charioted in splendour to the scene of expectation, as to the joys of an approaching holiday—yes, and we were told too, that the bells of the surrounding villages were all in readiness for the merry peal of gratulation, and that the expectant metropolis of our empire, on tiptoe for the announcement of her future monarch, had her winged couriers of despatch to speed the welcome message to the ears of her citizens, and that from her an embassy of gladness was to travel over all the provinces of the land; and the country, forgetful of all that she had suffered, was at length to offer the spectacle of one wide and rejoicing jubilee. O death! thou hast indeed chosen the time and the victim, for demonstrating the grim ascendency of thy power over all the hopes and fortunes of our

species! Our blooming Princess, whom fancy had decked with the coronet of these realms, and under whose gentle sway all bade so fair for the good and the peace of our nation, has he placed upon her bier!—And, as if to fill up the measure of his triumph, has he laid by her side that babe, who but for him might have been the monarch of a future generation; and he has done that, which by no single achievement he could otherwise have accomplished—he has sent forth over the whole of our land, the gloom of such a bereavement as cannot be replaced by any living descendant of royalty—he has broken the direct succession of the monarchy of England—by one and the same disaster has he wakened up the public anxieties of the country, and sent a pang as acute as that of the most woful domestic visitation into the heart of each of its families."

Although so hastily prepared, this sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte was not to be speedily forgotten. On the day after its delivery an article appeared in one of the Glasgow newspapers, representing a passage in it—of broadest and most general application—as specially directed against the supporters of the existing Government. Dr. Chalmers was exceedingly annoyed that he should be thought capable of abusing so sacred an occasion by making the pulpit a vehicle of political invective. His friends advised him to publish the discourse in self-defence. Unwilling to commit to the press a sermon so hastily prepared, and now once more engrossed with his article on Pauperism, he left Glasgow on Monday the 24th, hoping to escape from the ferment which his sermon had occasioned, and to complete at Anstruther the work which had been so painfully interrupted at Kilmany. At his first resting-place by the way the irritation was renewed:—"*Dunfermline, Nov.* 24.—I see," he writes, "the vile article in the Chronicle copied by the Scotsman, the most Whiggish paper in Edinburgh." His unsettled purpose was confirmed on the following day, by the advice of one in whose friendly judgment he reposed much confidence.—"*Tuesday.*—Rode with Mr. Chalmers to Broomhall. Lord Elgin had heard of the sermon from Sir John Oswald, who had been on a visit, and received the mischievous impression of it which the paper is calculated to give. He took Mr. Chalmers aside, and had a long confab with him about it, of which Mr. Chalmers told me on leaving us. I had previously read the misrepresented passage to Mr. Chalmers, and he gave his Lordship the true impression of it. At his request I read the whole of it to the family; and

his Lordship insists most strenuously upon its publication, and says that he is greatly obliged to the Chronicle for drawing me out, and that if I will not appear in a few days, I may look for another article from himself still more outrageous, and which he trusts will have the effect."

The sermon was published on the 13th December; and from all intention of specific political allusion its author at once stood vindicated. A large portion of the discourse had been occupied with a pleading for a more extensive ecclesiastical provision for our large towns. "On this day of national calamity, if ever the subject should be adverted to from the pulpit, we may be allowed to express our riveted convictions on the close alliance that obtains between the political interests and the religious character of a country. And I am surely not out of place when, on looking at the mighty mass of a city population, I state my apprehension, that if something be not done to bring this enormous physical strength under the control of Christian and humanized principle, the day may yet come when it may lift against the authorities of the land its brawny vigour, and discharge upon them all the turbulence of its rude and volcanic energy." Personal and local influences conspired to direct his thoughts into this peculiar channel. He had lately finished his own survey of the Tron Church parish, and by personal inquiries within every dwelling, he had found that out of 11,120 souls there were not more than 3500 who had seats or were in the habit of worshipping in any church. In many districts two-thirds of the adult population had wholly cast off the very form and profession of Christianity. Dissent had done much, twice as much, as, in its hampered and ill-administered condition, the Established Church had done to arrest the evil; but such, despite of all previous efforts, was the awful magnitude to which that evil had already attained, growing too in a much more rapid ratio than did the general increase of the population. After the most anxious and profound reflection—reflection based upon personal and minute observation of the condition and habits of the lowest and poorest of the people, Dr. Chalmers was convinced that the only effective remedy was to purify, remodel, and extend the parochial economy. The extension of that economy was what, perhaps, might be soonest attained, as the want of it could most easily be made apparent. During a period of nearly one hundred years, while the population had more than quadrupled, only two new city churches had been built in Glasgow. Thirty-seven years

had elapsed since the last addition to the number had been made. It had not been the fault of the clergymen or other friends of the Established Church that the public provision for the religious instruction of a population so largely augmented had been allowed to remain so inadequate. So lately as in the year 1810 a vigorous effort had been made to induce the magistrates to erect six additional churches. The opposition, however, raised by those who objected to an assessment being levied from the whole community for the exclusive benefit of any one religious denomination, was so strenuous that they were unable to attain their object. And now, when Dr. Chalmers's parochial labours were laying open to the public eye the fearful spiritual condition of large masses of the people, another similar attempt was made. All, however, that the magistrates had been able to do was to erect a single additional church, the foundations of which had been laid a few months before the sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte was delivered. This act of theirs was alluded to in that sermon with undissembled satisfaction, but it was characterized at the same time as but the first step of a process which would need to be mightily extended ere the existing destitution could be effectively overtaken. Nor did he hesitate, at the very time that they were congratulating themselves on the building of this *one* church, to declare that twenty more churches and twenty more ministers were still required — a proposal which, ignorant as so many of them were of the necessities of this case, looked Utopian and extravagant, startled even the friends of the Establishment, and stirred anew the former opposition. Dr. Chalmers thought it desirable, therefore, to annex to his Discourse a brief Appendix, stating what the actual amount of the destitution was, as ascertained by his own personal inspection, and striving to remove one of the most formidable objections which had been raised against that peculiar instrument of relief, the employment and extension of which he advocated. Dr. Adam Smith had argued against religious establishments on the ground, that like any common article of merchandise religious instruction should be left to the ordinary operation of demand and supply. Dr. Chalmers came forward with the reply, that in all cases where the want of anything instead of weakening the appetite for it whetted that appetite, it might be best and safest to leave matters to the pure operations of nature. But what made this case of religious destitution peculiar, and prevented any argument grounded on the ordinary

operations of commerce being legitimately applied to it, was, that not only did the natural and effective demand fall short of the actual necessity, but that the demand lessened as the necessity increased, until at last, when the want was greatest, desire for its relief was almost or altogether unfelt. This argument, now so familiar to statesmen as well as theologians—of which a few years ago Lord Brougham made effective use in the House of Lords, without however any allusion to its author—was first broached by Dr. Chalmers in the appendix to this sermon published in 1817, and it is interesting to notice that it was in connexion with the practical question of reaching and recovering from their low estate an outcast city population that he first publicly alluded to the general or more abstract question of Religious Establishments.

The sheets of his sermon, with its preface and appendix, were passing through the press, while Dr. Chalmers, immersed in Parliamentary Reports as to the operation of the Poor-laws in England, was engaged at Anstruther in completing his article for Mr. Jeffrey. As he had not yet made himself extensively or familiarly acquainted with the state of pauperism in England, he reserved to some future occasion the suggestion of the proper remedy for evils which had become so glaring as to be universally acknowledged. He knew enough, however, of the English system of assessment to deprecate its introduction into Scotland, and enough of the state of matters in both countries as to pauper management to institute such a comparison between them as should vindicate an appeal to his countrymen to resist to the uttermost the threatened invasion from the South. It so happened that at this period our island presented all possible varieties of treatment of the poor. There were all the parishes of England, where for two hundred years a compulsory provision for the poor had been enforced; there was a number of Scottish parishes, chiefly along the borders, into which, at different periods during the preceding half century, the principle of assessment had been introduced; while to the north of the Forth and Clyde, there were not twenty parishes in Scotland where the old system of parochial management, in which the only fund for the relief of the poor consisted of voluntary contributions at the church-doors, did not still prevail.* Most interesting and instructive conclusions were furnished by a simple inspection and comparison of these three classes of parishes.

* Prior to the year 1700, there were only three assessed parishes in Scotland.

In the Scottish unassessed parishes the sums raised for the support of the poor ranged from £10 to £50 per annum for each thousand of the population. In the English assessed parishes the sums raised for a like purpose ranged from £500 to £1500 for each thousand of the population. In the recently assessed border parishes the sums varied, inclining to the English or to the Scottish rates according to the length of time during which the assessment had existed, with this however as a general feature characterizing all of them, that the assessment had almost invariably increased at a much more rapid rate than the population. Comparing, then, an English and a Scottish parish of equal population, whose inhabitants were engaged in like employments and possessed the same resources, why was it that in the one case the expenditure for the poor was £1500 and in the other £50? Dr. Chalmers sought and found the explanation of this difference in the existence in the former case of a public fund raised by legal enforcement and of indefinite amount, upon which the poor were taught—or at least universally imagined—that they had a right to draw whenever, owing to whatever cause, they were in want. Such a fund necessarily generated a feeling of security as to future maintenance altogether independent of present character or conduct. It destroyed that strongest of all natural incitements to industry and prudence which operates when a man knows that if he do not work, or if he thoughtlessly squander, he and his family must starve; it relaxed the obligations of relationship, throwing upon the public for support those aged or infirm persons whom it should have been the pride and pleasure of their own children or other near relatives to sustain; it weakened the force of all those kindly sympathies which want or suffering is sure to awaken in every neighbourhood where nature is left to her own unchecked operations; thus closing currents of supply far fuller and healthier than any that it opened. It checked the private ministrations of the wealthy, who, the more that they gave upon compulsion, had the less to give upon the impulse of compassion; stripping of its true character the charity which it enforced, leaving nothing to spontaneous generosity in the giver, and awakening a sentiment very different from that of gratitude in the receiver. In such Scottish parishes as were yet untainted no such public fund existed, and no such consequences ensued. A spirit of honest and honourable independence there prevailed, which liked far better to trust to its own efforts than depend on others' aid;

a thrifty economy which thought of the future, and out of the savings of a well-regulated industry provided for it; a genial play of kindly feelings among neighbours, and a ready help whenever help was needed and deserved; a deep sense of what the members of one family owed to each other when age took away the strength for toil, or when disease or death entered the dwelling; "the aged reposing with comfort and respect in the houses of their children, sitting in their allotted places of distinction by the evening fire, returning the filial piety by such little acts of helpfulness as their feebleness could still administer, and at length carried to their graves by the arms of descendants, who, out of their own hard and honest earnings, shielded the parents who gave them birth from a degradation they would have blushed to endure, and keeping them off the parish to the very last, so bore up the termination of their career as to sustain the dignity of its character throughout, and nobly to close its description as a career of unbroken and unsullied independence."

When he looked upon this picture and upon that, upon the English and the Scottish poor, we are not surprised that, in terror of the approaching calamity, and with strong desire to ward it off if possible, Dr. Chalmers should have said—"We want no such ignominy to come near our Scottish population as that of *farming our poor*. We want no other asylum for our aged parents than that of their pious and affectionate families. We can neither suffer them, nor do we like the prospect for ourselves, of pining out the cheerless evening of our days away from the endearments of a home. We wish to do as long as we can without the apparatus of English laws and English work-houses; and should like to ward for ever from our doors the system that would bring an everlasting interdict on the worth, and independence, and genuine enjoyments of our peasantry. We wish to see their venerable sires surrounded, as heretofore, by the company and the playfulness of their own grandchildren; nor can we bear to think that our high-minded people should sink down and be satisfied with the dreary imprisonment of an almshouse as the closing object in the vista of their earthly anticipations. Yet such is the goodly upshot of a system, which has its friends and advocates in our own country—men who could witness without a sigh the departure of all those peculiarities which have both alimented and adorned the character of our beloved Scotland—men who can gild over with the semblance of humanity a poisoned opiate of deepest injury both to its hap-

piness and to its morals—and who, in the very act of flattering the poor, are only forging for them such chains as, soft in feeling as silk, but strong in proof as adamant, will bind them down to a state of permanent degradation."

Alarmed by the discussions which his sermon had provoked, Mrs. Chalmers had written to Dr. Chalmers from Glasgow, expressing her fears that his papers for the Edinburgh Review would plunge him still deeper into the troubled tide of politics. "I do feel myself," he said in answer, "in such circumstances with the Edinburgh Review, and I do cherish such prospects of usefulness from my speculations on general politics, that I must make some clear and decided avowal on the subject of party politics. The violent of both parties will be offended, but all that are truly honest and independent in the country will approve—such as your Wilberforces and Lord Grenvilles, and the moderate Whigs and the moderate Tories, and the whole of the middle party both in Parliament and in the country. I wish to devote myself to my congregation as much as possible; but there are general calls upon me besides which I must not altogether resist, and for the sake of which it were perhaps well that I were without a congregation entirely. . . . I should, for myself, like a situation where there was less of glare and publicity and mobbish exhibition, and more of quiet study, relieved by converse with literary Christians, and by a far greater quantity of spiritual and improving converse with the inmates of my own family than I have hitherto held. . . . My mother writes me that my father has been seized with great weakness. O that God would spare him and me for one visit more, when, free from the weight of every urgent call, I could devote the time and the strength of a whole fortnight to him!"

Hearing of his father's illness, which proved but temporary, while on the way to Edinburgh, where he had engaged to preach for the Hibernian Society, on Wednesday the 24th December, he wrote to his mother—"It grieves me very much to hear of my dear father's illness, and I beg you to let me know of him particularly ere I leave Edinburgh. I mean to go to Edinburgh on Monday, and not to leave it till Thursday. A letter addressed to me at the Rev. Henry Grey's, Newington, Edinburgh, will be sure to reach me. It is my earnest prayer that your own mind may obtain strength and support from on high under the visitation of my father's illness, and that his mind may find a sure and a solid resting-place on the great Mediator."

"*Edinburgh, December* 25, 1817.—I leave this on Saturday for Glasgow. I preached here yesterday. I infer from not hearing of you that my father is no worse; and I know not one earthly object I have nearer at heart than the preservation of his life, so that I may be enabled, with my whole family, to have intercourse with him in summer. It were well if we could draw away our affections from the world, and set them upon our reconciled Father in Jesus Christ our Lord. There is no want of willingness on His part, nor of freeness in the offer of mercy by Him. Were our faith as large as His faithfulness, what a state of peace and joy and holiness it would translate us into! I pray that in your present situation you may have all the comfort of the Spirit of God working in you the blessed assurances of pardon and salvation through the blood of Jesus.

"I have just received your letter, and am greatly delighted to understand that my father is not worse. This will prove very acceptable news to our friends in Glasgow, who have been sending me letters of inquiry about him."

Dr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow on Saturday the 27th December, and on the following day found a prodigious crowd awaiting his appearance in the Tron Church pulpit. His popularity as a preacher was now at its very highest summit, and judging merely by the amount of physical energy displayed by the preacher, and by the palpable and visible effects produced upon his hearers, we conclude that it was about this period, and within the walls of the Tron Church, that by far the most wonderful exhibitions of his power as a pulpit orator were witnessed. "The Tron Church contains, if I mistake not," says the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, who, as frequently as he could, was a hearer in it, "about 1400 hearers, according to the ordinary allowance of seat-room; when crowded, of course proportionally more. And, though I cannot attempt any pictorial sketch of the *place*, I may, in a sentence or two, present you with a few touches of the *scene* which I have, more than once or twice, witnessed within its walls; not that it was at all peculiar, for it resembled every other scene where the Doctor in those days, when his eloquence was in the prime of its vehemence and splendour, was called to preach. There was one particular, indeed, which rendered such a scene, in a city like Glasgow, peculiarly striking. I refer to the *time* of it. To see a place of worship, of the size mentioned, crammed above and below, on a *Thursday forenoon*, during the busiest hours of the day, with fifteen or sixteen hundred hearers,

and these of all descriptions of persons, in all descriptions of professional occupation, the busiest as well as those who had most leisure on their hands, those who had least to spare taking care so to arrange their business engagements previously as to *make time* for the purpose, all pouring in through the wide entrance at the side of the Tron steeple, half an hour before the time of service, to secure a seat, or content, if too late for this, to occupy, as many did, standing-room—this was, indeed, a novel and strange sight. Nor was it once merely, or twice, but month after month the day was calculated when his turn to preach again was to come round, and anticipated, with even impatient longing, by multitudes.

"Suppose the congregation thus assembled—pews filled with sitters, and aisles, to a great extent, with standers. They wait in eager expectation. The preacher appears. The devotional exercises of praise and prayer having been gone through with unaffected simplicity and earnestness, the entire assembly set themselves for the *treat*, with feelings very diverse in kind, but all eager and intent. There is a hush of dead silence. The text is announced, and he begins. Every countenance is up—every eye bent, with fixed intentness, on the speaker. As he kindles the interest grows. Every breath is held—every cough is suppressed—every fidgety movement is settled—every one, riveted himself by the spell of the impassioned and entrancing eloquence, knows how sensitively his neighbour will resent the very slightest disturbance. Then, by and bye, there is a pause. The speaker stops—to gather breath—to wipe his forehead—to adjust his gown, and purposely too, and wisely, to give the audience, as well as himself, a moment or two of relaxation. The moment is embraced—there is free breathing—suppressed coughs get vent—postures are changed—there is a universal stir, as of persons who could not have endured the constraint much longer—the preacher bends forward—his hand is raised—all is again hushed. The same stillness and strain of unrelaxed attention is repeated, more intent still, it may be, than before, as the interest of the subject and of the speaker advance. And so, for perhaps four or five times in the course of a sermon, there is the *relaxation* and the '*at it again*' till the final winding up.

"And *then*, the moment the last word was uttered, and followed by the—'*let us pray*,' there was a scene for which no excuse or palliation can be pleaded but the fact of its having been to many a matter of difficulty, in the morning of a week-

day, to accomplish the abstraction of even so much of their time from business—the closing prayer completely drowned by the hurried rush of large numbers from the aisles and pews to the door; an unseemly scene, without doubt, as if so many had come to the house of God not to worship, but simply to enjoy the fascination of human eloquence. Even this much it was a great thing for eloquence to accomplish. And how diversified soever the motives which drew so many together, and the emotions awakened and impressions produced by what was heard—though, in the terms of the text of one of his most overpoweringly stirring and faithful appeals, he was to not a few 'as one that had a pleasant voice and could play well on an instrument,' yet there is abundant proof that, in the highest sense, 'his labour was not in vain in the Lord;' that the truths which, with so much fearless fidelity and impassioned earnestness, he delivered, went in many instances further than the ear, or even the intellect—that they reached the heart, and, by the power of the Spirit, turned it to God."

"On Thursday the 12th February 1818," I now quote from a manuscript of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, minister of Kilchrennan, "Dr. Chalmers preached in the Tron Church before the Directors of the Magdalene Asylum. The sermon delivered on this occasion was that 'On the Dissipation of Large Cities.' Long before the service commenced every seat and passage was crowded to excess, with the exception of the front pew of the gallery, which was reserved for the Magistrates. A vast number of students deserted their classes at the University and were present. This was very particularly the case in regard to the Moral Philosophy Class, which I attended that session, as appeared on the following day when the list of absentees was given in by the person who had called the catalogue, and at the same time a petition from several of themselves was handed in to the Professor, praying for a remission of the fine for non-attendance, on the ground that they had been hearing Dr. Chalmers. The Doctor's manner during the whole delivery of that magnificent discourse was strikingly animated, while the enthusiasm and energy which he threw into some of its bursts rendered them quite overpowering. One expression which he used, together with his action, his look, and the very tones of his voice when it came forth, made a most vivid and indelible impression upon my memory:—'We, at the same time,' he said, 'have our eye perfectly open to that great external improvement which has taken place, of late years, in

the manners of society. There is not the same grossness of conversation. There is not the same impatience for the withdrawment of him who, asked to grace the outset of an assembled party, is compelled, at a certain step in the process of convivality, by the obligations of professional decency, to retire from it. There is not so frequent an exaction of this as one of the established proprieties of social or of fashionable life. And if such an exaction was ever laid by the omnipotence of custom on a minister of Christianity, it is such an exaction as ought never, never to be complied with. It is not for him to lend the sanction of his presence to a meeting with which he could not sit to its final termination. It is not for him to stand associated, for a single hour, with an assemblage of men who begin with hypocrisy, and end with downright blackguardism. It is not for him to watch the progress of the coming ribaldry, and to hit the well-selected moment when talk and turbulence and boisterous merriment are on the eve of bursting forth upon the company, and carrying them forward to the full acme and uproar of their enjoyment. It is quite in vain to say, that he has only sanctioned one part of such an entertainment. He has as good as given his connivance to the whole of it, and left behind him a discharge in full of all its abominations; and, therefore, be they who they may, whether they rank among the proudest aristocracy of our land, or are charioted in splendour along, as the wealthiest of our citizens, *or flounce in the robes of magistracy*, it is his part to keep as purely and indignantly aloof from such society as this, as he would from the vilest and most debasing associations of profligacy.'

"The words which I have underlined do not appear in the sermon as printed. While uttering them, which he did with peculiar emphasis, accompanying them with a flash from his eye and a stamp of his foot, he threw his right arm with clenched hand right across the book-board, and brandished it full in the face of the Town-council, sitting in array and in state before him. Many eyes were in a moment directed towards the magistrates. The words evidently fell upon them like a thunderbolt, and seemed to startle like an electric shock the whole audience."

Another interesting memorial of this sermon is supplied by Dr. Wardlaw, who was present at its delivery. "The eloquence of that discourse was absolutely overpowering. The subject was one eminently fitted to awaken and summon to their utmost energy all his extraordinary powers; especially when, after

having cleared his ground by a luminously scriptural exhibition of that supreme authority by which the evils he was about to portray were interdicted, in contradistinction to the prevailing maxims and practices of a worldly morality, he came forward to the announcement and illustration of his main subject—'*the origin, the progress, and the effects of a life of dissipation.*' His moral portraitures were so graphically and vividly delineated—his warnings and entreaties, especially to youth, so impassioned and earnest—his admonitions so faithful, and his denunciations so fearless and so fearful—and his exhortations to preventive and remedial appliances so pointed and so urgent to all amongst his auditors who had either the charge of youth, or the supervision of dependants! It was thrilling, overwhelming. His whole soul seemed in every utterance. Although saying to myself all the while, 'O that this were in the hands of every father, and master, and guardian, and young man in the land!' I yet could not spare an eye from the preacher to mark how his appeal was telling upon others. The breathless, the appalling silence, told me of that. Any person who reads that discourse, and who had the privilege of listening to Dr. Chalmers during the prime and freshness of his public eloquence, will readily imagine the effect of some passages in it, when delivered with even more than the preacher's characteristic vehemence.

"The wish that haunted my mind during the discourse went home with me; and in bed that night the thought came across me, that I might write to him, and respectfully but earnestly suggest the desirableness of having such an appeal put into circulation. I did so, and while I expressed strongly my delight and my wishes, I ventured at the same time, with all due diffidence, to hint the desirableness, were the discourse to appear thus by itself, of his introducing at the close, in his own style, a statement of that gospel—that scheme and message of Divine mercy—by which 'the wrath of God which cometh on the children of disobedience,' of which his text had led him to speak, was to be escaped, and His favour and forgiveness to be obtained; a statement which would perfect the fitness of the appeal for the ends to be answered by its circulation. To this note the letter which I now transmit to you is the answer."

"KENSINGTON PLACE, *February* 16, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Believe that it is not without pain that I bring forward a negative to your request for the immediate

publication of my sermon. I have had too much experience of the ephemeral duration of single sermons to think of that as the most effective mode of publication for usefulness. And, besides, I have of late made so many exhibitions of myself in this way before the public, that I am beginning to be heartily ashamed of it.

"I am at the same time much gratified with your favourable opinion, and will probably feel encouraged by it to incorporate the substance of what was delivered on Thursday in some future volume, when I can have no objection whatever that the usefulness, if any, might be multiplied to any degree by the circulation of such extracts as might be permitted by the publisher.

"I perfectly agree with you in thinking, that separately from the great peculiarities of our faith, all the reformations which were urged are of no value for eternity, and, indeed, can scarcely even be accomplished in time. But I am not so sure whether there is not too much of a sensitive alarm about one's orthodoxy, when it is expected that something like a satisfying declaration of it shall be brought forward in every single discourse. Might not a preacher and his hearers so understand each other as that the leading points of doctrine might be tacitly presupposed between them? At the same time I do feel it a very great and prevailing defect in my own compositions that in many of its separate portions it would be difficult to recognise the presence of Him who ought to be all in all. I am reading Owen just now on the Person of Christ, and am sure that I have greatly erred in not making enough of Him. May the Spirit more and more take of the things of Christ, and show them unto us.

"Believe me, with many thanks for your kind and friendly communication, yours, most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"In the afternoon of Sabbath the 22d March 1818," we now resume Mr. Fraser's memoranda, "Dr. Chalmers preached in the College Chapel. It being publicly known a few days previously that he was to do so, the College courts became crowded with students and others not connected with the University about an hour before the commencement of the service. So soon as the doors were opened, the rush towards them was tremendous. I was in the stream that was flowing in by the main entrance, and made good progress until I got within the door, when, in consequence of the great pressure behind, I was suddenly thrown out of the current as I had almost reached the foot of the hanging

spiral staircase leading to the chapel, and so compact was the mass that was pouring on, that all my efforts to wedge myself into it were vain. Under these circumstances, I made up my mind to do what might have led to very serious consequences. I ascended sideways on the outside of the rails, holding on with a death-grasp of them at every step, and upon reaching the top, had no little difficulty, even with the assistance I received, in getting over them, so dense was the crowd. The sermon preached by Dr. Chalmers was the one entitled 'The judgment of men compared with the judgment of God.' I had a complete view of the professors' bench directly opposite to the pulpit. It was quite full, and had a very imposing appearance. Every eye in it was intently fixed upon the preacher. But there was one individual who formed a very prominent object in the group—Mr. Young, Professor of Greek. The magic of the Doctor's eloquence told most powerfully on him. He was evidently fascinated and enraptured. The expression of his fine countenance more than once indicated intense emotion. During the delivery of the peroration he was overpowered and in tears.*

"On Sabbath evening, in the Tron Church, Dr. Chalmers preached from Proverbs i. 29. The power of the oratory and the force of the delivery were at times extraordinary. At length, when near the close of the sermon, all on a sudden his eloquence gathered triple force, and came down in one mighty whirlwind, sweeping all before it. Never can I forget my feelings at the time, neither can I describe them. 'And what,' he said, warning us against all hope in a deathbed repentance, 'what, we would ask, is the scene in which you are now purposing to contest it with all this mighty force of opposition you are now so busy in raising up against you? What is the field of combat to which you are now looking forward as the place where you are to accomplish a victory over all those formidable enemies whom you are at present arming with such a weight of hostility as, we say, within a single hairbreadth of certainty, you will find to be irresistible? Oh the folly of such a misleading infatuation! The proposed scene in which this battle for eternity is to be

* Professor Young's admiration of eloquence and susceptibility of emotion when under its influence were extreme. He frequently attended the Tron Church, and I scarcely ever heard Dr. Chalmers without weeping like a child. Upon one occasion, I was so electrified that he leaped up from his seat upon the bench near the pulpit, and stood, breathless and motionless, gazing at the preacher till the burst was over, the tears all the while flowing down his cheeks. Upon another occasion, forgetful of time and place—whether church or theatre—he rose and made a loud clapping of his hands in an ecstasy of admiration and delight.

fought, and this victory for the crown of glory is to be won, is a deathbed. It is when the last messenger stands by the couch of the dying man, and shakes at him the terrors of his grisly countenance, that the poor child of infatuation thinks he is to struggle and prevail against all his enemies—against the unrelenting tyranny of habit—against the obstinacy of his own heart, which he is now doing so much to harden—against the Spirit of God, who perhaps long ere now has pronounced the doom upon him, "He will take his own way, and walk in his own counsel; I shall cease from striving, and let him alone,"—against Satan, to whom every day of his life he has given some fresh advantage over him, and who will not be willing to lose the victim on whom he has practised so many wiles, and plied with success so many delusions. And such are the enemies whom you who wretchedly calculate on the repentance of the eleventh hour are every day mustering up in greater force and formidableness against you; and how can we think of letting you go with any other repentance than the repentance of the precious moment that is now passing over you, when we look forward to the horrors of that impressive scene on which you propose to win the prize of immortality, and to contest it single-handed and alone, with all the weight of opposition which you have accumulated against yourselves—a deathbed—a languid, breathless, tossing, and agitated deathbed; that scene of feebleness, when the poor man cannot help himself to a single mouthful—when he must have attendants to sit around him, and watch his every wish, and interpret his every signal, and turn him to every posture where he may find a moment's ease, and wipe away the cold sweat that is running over him, and ply him with cordials for thirst, and sickness, and insufferable languor. And this is the time, when occupied with such feelings and beset with such agonies as these, you propose to crowd within the compass of a few wretched days the work of winding up the concerns of a neglected eternity!'

"It was a transcendently grand—a glorious burst. The energy of the Doctor's action corresponded. Intense emotion beamed from his countenance. I cannot describe the appearance of his face better than by saying, as Foster said of Hall's, it was 'lighted up almost into a glare.' The congregation, in so far as the spell under which I was allowed me to observe them, were intensely excited, leaning forward in the pews like a forest bending under the power of the hurricane—looking steadfastly at the preacher, and listening in breathless wonderment. One young man, ap-

parently by his dress a sailor, who sat in a pew before me, started to his feet, and stood till it was over. So soon as it was concluded, there was (as invariably was the case at the close of the Doctor's bursts) a deep sigh, or rather gasp for breath, accompanied by a movement through the whole audience.

"On another Sabbath evening a scene occurred which I shall never forget. About an hour before the service commenced all the seats were occupied. A broad passage runs through the area of the church from the main inner door to the pulpit. This passage it was intended should be kept vacant upon the present occasion for the better ventilation of the house. So soon, therefore, as the pews which entered from it (in one of which I sat) were filled, the door, consisting of two leaves, was bolted from within. Very soon all the other passages above and below were crowded to overflowing. A dense mass was by this time congregated in the lobby, many of whom observed through the windows of a partition wall which ran between the lobby and the interior of the church that the middle passage was empty. Those in the background, who could not themselves observe this, were made immediately aware of it. They all became very clamorous for admission, and many a good thump did the door receive. Those in charge of it, however, having got, as was said, positive orders to keep the passage clear, were inexorable. Matters went on in this manner until the bell commenced, which seemed to be the signal for increased clamour and importunity on the part of the crowd without. At length the door began to creak. The bell ceased. The beadle entered the pulpit with the Bible. All was still for a few moments. Every eye within sight of the vestry-door was anxiously fixed upon it to see who would appear, lest it might *not* be the Doctor, as he had on more occasions than one sadly disappointed the congregation. No sooner, however, was he observed entering the church, than an expression of intense delight rustled very perceptibly through the house. There was actually (I do not exaggerate) a movement of the whole congregation. At this moment a crash at the passage-door was heard; crash after crash followed in rapid succession, intermingled with screams from the outer porch, chiefly from terrified females. Two of the door-keepers who were standing in the passage rushed to the door, which was evidently yielding, to prevent, if possible, its being forced in. They quickly retreated, seeing, as they did at once, that neither door nor door-keepers could withstand the pressure. The door immediately gave way with

a thundering noise, one of the leaves torn from its hinges and trampled under foot. The rush was tremendous. In one instant the whole vacant space in front of the pulpit was crammed,* and the torrent flowed on, flowing into and filling to its very end at the vestry-door the passage through which the Doctor had just entered. The occurrence grieved, and for a little while discomposed him, and upon rising to begin the service, he administered a sharp and impassioned rebuke to the parties involved in it."

Dr. Wardlaw, who was present on this occasion also, informs us, "I stepped into the vestry at the dismission of the congregation, and walked home with him, our dwellings lying in the same direction. On the way home we talked, *inter alia*, of this occurrence. He expressed, in his pithy manner, his great annoyance at such crowds. 'I preached the same sermon,' said he, 'in the morning; and for the very purpose of preventing the oppressive annoyance of such a densely crowded place, I intimated that I should preach it again in the evening;' and with the most ingenuous guilelessness, he added, 'Have *you* ever tried that plan?' I did not smile—I laughed outright. 'No, no,' I replied, 'my good friend, there are but very few of us that are under the necessity of having recourse to the use of means for getting thin audiences.' He enjoyed the joke, and he felt, though he modestly disowned the compliment."

At the commencement of a ministry which involved him in such perpetual tumult, and lifted him to such unbounded popularity, Dr. Chalmers made the following entries in his private Journal:—

"*Sunday, March 3d.*—A general want of devotional feeling this day. Not an adequate sense of God in church. Fear I have still much vanity. O my God, enable me from this time forward to make an entire heart-work of my sanctification.

"*4th.*—Cannot say much of my walk with God. Do not burn with love to man.

"*5th.*—Cannot yet record a close walk with God. Got impatient with one man who called on me, and with —— in the evening. O for a humbler and nearer course of devotedness to the will of my Saviour!

* A countryman sitting at the end of the pew occupied by Mr. Fraser while the church was filling fell fast asleep. Wakened by the crash of the doors and the rush through the passage, he started up, looked stupidly for a moment or two at the crowd, and then exclaimed, so loud as to be heard by all around him, "Gude guide us! they say the man canna speak when the trance [the passage] is fu'; he'll no speak muckle the nicht!"

"6*th*.—Have not yet attained such a walk with God that, in looking to the day that is gone, I can see anything like the general complexion of godliness.

"7*th*.—Cannot yet speak to my walk with God. Will a quiet confidence in Christ not bring this about?

"8*th*.—Not yet. O my God, help me! Let me do what is obviously right, and God will bless me with the frame and the manifestation I long after.

"9*th*.—Not yet. Trust that I am finding my way to Christ as the Lord my strength. O guard me against the charms of human praise.

"*Sunday*, 10*th*.—Preached in the Gorbals in the afternoon, and exceeded. O for self-command in the pulpit. I was not satisfied with my sermon; and I fear, or rather I know and am sure, that personal distinction is one of my idols. O that I could bring it out, O Lord, and slay it before Thee.

"14*th*.—Not yet. O my God, keep me humble and regular, and mindful of Thee, and diligent in all that is obviously right.

"18*th*.—Not yet; but I trust better.

"*Sunday*, 24*th*.—Preached to the magistrates. Vanity, violent exertion prompted by vanity—a preaching of self—a want of singleness of aim after the glory of God. O my Heavenly Father, sweep away these corruptions, and enable me to struggle with them."

The Journal from which these impressive extracts are taken was discontinued for some time a few weeks after these entries were made in it. In the absence of such information as it might have supplied as to Dr. Chalmers's private feelings during the remaining period of his Tron Church ministry, we present the narrative of a single but instructive incident, which occurred about two years after his settlement in Glasgow:—

"At the time I allude to," says our informant, J. Wright, Esq., "Dr. Chalmers had been preaching in the Barony Church for the venerable Dr. Burns, on the Monday after the Communion, which in the suburban districts was about two months after the time of its celebration in the town churches. As was customary on such occasions, Dr. Burns invited the ministers who had assisted him, and some of his elders and friends, to dinner on the Monday. I was on that day one of the party, and I was exceedingly disappointed to see that Dr. Chalmers, who, in ordinary times, poured a fascinating influence over every company where he was, seemed extremely dull, nay, I may say

dejected. When he arose, about nine o'clock, to go away, as our tract homeward lay for some distance in the same direction, I left the company along with him. When we had got together, I said to the Doctor, 'Are you well enough to-day, Doctor? for I have noticed you have not to-day been in your usual trim.' 'O yes,' he said; 'I am quite in good health, but I am not comfortable. I am grieved in my mind.' Seeing that he so frankly communicated to me the general cause of his unusual appearance, I used the freedom to say, 'Well, Doctor, is this a matter that I may be made acquainted with, as, if it is not, I have no wish to pry into anything of a private nature?" 'O yes!' he replied, 'you may perfectly know it, for it is a matter that presses very grievously upon me. In short, the truth is,' said he, in his own emphatic manner, 'I have mistaken the way of my duty to God in at all coming to your city. I am doing no good. God has not blessed and is not blessing my ministry here.' On hearing this I replied, 'Well, Doctor, it is a very remarkable circumstance that, in the providence of God, you should have been sent with your complaint to me on this point, because I have it in my power at any rate to mention one instance in which your ministry has been made instrumental in bringing a soul from darkness to the marvellous light of the Gospel of salvation.' 'Can you?' said he; 'then you will give me the best news I have heard since I came among you.' I then narrated to him the following particulars:—

"At the time this took place I was an elder under the late venerated Dr. Balfour, minister of the Outer High Church, whose practice it was, when he read over the names of those who were applying for admission to the ordinance of the Lord's supper, to give us so much of their history and experience as he had been in conversation with them able to discover, and to request that some of the elders might, as far as possible, scrutinize further, and communicate to him the result. I well remember, at the Sacrament, which in the town churches is always solemnized in the month of April, he mentioned the name of a young man who had applied to be a communicant. After he had read over his name—'By the bye,' said the good servant of the Lord, 'I must tell you something about this young man, for his history is somewhat interesting and singular. He sat,' said Dr. Balfour, 'for nearly twenty years under my ministry, but did not appear to derive any good from it; but when my worthy friend Dr. Chalmers' (for that was the almost uniform designation he gave

him when he had occasion to speak of him) 'came to Glasgow, he was attracted to him by his splendid talents, and sat under his ministry for about two years, and then it pleased the Lord to come to him in the day of His power; and I have every reason to think him a truly converted young man. And now that he wishes to become a member of the Church, he wishes to return to us. But,' added Dr. Balfour, with a truly sublime humility, 'it was not under my ministry that he was turned to the Lord, though he sat for the greater part of his lifetime in the Outer Church; but it was under the preaching of Dr. Chalmers.'

"You know what was Dr. Chalmers's ardent manner when anything that related to the glory of Christ's kingdom, or to the spiritual good of his fellow-creatures, was made known to him; but you may easily conceive with what exuberant joy he heard this simple annal of the good done through his pastoral superintendence. 'Ah!' said he, 'Mr. Wright, what blessed, what comforting news you give me. I knew it not; but it strengthens me; for really I was beginning to fail, from an apprehension that I had not been acting according to the will of God in coming to your city.'"

At a still later period of his Glasgow ministry, and after knowing, by a painful experience, how many bitter ingredients are often mixed in the cup of human applause, urging his agencies to increased activity in that home-walk of private benevolence, in which "they could earn, if not a proud at least a peaceful popularity—the popularity of the heart—the only popularity that is worth the aspiring after—the popularity that is won in the bosom of families and at the side of deathbeds"—he could not help pouring out his own latter experience in these words:—"There is another, a high and a far-sounding popularity, which is indeed a most worthless article, felt by all who have it most to be greatly more oppressive than gratifying—a popularity of stare, and pressure, and animal heat, and a whole tribe of other annoyances which it brings around the person of its unfortunate victim—a popularity which rifles home of its sweets, and by elevating man above his fellows places him in a region of desolation, where the intimacies of human fellowship are unfelt, and where he stands a conspicuous mark for the shafts of malice, and envy, and detraction—a popularity which, with its head among storms and its feet on the treacherous quicksands, has nothing to lull the agonies of its tottering existence but the hosannahs of a drivelling generation."

CHAPTER XXV.

HIS FATHER'S DECLINING HEALTH—SUMMER MONTHS AT ANSTRUTHER—DAILY LIFE IN GLASGOW—VISIT OF PROFESSOR PICTET AND M. VERNOT; OF MR. NOEL AND MR. GREY—VISITATION OF HIS PARISH—THE REV. LEGH RICHMOND—MR. CUNNINGHAME OF LAINSHAW—MEETING OF THE JEWISH SOCIETY—MR. ERSKINE OF LINLATHEN—HIS FATHER'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH—HERVEY'S AND NEWTON'S WORKS—THE DOCTRINE OF IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS—PROFESSORS LESLIE AND BROWN—LORD ELGIN AND PARTY—SERMON AT FALKIRK—KIND ATTENTIONS AT GRANGEMOUTH—PLUM-JELLY OPERATION—DEATH OF DR. BALFOUR—PANEGYRIC UPON HIS CHARACTER—DEATH OF THE QUEEN—TRIBUTE TO HER WORTH.

In the beginning of December, a few days after leaving his mother, Dr. Chalmers wrote to her as follows:—"I was greatly occupied when at Anster with some very laborious preparations, and I always find that this has a bad effect upon me, not merely in taking up that time which I should give to you and to my father, but in so filling my mind with anxiety and thought as to make me, I am afraid, behave to you both in a way that looks very ungracious and undutiful. I really do reproach myself most heartily for my silence in the presence of my father. I know what my duty is in this respect, and yet I have not done it. To will is present with me, but to do that which is good I have found not. My mind approves of it as a most excellent thing to minister every attention to one who has ever been the kindest and the best and the most indulgent of parents; but my natural infirmities of temper and constitution have not hitherto allowed me freedom and power for this. And therefore it is, that while I look back to the past I have much cause for uneasiness; it is my sincere purpose, in looking forward to the future, that when I come to Anster I shall come disembarrassed of every severe and oppressive study, and at liberty to give more of my time and strength to the performance of a most incumbent obligation.

"I left you in bed with much feeling, and I left him in the back-shop, greatly impressed with his mildness and my own unworthiness. It is my earnest prayer that we may still be all spared to see much of each other in peace and comfort on this side of time, and that we may meet again in that country

where trials have ceased and every root of bitterness is unknown."

The intelligence received during the winter of his father's declining health made Dr. Chalmers doubly anxious that Mrs. Chalmers and his family should spend the summer months of 1818 at Anstruther. While affording to himself occasional opportunities of personal intercourse with his parents, this arrangement would secure frequent and regular intelligence regarding them. It might also be a benefit and comfort to his mother, should any sudden emergency occur, to have Mrs. Chalmers's presence and aid; and he knew how peculiarly gratifying it would be to his father to listen to the infant prattle of his grandchildren. This cherished project was executed in the end of May, Dr. Chalmers going to Anstruther a few days earlier than the others, and enjoying, let us hope, the period of unbroken and unembarrassed society with his parents which he had so ardently desired. Leaving his family at Anstruther he returned to Glasgow early in June, commencing a series of Journal letters, from which, as they afford a vivid description of his daily life at this period, the following extracts are presented. In reading them, however, we must remember not only that the summer months saw Glasgow comparatively deserted, but that his own solitary position made his house very different from what it was when Mrs. Chalmers presided there, and when scarcely a single day passed without a varied succession of visitors.

"*Glasgow, Thursday, June* 11, 1818.—I preached at eleven. The body of the church was decently filled, and the galleries about half full. Whether this decline of attendance is due to the ignorance of my preaching, or to the extreme heat of the weather, or to the number of people out of town, or, finally, to a decreasing interest in my pulpit services, I know not, and I trust that I shall be enabled, excepting on the principle of Christian usefulness, to care not. It is right, my dear G., that the idol of human applause should be renounced, and we should prepare to make a willing sacrifice of all that this world can offer, and we should be clothed in humility, and simplify our aim, and cease from the disquietudes of human vanity, and count it enough that we have peace with God, and the blessedness of that hope which the gospel inspires.

"*Friday.*—Started at seven. Wrote part of my lecture before breakfast. Studied all forenoon. Completed my lecture,

and am now writing to you. Read the Quarterly Review, and did miscellaneous things till dinner-time. I am dividing my time now differently, and I think more conveniently—staying in the house till dinner-time, and expatiating in the town from dinner-time to the evening. Sallied out, and went to the bottom of the Saltmarket, where I expatiated amongst the sick and the dying till seven. Took an ice-cream in Baxter's. Went to Dr. Ranken, who proposed a walk to the Botanic Garden, which is now in great beauty. Left the garden before nine. Came back to my house and reposed on the sofa till bed-time.

"*Saturday.*—Studied at a careful Sermon. Left the house at two. Visited one sick person. On my return to dinner found that Professor Pictet of Geneva had been calling upon me with his grandson. He left a flattering note, and a letter of introduction from Mr. Macaulay of London. After dinner read my lecture and sermon, and about six o'clock M. Pictet with his grandson M. Vernot called. He is a very learned man of the same kind of eminence with Biot. They left me about ten, having taken up their lodgings at the Black Bull, to which place indeed I convoyed them.

"*Sunday.*—Professor Pictet and M. Vernot breakfasted with me, and went to church with me. I lectured, and gave for the evening sermon the one I preached at Kirkcaldy. Professor Pictet and grandson were among my hearers. There was a very great crowd. I took leave of Pictet after sermon. He goes to Edinburgh by the track and steam-boat. He is a most interesting person, the editor of a periodical work at Geneva. He received from me a number of my separate sermons, and requested that I would send him all my publications in future.

"*Monday.*—Had a breakfast party, consisting of my Sabbath-school agents—performed several visits—returned to dinner at four—began my lecture for next Sunday.

"*Tuesday.*—Studied all forenoon. After dinner, in company with Mr. C., commenced the visitation of that part of my present parish which is to be attached to St. John's. It promises favourably."

"*Glasgow, Wednesday, June* 17, 1818.—Had my forenoon study. About three o'clock in came Captain Sands from Kincardine, to go off in the track-boat at five. Just as I was ordering wine and cold roast beef for him, with the intention to dine along with him, in came Mr. Francis Noel and Mr. Grey, eldest

son of Sir George Grey. I told them my situation, that I would dine with them in the Black Bull, and give them all their other accommodation in my own house. They were, however, on the wing for Loch Lomond and the West Highlands, but say they will be back in three or four weeks. I went down to the Black Bull with them, and saw them on board of the steam-boat at four. Mr. Grey is very a fine-like young man. On my return I expected to find Captain Sands where I last left him, but I found him just gone.

"*Thursday.*—Wrote letters, and studied till one. I visited sick; and dined in F. A.'s. I find general company a most unprofitable thing. Went between eight and nine to the Botanic Garden. Walked with Mr. Deakin about half an hour. I love him; and trust the charm I feel in Christian society is a good indication. I want to grow in the faith in all its simplicity and self-abasement. I want self to be crucified, and the Saviour to be all in all with me. Do, my dear G., give earnest heed to the things which are spoken. Be frequent with your Bible and your prayers, and suffer not time, with any of its vanities, however interesting, to lead you to lose your hold of the one thing needful. Went to bed at eleven.

"*Friday.*—Studied till two. Have marvellously few calls, but am in great comfort and quietness. Oh that Christ were more formed in me! Dined at three. Took a step to my worthy friend, and along with Mr. C. had another visitation. Addressed two roomfuls of people at a door which opened to each of them. I have a great satisfaction in this part of my duty.

"*Saturday.*—Wrote at my lecture and read till about three. Dined with Mr. K. I find that dinners away from vital Christians are indeed very blank and unprofitable concerns.

"*Sunday.*—Mr. and Mrs. Parker have returned from Harrowgate, and were my hearers. After the baptisms of the session-house I walked home and dined, and spent a quiet, pleasurable, and completely retired Sabbath evening, and heard Janet read, and had a good deal of very interesting conversation with her. She is not at rest in spiritual matters. O that we could be ever in earnest, and not faithless, but believing!

"*Monday.*—Had a breakfast party as usual. I had a hurried call in the evening of Mr. J. W., with Frederick Adamson and his ladies, who remained till eleven o'clock. I had a most congenial conversation with them, enlivened, at the same time, with

the most ecstatic peals of laughter. . . . I conducted family worship before the gentlemen left me, and went to bed at eleven.

"*Tuesday.*—Studied till two. Quarter-decked along the south front of Mr. Harley's grounds. Came back to my beefsteak, and after it I had another round of visitation at the head of the Green; and after going amongst the houses drank tea with a Mr. M'Levey, and assembled the people in a weaver's, who came to the amount of a hundred and twenty-five hearers. This is truly gratifying work, and I feel that if unmolested I shall have great pleasure in it. The cordialities of the people are quite unbounded; and I am particularly pleased that Mr. C. has consented to take a superintendence here, which will keep me at ease in reference to at least six hundred people of my new parish. This is what I would call good progress.

"*Wednesday.*—Went out to Blochairn before breakfast. I am here by invitation, and mean to return to-morrow. I have taken my forenoon's study; and at this point do I close my narrative for the present. I find that it is a good arrangement to stay within doors till nearly dinner-time, and just to make one long visit to town every day, which I am doing at present after dinner. Write me particularly in your next about the children and the parentage. May God work in you effectually. May He raise you from spiritual death. May He give you the grace of faith. Oh! cease not, cease not, my dear G., to seek His face and His favour. Do give up all for eternity, and venture all on that foundation which God hath laid in Zion. It is my earnest prayer that we and our little ones may be saved by the sanctification of the Spirit and the belief of the truth.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Friday.*—After the usual routine of breakfasting and studying and dining, I had a visitation along with Mr. C. Went through Norris's Land. Drank a hurried tea in the parish with Mr. Ure, and went back to Norris's Land at eight, where I held forth to a motley assemblage of a hundred people at least. I had great freedom and satisfaction in this work, and after it was over received many polite attentions from the genteeler of the auditory, in the shape of a greatcoat, a glass of spirits and water, &c. &c.

"*Saturday.*—Nearly finished the preparation of my lecture this forenoon, and went out to make a series of visits, on my way to ——, where I dined. After dinner Mr. Legh Richmond,

author of the 'Dairyman's Daughter,' and Mr. Jackson, clergyman in Leeds, came as we expected. They are on a mission here for the Jewish Society. We drank tea and made some arrangements for their object. I was delighted with Mr. Jackson, and told him that I could supper him, bed him, and breakfast him, though I could not in my present circumstances dinner him. He came with me. I had most congenial talk with him, and am indeed greatly humbled by the very superior attainments of other Christians. O God, may I be a follower of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

"*Sunday.*—Preached in the afternoon, and having baptized fourteen children, took leave of Mr. Jackson.

"*Monday.*—Mr. A.'s chaise brought Mr. Richmond to my door at half-past five this morning, and took away Mr. Jackson to the steam-boat. I was unconscious of this movement at the time, though I knew beforehand that it was to happen, having a great deal too much of good sense to surrender a single fraction of my natural rest for the sake of a ceremonial that does no good to one party, and is at least very unpleasant if not injurious to another. Started at seven. Had a marriage to perform this morning at eight in Anderston, and came back at half-past eight o'clock. Had a Monday breakfast, consisting of Mr. Cunninghame of Lainshaw, Mr. Gilfillan, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Jamieson of Scoone, and five others, preachers, students, or teachers. Greatly delighted with Mr. Cunninghame, who staid behind. You know him to be the author of a book on the prophecies. We walked to the Botanic Gardens together. I had much of interesting conversation with him.

"*Tuesday.*—Finished a preparation for the Jewish Society meeting, which is to take place on Friday. Dined with Mr. Montgomery. Met Mr. John Brown, elder, and took him and Mr. Montgomery to a visitation in the proportion of the latter. Went through 230 people,* and drank tea at Mr. Brown's, then at eight delivered an address in one of the houses to an assemblage consisting of eighty-five people. Have great comfort in this work.

* These visits, though short, were often strikingly impressive. Passing through one house in which he saw an old man reclining, he stepped aside, bent over him, lifted up his right hand, and said, simply, but with emphatic solemnity, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Entering another house in which was an old bed-rid woman, of whom he had been told beforehand, that, of a hard and severe character here, she cherished the darkest and most severe conceptions of the Deity, he went up instly to her bedside, and fixing her attention by the very vehemence of his utterance, he said, "Now I have just come to tell you this: God Almighty has no ill will at you.—I want you to understand that He has a perfect good will to you;" leaving her more startled, perhaps more convinced, than she would have been by any lengthened argument.

"Seek God. Read His word attentively. Pray, and do not rest till you have found rest in Christ Jesus the Saviour. Sin is indeed a thousand times more hateful than we feel it to be, and the Saviour is just as much more precious than we prize Him to be. Oh! seek to believe in Him, that to you He may be precious. You are without light or strength or sufficiency of any kind in yourself. Go to the fulness of the Redeemer, and desire by faith all things necessary to a life of godliness. Watch over our dear little ones. Tell them of me, and be assured of my warmest love to them and to you. Nothing but the complete filling up of my time by useful employment could render our separation tolerable. I think I shall get my parish stored with agency enough for its cultivation, and I hope I may be allowed to prosecute my own measures amongst them.

"Compliments to all, and write about them particularly.

"*Wednesday.*—I went out to Mr. Falconer's country place, where I dined and staid all evening. I partook of his strawberries and cream, and in the evening had a most delicious walk through a highly ornamented scenery, and under the canopy of a most mild and beauteous sky. Mr. F. is among the most eminently spiritual men I have met with. He spends two hours in his proportion every day among his people. Went to bed at eleven.

"*Thursday.*—Walked by appointment to Mr. Brown's, and then sallied out to a diet of visitation. I drank tea in Mr. Brown's, and delivered my address to an assemblage of about eighty after it. I got homewards by ten, and went to bed thankful that God had so sustained me, though the day was altogether lost to study.

"*Friday.*—Slept most refreshingly. Had to attend the Jewish Society about twelve, so that this Society in fact has lost me two complete days, one in preparing for it, and another exhibiting for it. You will see how utterly this distraction is at variance with my best and dearest and, I think, most valuable objects. My determination against any personal share in their proceedings has been strengthened by this new instance of the mischief of such an interruption.

"*Saturday.*—Tried to finish a lecture, but in fact have lost this week to study, and shall be happy never from this time forward to attend societies.

"*Sunday.*—Preached in the forenoon.

"*Monday.*—Breakfasted with Mr. Wilson. He took me in

his gig to Paisley, where I preached for the Moravians, and got a collection of £96, 10s. 6d.

"*Tuesday.*—I attended this day a committee, where my parochial plan of management was broached—laughed at by one set, vehemently supported by another, and at length regularly deposited as the subject of a motion. It is growing in popularity amongst the official people, though some of the old stagers have the very greatest contempt for it.

"*Wednesday.*—Finished a lecture. Kirkman Finlay, M.P., called in his carriage, and took me out, along with Mr. Haddow, chief magistrate, to an official dinner, given to the magistrates at Jordanhill. Mr. Finlay is to give all his influence and approbation to my arrangements, and I have no doubt of the matter succeeding. The dinner was one of splendour, and the party was a very pleasant one. Mr. Finlay drove me in about ten o'clock.

"*Thursday.*—Wrote at a careful sermon. Mr. Birt, one of the Baptist ministers now in town, called, and I invited him to take a bed with me during his stay, which will be about a week. We shall have no dinners nor parties, and indeed he is taken out abundantly to both. He is a great intimate of Mr. Hall's, and a very pleasant well-informed person. I took an early dinner, and had a round of visitation with Mr. Brown. I drank tea at his house, and addressed a party of above one hundred after tea in the evening.

"*Friday.*—Mr. Birt breakfasts with me every morning. I took to the composition in the forenoon. Mr. Kinghorn and Dr. Steadman, other Baptist ministers, called upon me at one. I took them to the Observatory, and felt the pressure of a little confusion by the Miss B.'s, Mr. F., and Miss S. being also thrown upon me. However, I made off from them all at three; had an early dinner, and went to the Saltmarket, where I spent four or five hours among my old people. I did the thing in a quiet and leisurely style, and drank tea in a family there during the evening. I came home in great comfort, and met Mr. Birt on my return.

"*Saturday.*—Was annoyed this forenoon with a good deal of breaking up of my retirement. I finished off my preparation as I could; took my cold bath (which I do three times a week) in Mr. Smith's; had an early dinner; went down to Mr. Hunter's proportion, and made a number of visits to sick and dying people; drank tea with a parish family there; came up about

eight, had several calls; had an egg and cold beef with Mr. Birt, and went to bed about eleven o'clock.

"*Sunday.*—I preached all day. Spent my interval with Mr. Allan Buchannan, who, I trust, will be an elder to me. He is a very fine fellow.

"*Monday, July* 6.—Had a party of twelve at breakfast: Mr. Walker, Mr. Charles Hutcheson, Messrs. Robert and Francis Brown, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Birt, and a number of Sabbath-school teachers. Compliments to all. Write about my father. Strive to enter in at the strait gate—it is the gate of a blessed eternity. O my dear G., do make it a matter of prayer and of earnestness; feel as if there was nothing else worth the seeking for; never rest satisfied with a conscience telling you that your present state is not a state which it would do to die in; pray that you may be converted and your sins be blotted out. Offer my fondest love to each of the dear children; and do let it be our joint care and our joint supplication that they be devoted to the Lord. Oh that we should so long after their temporal and so neglect their spiritual and everlasting interests!"

"Glasgow, *July* 8, 1818.

"My very dearest Grace,—I had just filled one page of my Journal this morning when I got your letter; and I suspend it for the purpose of requesting your more frequent and particular accounts of my father. Your notice of him has indeed thrown me into very great tenderness; and I want to know if you think I should come, and that soon, to see him—if I were only to be away one Sunday. If he does enjoy your society much, I should rather like you to remain in Anster; and I cannot express the longing anxiety I feel towards him now that his earthly career appears to be drawing towards its termination. . . . Give a kiss to each of my dear girls. O train them in the fear of the Lord. Let the vanity of earthly things sink deep into your own heart. Do say the kindest things to my dear father; I cannot express the feelings I have about him. O my dearest, let us devote ourselves more than we have ever yet done to the one thing needful. Pray for light and enlargement and decided seriousness. Flee to Christ, and let it be your heart's desire to trust Him and to walk in Him.—Yours most truly,

Thomas Chalmers."

"*Glasgow, July* 13, 1818.—I finished my last in Mr. Smith's

shop, and went from it to Mrs. G., who exhibited such a picture of dying agony as I hope I shall not soon forget, and it has hung upon me with a deep but I hope salutary weight all day. I have felt the littleness of the world and the littleness of human praise. O that God would extirpate from my heart every remainder of earthliness! that He would indeed raise my desires to Himself, and make me seek my own salvation and that of others more earnestly and simply and devotedly than ever! Her daughters are in an ecstasy of grief; and altogether I felt that it was well to go to the house of mourning. I then went to Dr. Ranken, where I dined in company with Drs. Taylor, Lockhart, and M'Gill. There is a certain want of congeniality; but on the whole I got on pretty well. I fear that their taste for general and extended management will not always be at one with my parochial plans of education.

"*Tuesday.*—I prepared at my lecture in the forenoon.

"*Wednesday.*—Finished my lecture. I went to visit the sick of Norris's Land, and found it a very pleasant excursion.

"*Thursday.*—I generally perform the round of Harley's grounds every morning before breakfast. Had a forenoon of careful composition. May God save me from all vanity and dependence upon myself. Sauntered out in the cool of the evening, and fell in with Mr. Harley, who introduced me to two Bristol gentlemen, one of whom is intimate with Hannah More, and had a message to me from her.

"*Friday.*—Studied as usual in the forenoon. Mr. Erskine of Linlathen called between one and two, and spent the day with me. . . . I have had a great treat in Mr. Erskine—a holy, spiritual, enlightened, and affectionate Christian, who is also a man of great property and of great literature."

On Friday, the 17th July, Mr. Chalmers, senior, had an attack of paralysis, which threatened a speedy removal by death. Intelligence was despatched immediately to Dr. Chalmers, who left Glasgow on Monday the 20th, and arrived at Anstruther at three o'clock on Tuesday. On Thursday he wrote to Mrs. Morton—"My father has been quite inarticulate since Friday, and neither my brother nor Dr. Goodsir gives us any hope of recovery from this last attack. He was a good deal moved when I was first announced to him. I pray with him occasionally, but shortly, lest he should be fatigued. He sleeps a great deal, and seems to have little or no pain. There is still a considerable portion of

understanding, and when placed on his chair, where he sits for about half an hour with a blanket round him, he can be made to know who is taking him by the hand and speaking to him. He was made very placid last night in this way by the successive announcements of myself and aunt and the two children, and all the rest of us. Since I sat down to this letter he expressed a wish, which was interpreted to be for me. We find a whole chapter too much for him, and I have been selecting a few separate verses from the Bible, a few of which I read at a time. I asked if he felt the comfort of them, when he shook his head and said, 'Ay.' 'Ay' and 'No' are almost the only articulations he can make out, though he occasionally hits upon some others, such as Jeanie, Isabel, Anne, and we thought he said just now, 'I'll maybe be better the morn.' There is much stillness and self-command in our household. I am most exquisitely gratified with the use of my very excellent wife upon this occasion, who has earned new titles to my affection by this exhibition of herself; and I indeed count her to be one of the greatest blessings ever conferred on me by Providence.

"I took up Sandy in Kirkcaldy on my way. I did not come by Edinburgh. Sandy returned in the chaise that night. I said to my father this night that I trusted his prayers for us would not be forgotten by any of us. He was much employed in intercessions for his family before he was struck with palsy on Friday—in particular, one evening, that we should live in peace. —With kindest compliments to Mr. Morton and the little ones, believe me, ever yours with true affection,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ANSTRUTHER, *Sabbath, July* 26, 1818.

"MY DEAREST JANE,—The life of our revered father was just lengthened out to half-past two this morning. He was permitted just to touch, as it were, one Sabbath more on earth ere he was transported to that everlasting Sabbath among the worshippers of which he is now sitting in blessedness and in glory. The family are bearing up wonderfully—none of us in church of course—but I take an occasional walk at the head of the garden. It is truly affecting when the thought of former Sabbaths in Anster presents itself to my mind, and I think of it as the day he loved, and how the ringing of the bells was ever to him the note of joyful invitation to the house of God; the sight of the people going to and from church—the interval—the everything

connected with the Sabbath, bring the whole of my father's habits in lively recollection before me, and call forth a fresh excitement of tenderness.

"My dear father is lovely in death. There is all the mildness of heaven upon his aged countenance. My mother bears up to the great satisfaction of us all. She sits much in the room where the venerable remains are lying. My aunt, though much moved at the time of the death, is conducting herself with an equanimity which goes far to sustain the spirits of the family. I have felt remarkably calm till I sat down to these letters. I have written to James, and have yet to write to Patrick, Charles, and Alexander. O that this affecting event did something more than solemnize for the time!—that it formed a turning-point in the history of every one of us, so as that all old things should be done away, and so as that all things should become new.

"There was not much of the suffering of death, save the weariness and the languor of dying. He ceased, we thought, to take an interest in what we said for about thirty hours before his death. We all sat up two nights in hourly expectation of the event, but it was postponed, and the transition made gentler in consequence. He calmly breathed his last, and his departing spirit has left a most saintly expression behind it.

"He recommended to his family, in a written note which my mother found, to read Hervey's and Newton's works, and more particularly the 'Theron and Aspasio' of the former. I had begun it two days ago, and trust that I shall never lose my hold of the fulness and peace which lie in the doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness.

"I beg that my dear Jane may receive this stroke with submission to the Divine will. My father's 'graces' at length became prayer of late, and a frequent petition of his was that we might be reconciled to the whole of God's will: 'Be still, and know that I am God.'

"My kindest compliments to Mr. Morton. All join in affection to him and to you.—Believe me, my very dearest Jane, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ANSTRUTHER, *Sabbath, July* 26, 1818.

"MY DEAR PATRICK,—Our revered father died this morning at half-past two. It is, indeed, a most solemn and affecting visitation; and the circumstance of his not being able to articulate since Friday week, serves if possible to add to the longing regret

and tenderness of our feelings. He was much in prayer during this interval. Faith was his food in life, and it was his stay in death. He recommended his children in writing to read the works of Hervey and John Newton of London. The 'Theron and Aspasio' of the former was a very favourite composition of his. You would do well to act upon this recommendation; and should such an earnestness now come upon you that you would not rest till you found rest in Christ, and became a faithful and abiding disciple of His, this would indeed be the best memorial of the best of fathers.

"It is my earnest prayer that this event be improved in your lasting and confirmed seriousness. The world is a cheat, and he whose affections are set upon it is living in the delusion of idolatry. How fearfully, then, does the guilt of such idolatry attach to us all! and go over the whole compass of truth, there is not one of its articles fitted to meet such a case and to mend it, but the article of that atonement which lies in the blood of Christ, and of that sanctification which is imparted by the Spirit of Christ. These were the elements of my dear father's religion; and I trust that they will be transmitted as the most valuable bequeathment that can possibly descend to his posterity. Let us be followers of him, and I am indeed deceived if we shall not be the followers of those who, through faith and patience, are now inheriting the promises. I beg you will not be of those who only seek, in a general and indolent way, that they may enter the strait gate. There are many such who shall not be able. We are commanded to strive. It is the one thing needful, for which we should be in readiness to forsake all. May God give you the spirit of grace and supplication, that you may strive with Him in prayer for your salvation. May He give you a desire for the sincere milk of the word, that you may strive, through the Scriptures, to become wise unto salvation. May He so convince you of sin, and of the sacrifice for sin, that you may seek unto Christ, and at length find Him as the Captain of your salvation. Under this Captain fight your way to holiness and to heaven; live the life of the righteous, and your latter end shall be like his. Your faithfulness to your earthly master is an essential, but only a small part of your Christianity, which claims a direction over the whole man, and rests satisfied with nothing short of a regeneration so entire that all old things may be done away, and all things may become new.—I am, my dear Patrick, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"Anstruther, *Sabbath, July* 26, 1818.

"My deal James,—Our excellent father died this morning at half-past two o'clock. I have been with him since Tuesday, and it has been a great alleviation that there seems to have been little of violent pain during the whole of his illness. It was indeed a very quiet and gentle departure, and the heavenly mildness of an aged saint is still upon his countenance. . . . Religion was the element in which he has breathed the whole of his life; it enveloped his deathbed; and he is now inhaling it pure and undefiled before the presence of his God.

"The best effect of this visitation upon us all will be, that it lead us to imitate him by walking in the footsteps of his faith and of his holiness. If the departed look upon the world, I know not what could afford to his spirit a more delightful spectacle than that of his children seeking that gospel which they have aforetime despised—praying for grace, and not ceasing to pray till they have obtained—labouring after conversion, and at length finding the accomplishment of their object—looking earnestly to the free offer of an interest in the blood and righteousness of Christ—and, in short, experiencing this effect of the goodness of God, that it leadeth them to repentance.

"It is my earnest prayer that such an influence may proceed from this mournful event on the minds of the members of all our family. It is alarming to think that if we are not made the better of it, we shall become the worse of it. The gospel has a twofold property: it is the savour of life unto life to those who embrace it, but of death unto death to those who reject it. If we do not rest upon it for salvation, it will fall upon us for our everlasting destruction. God reproves us by His providence as well as by His word; and he who being often thus reproved hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy. May God deliver us from the fate of those who despise the riches of His forbearance and long-suffering, and after their hardness and impenitent heart treasure up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

"The funeral is to be on Friday. I shall write you after it. Give my kindest compliments to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary; and believe me to be ever yours, with the very greatest affection,

Thomas Chalmers."

On the day before the funeral Dr. Chalmers wrote to a much

cherished Christian friend :—"I shall find it out of my power to visit the north of Fife at present. My father's death renders it proper and necessary for me to give the whole time of this excursion to his family. He died in peace, and, I am confident, is now in glory. He was a veteran Christian, who had long walked in the good old way of justification by the righteousness of Christ, and sanctification by the Spirit which is at His giving. Hervey and Newton were his favourite authors, and in particular 'Theron and Aspasio,' which, I am ashamed to say, I had not read till just now that I am engaged in the perusal of it. I feel, my dear Miss Collier, that the righteousness of Christ unmixed with baser materials, untempered with strange mortar, unvitiated by human pretensions of any sort, is the solid resting-place on which a man is to lay his acceptance before God, and that there is no other; that to attempt a composition between grace and works is to spoil both, and is to deal a blow both to the character of God and to the cause of practical holiness. This is my firm conviction; but I trust you understand that it may be a firm conviction without being a bright and rapture-giving perception. I know that it should enrapture me—that it should throw me into the transports of gratitude—that it should make me feel as a man in all the triumphs of confident anticipation, but I have occasional visitations of darkness and dulness and spiritual lethargy, and then, like Rutherford, I would like to believe in the dark—to keep my hold in the midst of all my darkness and all my misgivings—to humble myself because of my cold insensibility, but still to trust determinedly, to trust in the name and righteousness of my Lord.

"I think that holiness is looked upon by some evangelical writers in rather a lame and inadequate point of view. They value it chiefly as an evidence of justifying faith. They are right in saying that it gives no title to God's favour, but they are wrong in saying that its chief use is to ascertain that title, or to make that title clear to him who possesses it.

"It is, in fact, chiefly valuable on *its own account*. It forms part, and an effective part, of salvation. It may be considered as an entrance upon heaven. Christ came to give us a justifying righteousness, and He also came to make us holy—not chiefly for the purpose of evidencing here our possession of a justifying righteousness—not for so temporary an object as this, but for the purpose of forming and fitting us for a blessed eternity.

"If the only inducement to a new acquirement of holiness was that it made our title clearer and multiplied our evidences, this does not appear so direct or powerful an inducement as when we are told that holiness is, in fact, the happiness of heaven, and then do we understand how every new accession of it adds to our treasure in heaven, and how, by approximating us to the lost image of God, it, in fact, is helping onwards the great and ultimate object to which our justification may be considered only as a means and a preliminary. Was holiness prosecuted for no other object than to clear up our title to the happiness of heaven, then the whole of the prosecution is animated by a selfish principle. Let holiness be prosecuted as that which constitutes the very element of heaven, and without which we could not breathe in it, then we have the most powerful, direct, and intelligible argument that can be conceived for the acquirement of a character not to work out a meritorious cause of salvation, but to work out an indispensable requisite for heaven —not to found a title, for that through the great Head by whom we hold has been already done, but to complete a preparation without which I do not say a man has no right to see God, but without which there is no possibility that a man can see God. I trust that I am the better of Hervey. I like to see a clear and vigorous line of demarcation drawn around the ground of our acceptance with God. I like to see it cleared from all the rubbish of human knowledge and human pollution. I like to see the firm and unmixed plea of the Lord my righteousness held out to sinners in all its power to encourage them to come to the Lawgiver; and not till a man submits to Christ as his alone righteousness will he repair to Him as his alone strength; not till he make himself wholly over to the Redeemer for acceptance will he make himself wholly over to Him for sanctification; not till he put away all confidence from himself, and put all his joy in the Lord Jesus, will he serve God in the spirit; for whether do we receive the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?

"I desire my affectionate regards to my dear friends Dr. Macculloch and Mrs. Coutts. Mention me also in terms of cordiality to Miss Coutts and the Miss Maccullochs. Give my kindest remembrances to Mr. and Mrs. Walker.

"Do pray for me, that I may have more light, more comfort, more steadfastness in my Christian walk. O that we had more of the power of it in our hearts, and that God would vouchsafe

a measure of light and of strength from His sanctuary! How humbling to all learning when a man is made to know that his doctrine has outrun his experience!"

Dr. Chalmers remained with his mother and family for about a fortnight after his father's funeral, and was then obliged to plunge once more into the vortex at Glasgow, from the midst of which, after a week or two's experience of its effects, he wrote to Mrs. Morton :—"There is something in the bustle of this place that is much calculated to keep impressions of sensibility away from us. My father's death, however, hangs about me, and I am thrown into frequent and occasional fits of tenderness. I look towards Anster now with the feeling of its having sustained an irreparable mutilation. I strive to profit by this dispensation; and what I feel to be the foremost lesson to be gathered from the remembrance of an example now solemnized and consecrated by death, is a lesson of meek and enduring patience under the wrongs of this world's provocations. What an indulgent father he was to us all. How effusive his kindness and affection to his whole family. How much, alas! in the way of thoughtlessness and perverseness and impatience had he to suffer, and with what uncomplaining mildness he suffered it. Oh that God may perpetuate this lesson in my heart, and that from the image of my departed father there may beam a holy and a peaceful influence at all times upon me! I can write no more upon this subject, for in truth it is still a subject of deep and tender agitation."

On his return to Glasgow on Saturday the 15th August, Dr. Chalmers resumed his Journal letters :—

"*Sunday, August* 16.—I found on my arrival a line from Dr. Fleming, offering me a sermon in the forenoon, which I accepted. My appearance in my own seat was quite unexpected by the people. Dr. F. preached a very acceptable and well-liked sermon. I had a very crowded audience in the afternoon, and saw much of evident cordiality and good-will on the part of my hearers.

"*Monday.*—The Grand Duke Michael came to Glasgow late on Sunday evening, and this day went round the town. We were before him at the Lunatic Asylum, but did not wait his arrival there. On passing Mr. Harley's cow-house, I saw the crowd collected about Michael's retinue, and I saw four gentle-

men go into an open carriage, one of whom was Michael himself, but I could get nobody to point him out to me; so that I have seen Michael, and yet may be said never to have looked at him.

"*Tuesday.*—Busied myself with miscellaneous work in the forenoon. I dined at Mr. Allan Buchanan's at two. Michael and suite had proposed to visit their calender, but kept the men waiting, and did not come on Monday. Allan accompanies me to Mr. M'Vicar's proportion, and though Michael was still expected, he left the calender for me, nor could all my importunities prevail upon him to remain at his post. We afterwards learned that Michael did come, and Mr. William had to do all the ceremony himself. After dinner we went to Mr. M'Vicar's, and proceeded to a diet of visitation. Drank tea in Mr. M'Vicar's at six, and addressed a population of eighty-two between seven and eight.

"*Wednesday.*—Mr. John Brown of Whitburn came in to tea; I got him to stop all night with me. Mr. Collins came in after supper, and we had a great deal of worthy cordial Christian conversation.

"*Thursday.*—I got up at half-past six, thinking that I would have a canny sederunt at composition, but my ink-bottle was in the dining-room, and I had to slip down for it, when, lo and behold, Mr. Brown was there before me. He was engaged to go out to breakfast, but it was at a distance, and Janet had previously spread the table, on which Mr. B., thinking that I was just going to sit down, said he would like a cup before going out. This compelled breakfast the first. I had previously asked Mr. and Mrs. Pringle from Hawick (the latter of whom was daughter to my landlady there seventeen years ago) to breakfast with me this morning. I snatched an hour for composition in the interval. Professor Leslie with Mr. Leslie called before breakfast second, and the Professor said, after a short stay, that he was engaged, but would call again in an hour. Mr. and Mrs. Pringle came, and we had breakfast the second. After they left me the Edinburgh Professor called, and as I was preparing to go out, another Edinburgh Professor called, even Dr. Thomas Brown of the Moral Philosophy. Their fresh visages and disencumbered buoyancy of mind made me envy the situation of a Professor, and I would positively take the Divinity if it was offered to me. I went out with them towards the College, took leave of Professor L. with an invitation to sup, walked a little with Professor B., then called on George Burns about some parish

business, then ran to Mr. Smith's bath, then stopped to talk a little with him and Mr. Constable, then dined at two with Mr. A. Buchanan, then called on Mr. M'Vicar, and made another round amongst my dear websters and winders and cartdrivers and brushmakers, then drank tea in Mr. M'V.'s, then addressed my people for an hour, then called with Mr. A. Buchanan at Stockwell on my aunt, then returned to Kensington Place, where Mr. A. B., Professor B., and Mr. Leslie, supped with me. I have a great natural relish for the Professor. I got to bed about half-past eleven.

"*Friday.*—Got a good spell at composition this morning. The steeple is condemned. It must be rebuilt ere the church can be entered, and the removal is to be postponed till Whitsunday. I have a very comfortable prospect of additions, however, to my agency, and I trust, if spared to be here and in life, I shall have all my men at their post on the day of my removal to St. John's.

"*Saturday.*—Rose about half-past six. Composed. Had Mr. George Burns, Mr. Ramsay, a Sabbath-school teacher, Mr. Gilfillan, and a younger brother from South America, to breakfast with me. Went after breakfast with Messrs. Burns and Ramsay to the parish, where I assigned to each a local district and procured scholars for them. Visited a few sick. Called by appointment on Mr. Falconer, and went out with him, John Smith, and Mr. Collins, to his country house, where we dined, drank tea, and had indeed a very pleasant afternoon. Walked home between eight and nine, and on my arrival found a line from Lord Elgin at the Black Bull, who told me of the arrival of himself and family in Glasgow. I felt it too late to call upon him, and so I spent a pleasant three hours with preparation for Sabbath, and went to bed about twelve.

"*Sunday.*—Started at eight. Breakfasted at nine. Called on John Smith, and got him to apprise Mr. Wodrow, one of our teachers, of a probable visit which nobility would make to his school. When Lady Elgin heard of the Sabbath-school expedition, she countermanded an engagement to dine with Mr. M'Intosh. The church greatly crowded all this day. I preached both times. I took the bath in Harley's after the afternoon sermon, then dined at home, then called on John Smith, then went with him to the Black Bull, then got Lady Elgin to go to Mr. Wodrow's school, where Lord Elgin came soon afterwards in his gig. Mr. Wodrow was greatly embarrassed, and matters

did not go on promisingly. Mr. Smith went for Mr. Collins, and we adjourned to George Burns's school in Charlotte Lane, when Lord and Lady Elgin both seemed to be very much gratified. I conducted part of the examination. We returned to the Black Bull at eight, when I took leave of them.

"*Monday.*—Went down to the Black Bull after breakfast. Dr. Jeffrey of the College and I are the conductors of the grand cavalcade. He contributed one carriage, in which he went with the Ladies Bruce. After it followed the carriage in which were Lady Elgin, Mrs. Hamilton, and myself, and behind us Mr. Hamilton's three sons in a kind of basket. The crowd followed us and gathered about us at every place where we stopped. Our objects were:—1. The Lunatic Asylum. 2. The Cow-house. 3. Observatory, where we had not sun enough for the microscope. 4. Tambouring machine. 5. Black Bull, where we took a little refreshment. 6. Mr. Thomson's spinning-mill on the other side of the water. 7. Power-looms. 8. Girdwood's Works. Mr. Thomson, our friend, was with us at the two last places. 9. A drive by the Catholic Chapel, Jail, Nelson's Monument. 10. Mr. Buchanan's calender. 11. Singeing machine, whither Mr. A Buchanan attended us. 12. Black Bull, where we all sat down to dinner about seven o'clock. The party was much gratified, in particular Lady Elgin, who, on the subject of machinery, was quite intelligent.

"*Tuesday.*—All the Black Bull party went off this morning early for Loch Lomond excepting Lord Elgin, who is still confined with the gout. He could not accompany us yesterday, and this day I had a note from him craving a call. I went to him after dinner, and stopped an hour with him. He remains till the Lochlomonders return, and, in the meantime, goes to Mr. M'Intosh this evening. I left the Black Bull, and made a number of visits upon the sick. Came home after seven, calling on John Smith on my return, and getting my usual convoy from him. Drank tea, and had an excellent hour and a half for reading Dr. Brown.

"*Wednesday.*—Did not get up till after seven. Composed till breakfast time. I find the morning system a very admirable one. It shakes off a weight from me for the whole day. I am no longer troubled with interruptions, for before they happen I am independent of them, and I can carry out a more Christian aspect of cordiality and welcome and good-will to all who want me.

"I pray that God may effectually take the ascendency over your thoughts, affections, and principles. Turn unto Him in the name of Christ, and He will turn unto you. O that this movement was decisively taken, that the visitation of a real and settled earnestness was felt, that the question was taken up and prosecuted, that the word of God was desired even as milk is desired by the babe, and that we from one day to another were studying how we should most advance the glory of Him who hath formed and hath redeemed us!

"Give my kindest compliments to my mother and Isabel. Tell Anne and Eliza that papa is well, and he wants them both to be very good girls. O, my dearest, let us think more feelingly of their souls, and let us pray and strive that all the members of our family shall meet in heaven."

"*Glasgow, August* 27, 1818.—After sending away your letter yesterday afternoon, I went to the Observatory, and spent an hour with Mr. Cross, looking at his instruments. On my return I sat me down to read, when in came Miss —— about jelly; and I really disliked exceedingly the idea of my retirement being broken up by her trocking. I therefore gave no encouragement to it, and said, what I thought was really the case, that the jelly was already made; and then she went to Janet with a proposal about apple jelly, and I can assure you the whole matter terminated very much to my satisfaction, when I understood it to be the result of the whole conference that I stood in no danger of the threatened invasion.

"*Thursday.*—Rose at half-past six. Composed. During breakfast a young woman came in to talk of her soul,* the same whom I visited when in fever. She is also very poor. If I knew it to be genuine I should feel more freedom in communicating. Sallied out at twelve. Called on Mr. Kirkland; then visited a sick person in my parish; then attended a funeral; then went up to

* While Dr. Chalmers was very busily engaged one forenoon in his study, a man entered, who at once propitiated him under the provocation of an unexpected interruption, by telling him that he called under great distress of mind. "Sit down, sir; be good enough to be seated," said Dr. Chalmers, turning eagerly and full of interest from his writing-table. The visitor explained to him that he was troubled with doubts about the Divine origin of the Christian religion; and being kindly questioned as to what these were, he gave, among others, what is said in the Bible about Melchisedek being without father and without mother, &c. Patiently and anxiously Dr. Chalmers sought to clear away each successive difficulty as it was stated. Expressing himself as if greatly relieved in mind, and imagining that he had gained his end—"Doctor," said the visitor, "I am in great want of a little money at present, and perhaps you could help me in that way." At once the object of his visit was seen. A perfect tornado of indignation burst upon the deceiver, driving him in very quick retreat from the study to the street door, these words escaping among others—"Not a penny, sir! not a penny! It's too bad! it's too bad! And to haul in your hypocrisy upon the shoulders of Melchisedek!"

Mr. Smith's, and asked the servant to fill the bath; then visited Mrs. Smith, who is still in a very doubtful way. She pressed me to eat grapes that she had, which I did very much to my own satisfaction. This, however, took up so much time, that when I returned to the bath I found it a complete bumper. Took my three dips in it, and then called on Lord Elgin, who took up your brother's case with zeal and friendship, and is to converse with Mr. Hamilton about it. I read of Thomas Brown, and went to bed about ten.

"*Friday.*—Started a little after six. Composed. Went to Dunchattan to breakfast, and found that Lord Elgin had gone from it yesternight. Walked to the Black Bull, where I found the whole party returned from the West. Told them that I would call again; and in the meantime visited Mr. Elder's school at the Saltmarket. On my return got out the whole party to another excursion.

"*Saturday.*—Started precisely at six. Made preparations for Sunday till breakfast time. Lord Elgin talked to me of the Military College, and told me that Mr. Hamilton and he agreed in thinking that my best plan was to write immediately to Lord Melville. This I will not do. I have no title, and it would at once make me a poor partisan of Ministry. I was proceeding to finish off my preparation for to-morrow, when in came Mr. Collins, and beseeched me, as the town was choke full of strangers, that I would preach my sermon on dissipation.

"*Sunday.*—Rose at eight. After breakfast called upon Lady Elgin at the Black Bull. Preached in the forenoon the first part of my sermon on dissipation. I had the feeling that I was just preaching over again what many had previously heard; but John Smith was in the vestry previous to the afternoon service, and assured me that not above 200 had heard it, and that I could preach nothing more acceptable. There was a great crowd all day.

"*Monday.*—Started at six. I threw off four pages, or half a careful sermon, before breakfast.

"*Tuesday.*—Started at six. Wrote four pages of long-hand; breakfasted; wrote letters. My sermon on dissipation appears to have made some impression; and I am satisfied that it is right to repeat some of my Thursday's sermons in the Tron Church.

"*Thursday.*—Dined with Mr. Kirkland; Mr. Stow along with us. Went down with these gentlemen at three, and entered on the visitation of Mr. Kirkland's proportion. Went

round among the families till half-past six, and adjourned to Mr. Collins's to tea. Went back to a house at seven, and convened the families for an address. After it was over, walked home about nine. Mr. Stow accompanied me, and I prevailed on him to engage for some temporary agency in this district.

"*Friday.*—Rose a little after six. Got Janet to put paper, wood, and coals into the fireplace of my bedroom the night before. Have got a match-box and lighted it on rising. This I propose to make my system all winter. Chipwood is to be had for purchasing, and I shall have a sufficiency of waste paper; so that either in the study or the drawing-room, rather than in the bedroom, the air of which will not be so free, I shall light up a fire every morning. Prepared some short-hand for Sunday. Breakfasted at nine. Wrote letters. Went out before twelve. Called on Mr. Allan Buchanan at the calender. Took him down to the parish, and assigned him his Sabbath-school district, and got him twenty-six scholars. Visited also some sick. On my return a curious circumstance occurred to me in the Gallowgate. A porter half-drunk came up to me, and stated that two men were wanting to see me. He carried me to a tavern, when it turned out that there was a wager between these men whether this said porter was correct in his knowledge of me. He told me before that he was a parishioner of mine, and I recollected him as one of those whom I had visited. But I was so revolted at this impertinency, that I made the ears of all who were in the house ring with a reproof well said and strong; and so left them a little astounded, I have no doubt.

"*Grangemouth, Sept.* 8, 1818.—I preached only in the forenoon of Sunday. There was an immense crowd.

"*Monday.*—Started at five. Visited a dying man in Charlotte Street, and returned to Port-Dundas by nine. I got on to No. 16 by one o'clock. Dr. Wilson was there waiting for me. I walked with him to Falkirk, where I preached for the Sabbath-schools. Dr. W. kept everybody out who gave no silver, so that the audience did not just fill the church, but it was a very select one. The collection was £70. Dined in Dr. Wilson's with a large party of Falkirkers.

"*Tuesday.*—Started at six. Am rejoicing in this habit; for I can just do as much now with a day full of bustle as I did before on a system of resistance and exclusion. Began my next Thursday's sermon, and am now quite resolved to give up all anxious feeling about the quantity of composition. Breakfasted

in Mr. M'Nab's with a large party of Grangemouth people. After breakfast, was driven up to Falkirk in Mr. M'Nab's gig by his servant, when I called on Dr. Wilson. Took him into the gig, and drove on to Carron, where I was received with great distinction by the superintendent of the works and one of the chief proprietors, who conducted me in person through its vast and ponderous machinery. From that went to Falkirk Tryst, held in a large moor—a prodigious cattle-market, of 10,000 beasts, and half as many people. After loitering through this scene, rode back to Grangemouth through a rich and beautiful country, and dined in Mr. M'Nab's. Here there was another large party invited to meet me. After they went, had a pleasant conversation in the evening with the family.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at six. Wrote away, with ships and sailors and huzzas and the whole work and roar of a crowded pier immediately under my window, but felt no disturbance. Breakfasted with Mr. Weddel of the Customs; Mr. M'Nab and others along with me. At eleven the Custom-house boat was got ready—its colours hoisted—a broad flag at the stern, a long streaming pinnet from the foremast. I was accompanied to the boat by all the constituted authorities of the place and two ladies. I took leave of the ladies and most of the party at the boat; but there accompanied me to Kincardine, Mr. M'Nab, Mr. Morehead, collector of the Customs, and Mr. Weddel, comptroller. The boat was manned by four sailors, and the whole of this escort and preparation was for the single purpose of conveying me across the water. We had a very pleasant sail of six miles, and I really felt much gratified, and I hope grateful for these kind and honourable attentions. Reached Kincardine in less than an hour.

"*Thursday.*—Started at six. I was engaged to breakfast in Mr. Sand's, when two Burgher ministers were asked. We mustered up three horses, and had a very pleasant ride in the forenoon to Salinehill, about nine miles from Kincardine. The day was clear, and we saw at least sixteen counties. I could not believe that I would have seen what I saw most distinctly and undeniably—Loudoun Hill in Ayrshire, and the Goatfell of Arran, with hills beyond them. Figure, my dear, that from a hill in Fife you should see the Arran hills, which look so prominent from Fairlie." . . .

"*Glasgow, Sept.* 28, 1818.—*Monday.*—Composed. Had a party of six at breakfast. Was bothered with a proposal from

Mr. H. about a school in Brussels. All right; but why must Dr. Chalmers be ever and anon the rallying-point of every such operation? Why are they constantly running with all their plans and propositions to Dr. Chalmers? What idle, wandering, leisurely person is this Dr. Chalmers, who has so much time to spare, for every enterprise that is conceived and set agoing by all the philanthropists of this our age?

"*Wednesday.*—Wrote for the General Session. I had not sat long when in came Miss ——, with all the plenitude of some mighty doing, which turned out neither more nor less than a plum-jelly operation, which, greatly in opposition to my wishes, she brought upon me whether I would or not. Janet had spoken to me some days before, when I told her that you had given no directions about it, and that I did not want it. Janet now tells me that she told Miss —— that you had given no orders about it, but did not like to tell her that I did not want it. I told her so myself, however, but it seems the materials were all bought and the operations begun; and Miss ——, upon feeling corrected by my remark, spoke so as to fill me with a kind of remorse at my severity. So I went out on a round of visitation, and took her mother in my way. Called also on Mr. Turpie; and on coming back at four found the table covered for me and Miss ——. She left me about six. The operation is completed."

"*Glasgow, Oct.* 2, 1818.—I preached yesterday (Thursday) to a full house, and it gratifies me to think that labour expended on a sermon does not render it the less but the more acceptable. Let me labour to preach Christ and not myself. In coming home at eight found Mr. Brown of Biggar, who supped with me, and with whom I had a truly agreeable *conversazione.*

"*Saturday.*—I devoted this forenoon to parochially visiting the sick, and had comfort in the exercise.

"*Sunday.*—Preached in the forenoon to an immense crowd. The circuit is now sitting, and I saw a number of law-looking faces there. Went down in the evening to the Tron, where I preached to another very immense crowd. O that God would simplify my aim and that of my hearers!

"*Monday.*—Mr. Falconer called between eleven and twelve. He told me that he had been dining lately with Mr. ——, who had complained bitterly of my neglect towards his family, and compared it with my attentions to Mr. B., whom, by the way, I have only spent a single hour with in the evening for a whole half year, and Mr. Falconer concluded with recommending it to

me to make up for my bygone negligence. I should have heard this with the utmost patience and charity, in which I am sorry to say that I failed. I should bear all things, and do all without murmurings and disputings, and be meek and gentle with all men. But, at the same time, it is obviously impossible that I can be dragged or dragooned into Mr.——'s house in his present humour, or pay an attention extorted from me in the spirit of a jealous exactor; nor do I think it my duty to dine at my hearers' tables whenever they choose to let out an invitation. I must try to keep a charitable spirit towards him; and I am sure that my absence from his house bears no more reference to him particularly than it does to the hundred others who have kept asking and asking at me, and have just as good a right to be angry as he, that I have never moved a single footstep to them. This is really a vulgarism which must be abolished. . . . The —— have been particularly cold at meeting, and Mr. Falconer's remarks have let me into the explanation. They have conceived themselves to be grievously insulted by the neglect of unconscious me, who all the while was prosecuting my own affairs without the slightest intention either of offending them or any other body—who spoke when I was spoken to, and went to the church when the bell rang.

"*Tuesday.*—I met Mr. ——, and was charged by him with not calling. I told him that I was told the same thing by a hundred others. Parted with him in good humour. Spoke again to the excellent Mr. Falconer about it, and had a good deal of mild and charitable remark from him. I believe I shall call and give Mr. —— my whole mind about this matter. In the meantime, let it be my most fixed and firm determination to cultivate a distance from general society. I beg you will come to Glasgow on this principle, my dear, and let us do our utmost to keep our house clear of the swarms by which it has been hitherto infested.

"I find that I cannot leave Glasgow till Tuesday the 13th, which is Tuesday first, owing to my having to meet a few more sacramental people on Monday. I shall not expect another letter from you before meeting, and you need not expect another from me if all is well. Take the utmost care of Anne; and oh! my dear, let us never forget that the care of souls is the one thing needful. Oh! my dearest, let Christ be full in your eye: He has wrought out a righteousness for you. Lay hold of it; cleave to it; let it not go. Feel that you live by Him, and pray that you be inclined and enabled to live to Him. Oh! my dear

G., let us comfort, support, and encourage each other in this matter.—Believe me, my ever dearest Grace, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the day mentioned in the last paragraph of this journal—Tuesday the 13th October—Glasgow lost one of the most eminent of its ministers by the sudden death of the Rev. Dr. Balfour. On the preceding day he was attacked on the street by an illness which prevented his reaching home—was carried into a friend's house, and after thirty-two hours of lingering insensibility, died there, in the 71st year of his age, and 40th of his ministry in Glasgow. The interest he had taken in his appointment to the Tron Church—the great personal kindness which he had shown—his perfect freedom from all professional jealousy, and his cordial delight at the promise of good presented by his peculiar parochial labours, had endeared Dr. Balfour to Dr. Chalmers, and on the Sabbath which succeeded his death, in closing his discourse, he gave the following expression to his regret and admiration:—

"I have also to make another intimation. The Sabbath next following is the anniversary of our collection for the Bible Society. To stimulate that collection I have an ample store of materials for argument and encouragement, but I forbear them all for the sake of one touching argument which lies nearer home, and the force of which, as well as the tenderness of which, will, I am persuaded, be felt by every Christian in our society. The cause for which I am pleading has lost one of the most zealous and the most distinguished of its advocates. He who, on this very day, and perhaps at this very hour, would have been eloquently asserting its claims, is now eloquent no more. Those lips from which there wont to flow all the power of persuasion as well as all its gentleness, are for ever sealed; and his well enthroned ascendency over the people who wont to lead the way in this great exertion of Christian philanthropy can be no longer maintained by the energy of the living voice, but after the deep emotion of a few weeks and the ceaseless fluctuation of a few years, must at length fade away amongst the remembrances of the dead. The death of one so eminent should redouble the energy of survivors. It is like the giving way of the sheet anchor, which leaves the vessel in distress, and puts the mariners on their expedients. Our city laments and is dejected under an event which saddens the hearts of all its population. But it

is just such an event as should rally in more strenuous determination every friend of Christian philanthropy. It should draw them together in a firmer bond; and I trust that none who revere the memory of our departed patriarch, that none who felt while he was alive the worth and the weight of his venerable testimony, will ever abandon the cause which he cherished upon earth, and has now left an orphan upon your liberalities and your prayers.

"There are certain topics almost too oppressive for a public speaker to venture on, and the event which suggested the delivery of the above observations most assuredly is one of them. Death never makes such effectual demonstration of his power as when he singles out the man who occupies the largest space in public estimation—as when he seizes upon him whose loss is felt by thousands with all the tenderness of a family bereavement—as when he puts a sudden arrest upon his movements, and that before the infirmities of age had withdrawn him from the labours of a conspicuous and increasing usefulness—as when, with the force and rapidity of a whirlwind, he meets his unsuspecting victim, and bears him away from the familiar walk of life and business and activity to the chamber of his last agonies—as when he sends the fearful report of this his achievement through the streets of the city, and it runs in an appalling whisper among the multitude—as when all that inquiring friends and weeping relations can do serves only to demonstrate how vain is the help of man, and how sure and how resistless are the approaches of the last enemy.

"There is something in the feelings even of unsanctified nature which revolts from speaking evil of the dead, and accordingly it has often been remarked that death hushes the voice of calumny, and disarms her of all her bitterness. But in the present instance this had not to be done. That eminent servant of Christ who now rests from his labours had the outset of his ministry beset with all the antipathies of human corruption against the truth as it is in Jesus, but he stood the zealous and the unmoved champion of the faith once delivered to the saints, and for forty years has he witnessed amongst you the good confession of a firm and consistent testimony; and doctrines the most galling to the pride and to the ungodliness of men he fearlessly avowed, because he knew them to be the doctrines of the gospel. But he not only uttered them in word, he also felt them in power; and so they broke out upon his cha-

racter in the fair efflorescence of all that is kind and beauteous and attractive in practical Christianity. And thus there were many who felt no sympathy with his evangelical principles, yet could not withstand the exemplification of evangelical worth and evangelical temper which stood visibly engraven on the character of the living and the acting man. And hence, my brethren, am I confident that I speak to the observations of you all, when I say that he accomplished by his living what the majority of men can only attain by their dying, he at length purchased an entire exemption from the asperities of human censure; and after compelling the silence of gainsayers by the lustre of his unquestionable virtues, did he spend the last years of his course surrounded by the honours of a well-known and established reputation, loved by all and venerated by all.

"The pulpit is not the place for panegyric, but surely it is the place for demonstrating the power of Christianity, and pointing the eye of hearers to its actual operation; and without laying open the solitude of his religious exercises, without attempting to penetrate into the recesses of that spirituality which, on the foundation of a living faith, shed the excellence of virtue over the whole of his character, without breaking in upon the hours of his communion with his God, or marking the progress and the preparation of his inner man for that heaven to which he has been called—were I called upon to specify the Christian grace which stood most visibly and most attractively out in the person of the departed, I would say that it was a cordiality of love, which, amid all the perversities and all the disappointments of human opposition, was utterly unextinguishable; that over every friend who differed from him in opinion he was sure to gain that most illustrious of all triumphs, the triumph of a charity which no resistance could quell; that from the fulness of his renewed heart there ever streamed a kindliness of regard which, whatever the collision of sentiment or whatever the merits of the contest, always won for him the most Christian and the most honourable of all victories. And thus it was that the same spirit which bore him untainted through the scenes of public controversy did, when seated in the bosom of his family, or when moving through the circle of his extended acquaintanceship, break out in one increasing overflow of goodwill on all around him; so that perhaps there is not a man living who when he comes to die will be so numerously followed to the grave by our best of all mourners —the mourners of wounded affection, the mourners of the heart,

the mourners who weep and are in heaviness under the feeling of a private and a peculiar and a personal bereavement."*

The civic loss which was thus so eloquently and tenderly lamented, was followed by a national one. On the 17th November Queen Charlotte died; and although it was not his habit to refer often in the pulpit to public events, Dr. Chalmers could not refrain from paying the following tribute to her worth:—

"There appears to be nothing in the progress of religion which is at all calculated to level the gradations of human ranks, or to do away the distinctions of human society. Not to annihilate poverty, for it is said of the poor that they shall be with us always; not to bring down from their eminence the authorities of the land, for there is positively nothing in the Bible that can lead us to infer that even under the peace and righteousness of a millennial age there will not be kings and queens upon the earth; and certain it is that they will be the instruments of helping forward this great moral consummation—the former being the nursing fathers, and the latter the nursing mothers of the Church. The Utopianism which would regenerate the world by political and external revolutions, is, I trust, at this time of day pretty generally exploded. The kingdoms of the earth may become the kingdoms of God and of His Christ with the external framework of these present governments, and at least with all those varieties of outward condition which are offered at this moment to the view of the observer. There must therefore be a way in which Christianity can accommodate itself to this framework—a mode by which it can animate all the parts and all the members of it—a mode by which, without the overthrow of existing distinctions, it can establish a right reciprocity of feeling and of conduct between them—a charm by which it can divest grandeur of all its disdainfulness, and poverty of all its violence, and, chasing away all the asperities of party from the land, can, from the monarch's throne to the peasant's hovel, bind together the whole of a Christianized nation under the influence of one common charity.

"Nor will it be, I am persuaded, altogether unsuitable to this train of reflection, if for a single moment I bid you draw a portion of this sweetening influence to your hearts by looking at the tomb of royalty, and contemplating the recent debt which has been paid to the mortality of our common nature. If anything

* From an unpublished MS.

can disarm malice of its spitefulness, it is the death of him who is the victim of it; if anything can drown that murmuring voice by which the Queen of England was wont to be assailed when she stood out in living glory to the public, it will be the Queen of England in her grave. Majesty in the full possession of splendour and enjoyment may provoke the enmity of spectators, but not so with majesty in the coffin. The sympathies of nature will force and will find their way through all the barriers of political asperity. We may now learn a lesson of charity for those whom birth or whom fortune has doomed to the obloquy of greatness. It is a lesson, I do think, that in this age of harsh and unsparing invective, we stand eminently in need of; and it is our joy to perceive that in the present instance the lesson has been acquired, and that, with a few revolting exceptions, one emotion of honest and heartfelt regret accompanies the remembrance of one who, for upwards of half a century, has borne the fatigues and endured the vexations of royalty.

"The favourable eye of the country on the present occasion is resolvable, I think, into something more than the indulgence of feeling, moved and softened into tenderness by death. It appears, in fact, to be the eye of the country opening at length to the perception of a truth which, during the life of our departed Queen, lay involved in the mists of prejudice and delusion. For that one defect with which her memory has been charged, and which certainly is not the besetting sin of princes, there has as yet no evidence transpired in the accumulations of a sordid or excessive parsimony; and for that other defect, which is the besetting sin of princes, let the history of nearly sixty years vouch for her entire and honourable exemption from it. To estimate the whole weight of the public obligation on this single account, let us just compute the difference in point of effect on the tone of public morals between the royal countenance smiling a connivance on profligacy and impiety, and the royal countenance being steadily and determinately withheld from them. In this age when Sabbaths are trampled under foot, and the sickening profligacies of the country threaten to sweep away the old and characteristic virtues of the families of England, I cannot but look on the removal of our domestic and sober-minded Queen in the light of a great moral disaster to the land; and it is my prayer that the friends of public decency may never, never have such a spectacle of licentiousness to sigh

over as may lead them to contrast the sad degeneracy that is before them with the remembrance of those purer and better days, when one who was decked with the splendours of a coronet could maintain throughout the whole of her deportment the habits of a Christian; when vice was abased and overawed in the presence of royalty, and she who stood loftiest in grandeur, stood also the foremost in moral guardianship to shield the purity and matronize the virtues of the British nation."*

* Unpublished MS.—On the occasion of the death of George III., which occurred on the 29th of January 1820, he made from the pulpit the following allusion to the event:—"Though he was well stricken in years ere he gave up the ghost, and is now to be gathered to his fathers, and though, ere the visitation of death, he languished for many months under the power of another and more affecting visitation, and though the eyes of our venerable monarch had long been closed in darkness, and though his faculties lay imprisoned in a darkness still more mysterious, and though he had long ceased to tread that public walk where the humblest of his people were often cheered and dignified by the greetings of their Sovereign, and though in respect of moral and intellectual distance he stood as remote from the nation as if he had already travelled through the dark vale that leads from time to eternity—yet who does not feel that the final extinction of that life, all faded as it was, has left a mournful and a melancholy blank in the country behind it? One cannot think without a movement of sensibility that in him the longest and the busiest period of British history has come to its termination, and the lapse of time is, as it were, more prominently marked by the disappearance of him who for more than half a century figured the most exalted personage among its affairs; and the very virtues of our monarch, so fitted to uphold the piety and the morals of an else degenerate age, serve to imbitter the regrets of our nation; and I am confident that I speak the feelings of all who are present when I say, that in every bosom the good and the venerable and the holy stand associated with the idea of his person; so that though for years he may rationally and politically be said to have expired, yet to the country's feelings a certain charm which his death has now broken up still continued to hang over the barely vital existence of our beloved king; nor do we know in what other way the loss can be replaced to our empire than by the personal influence of his Christianity and his worth being transmitted through the royal line from generation to generation, thoroughly assured as we are that the moral force which lies in the character of our rulers does more to maintain the piety and the order of any community of human beings than either the political force which lies in the wisdom of our councils, or even the military force which lies in the vigour and promptitude of our arms."—Unpublished MS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PUBLICATION OF A VOLUME OF SERMONS—TRANSLATION TO THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S—VISIT TO DUNBLANE—ATTEMPTS TO EXTRICATE HIMSELF FROM THE EXCITING SYSTEM OF PAUPER-MANAGEMENT—PROPOSED AS CANDIDATE FOR THE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY CHAIR IN EDINBURGH—AGITATION IN GLASGOW —ANXIETIES OF DR. CHALMERS—FIRST NUMBER OF THE "CIVIC AND CHRISTIAN ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS"—OPENING OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN'S —DECISION OF THE MAGISTRATES AND COUNCIL IN HIS FAVOUR—FINAL EXTRICATION FROM DIFFICULTIES, AND COMMENCEMENT OF PAROCHIAL OPERATIONS IN ST. JOHN'S.

"My volume labours very much during the process of its delivery. It is a very large impression that they are throwing off, and it may be pretty far on in January ere the publication is completed. I am sure that it will bring another nest of hornets about me, in the shape of angry critics and reviewers. It has been singularly the fate of my publications to be torn to pieces in the journals, but at the same time to be extensively bought and read, and surely one would suppose from this with some kind of gratification by the public at large." Dr. Chalmers wrote thus in November 1818, regarding a volume of congregational sermons which was then passing through the press. The impression was a large one, the publisher having resolved to print at once 7000 copies, and the process of its delivery was so much more tedious than its author had contemplated, that the volume was not published till the 24th of February 1819. The hopes of the publisher and the fears of the author were alike disappointed, the sale being slower, and the critics less angry than either had anticipated. The superintendence of the press, however, formed but an insignificant portion of the labour undergone during the winter of 1818-19. "I never," writes Dr. Chalmers on the 24th April 1819, "kept so close by Glasgow, nor worked so hard in it as during this last winter. I have now preached twenty-nine Sabbaths without intermission in the Tron Church, and that without a stated assistant, though I have occasionally got assistance for half a day." It was because he believed that the time of parting was so near at hand that he kept so closely by the Tron Church congregation. On the 5th

of June 1818, the Magistrates and Town-council had elected him to be minister of the church then in course of erection. The new church was considerably larger than the Tron, involving of course more fatigue to the preacher who should occupy its pulpit. The new parish was to contain a population of at least 10,000, composed almost entirely of operatives. With a larger church and a worse population there seemed but little reason why Dr. Chalmers should prefer St. John's to the Tron; but this translation promised to open the way for the accomplishment of his favourite parochial projects. With the old parishes of Glasgow the Magistrates and Council, bound either by law or practice, could not do as they pleased, nor had any of the ministers or kirk-sessions a separate and independent parochial authority. It was, however, understood that the official authorities were prepared to go so far along with Dr. Chalmers as to enable him in this new parish to try those schemes of reformation which he was known to have so much at heart, and in which, by the very necessities of his position, he had hitherto been thwarted. In obtaining authority from the Court in Edinburgh to erect this parish, the Magistrates and Council had procured the insertion of a clause in the deed of erection entitling them, should they deem it expedient, to give the minister and kirk-session a certain separate, independent, and exclusive jurisdiction; and they had instructed their committee, annually appointed for the letting of the seats in the city churches, in the event of Dr. Chalmers being presented to St. John's, "in letting the seats of that church to give a preference, first, to those persons resident in St. John's parish, who, in consequence of the public notice to that effect, had lodged their application with the Chamberlain prior to the date of the last meeting of Council; and, secondly, to such members of Dr. Chalmers's present congregation as may be inclined to remove to St. John's Church."* It was expected at the time that this minute was drawn up that the church would be opened in the autumn of 1818. After being nearly completed, however, a large portion of the building required to be taken down, so that it was not ready for occupation till September 1819. These favourable symptoms of a desire to meet his wishes induced Dr. Chalmers gratefully to accept an appointment which had been so handsomely tendered to him. On the 31st day of March a presentation in his favour to the church and parish of St. John's, accompanied by his letter of

* Copy Minute of Council, of date June 5, 1818.

acceptance, was laid on the table of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and on the 3d day of June he was formally admitted to the new benefice. "Sabbath first, being the 30th," Dr. Chalmers writes to his friend Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, "is the last of my connexion with the Tron Church, and as the church of St. John's is not yet ready for me, I am counting upon the interval of a good many weeks, during which I propose to expatiate among my friends in the country. My arrangements are going on most prosperously. I have now got thirty-five gentlemen and three lady teachers. I have also completed the survey of my parish, and have still 150 Sabbath-scholars to provide with teachers, besides an indefinite number of female teachers to look out for. Amid great physical distress and many difficulties among our population, it gives me comfort to think of an operation which I am sure alleviates even at present the burden which is upon their spirits, and will, I trust and pray, have fruit in eternity.

"I cannot tell you how truly grateful I am for all you write and all you say on theological subjects. You have given most useful direction to my own mind, and I have endeavoured, in some of my later pulpit demonstrations, to press home the lesson of salvation and spiritual health being synonymous with each other. It is truly excellent what you say of not waiting at the pool. Be assured that many render the method of setting out on the business of Christianity so mystical and so separate from human agency, and so scrupulously remote from all that man can will or do in the matter, as absolutely to discourage him even from going to the pool, even from opening his Bible, even from directing his thoughts to the subject of it, even from hearing what Christ has got to say to him, and turning to its obvious application and purpose the plainest and most palpable of His requirements.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Exhausted with the unremitted labour of the preceding winter, Dr. Chalmers's first resort was to Dunblane. In passing through Stirling, "I breakfasted," he says, "with Provost Littlejohn, and met all the other members of the deputation; received much cordiality and attention; during the time that I remained saw the church, castle, and other curiosities; the Provost, who accompanied me, by expatiating on the beauties and advantages of Stirling, doing his utmost to put me in bad humour with myself and my determination." From the strain of the two following

letters we may gather that the quiet of Dunblane, and other advantages enjoyed there, gave a spiritual direction to his thoughts.

"DUNBLANE, *July* 10, 1819.

"DEAR JAMES,—I am here a few days for the mineral waters of this place. . . . My retirement here gives me a leisure for reading which I never enjoyed when in Glasgow. You know that this town is the seat of one of our old Scottish bishoprics. There was a library left in it by Archbishop Leighton, which survives to this day; and the force and fidelity and experience of our older writers far surpass the average compositions of our present day. I have just finished the perusal of one of these works—Alleine's 'Alarm to the Unconverted.' If the title do not repel you, I am pretty confident that the subject, after you have got fairly introduced into it, will not; nor could I conceive a more ardent wish in behalf of the dearest friend I have in this world than that he should read that work, and make a faithful application of all its truths to his conscience, and make a serious and deliberate effort to weigh well its various chapters, confident as I am that if he do so, and drink in the spirit of the performance, and actually proceed upon its directions, he will have peace in this world, and perfect felicity in the world to come. You must bear with me in this recommendation. With best compliments to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary, believe me, dear James, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNBLANE, *July* 17, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,— . . . Since I came here I have been twice at Keir, and am greatly pleased with the whole manner and attentions of that kind and respectable family. I hope to be here till Friday next week, when I move to Edinburgh for two or three days, and then return to spend about a fortnight in Glasgow. . . . I feel my want of capacity for the direct exercises of godliness—am in a state of longing and general earnestness, but want sadly a habitual frame of heavenly-mindedness. I read with mortification, and I had almost said envy, of the devotional feelings and delights of other men; and just feel myself, as it were, at the place of breaking forth, and on the margin only of that spiritual territory within which all is life and light and enlargement and holy affection. It is easy to talk of a simple faith in the testimony; but there must be the issuing of a certain sound on the part of the trumpet to him who lingers

at the threshold, and who, when told just to believe and just to perform the bare act of faith, is still encompassed with helplessness, and impressed with the suspicions and the straitening of a mind not yet loosed from its bondage. Yet come the enlargement when it will, it must, I admit, come after all through the channel of a simple credence given to the sayings of God, accounted as true and faithful sayings. And never does light and peace so fill my heart as when, like a little child, I take up the lesson, that God hath laid on His own Son the iniquities of us all.—Do believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

"Thomas Erskine, Esq. THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the 27th Dr. Chalmers arrived in Glasgow, and ten busy days were spent in earnest negotiation with the highest official men of the city regarding his favourite plans for the parish of St. John's. With the exception of the arrangement about the seat-letting, which, from the high rate charged for the seats, rendered it comparatively of little effect in so far as the humblest class of his parishioners was concerned, he had hitherto secured only the expression of good-will of leading men in the different public bodies. The time, however, for the actual commencement of his ministry in St. John's was drawing near, and he felt the necessity of having definite and authoritative enactments to proceed upon. One great inducement to the acceptance of the new charge was his hope of introducing a new mode of pauper-management. In order to effect this he required to extricate himself from the meshes of the existing system of administration. Under that system the fund raised by voluntary contributions at the church-doors was kept distinct from the fund raised by legal assessment, and was subject to different control. All the church-door collections were placed at the disposal of the General Session, a body composed of all the ministers and elders of the city. The fund raised by assessment was placed at the disposal of the committee of the Town Hospital, an institution which had both in-door and out-door pensioners. The first application for public relief was made to the elder of the district in which the applicant resided. The case was then reported by this elder to the kirk-session of his own parish. But that kirk-session, not permitted to retain the collection made at its own church-door, and having no definite income with which to square its annual expenditure, had only to insert the name on the roll, fix the allowance, and report to the General Session,

from whose funds a monthly distribution was made among the separate kirk-sessions, according to the number and necessities of the cases on the roll of each. When these cases had multiplied beyond the power of the voluntary fund to meet them, or when the largest sum granted by the session, which rarely exceeded five shillings a month, was deemed insufficient from the pauper becoming older or more necessitous, there occurred a transference to the Town Hospital, whose ampler fund admitted of larger allowances. "So that each session," says Dr. Chalmers, describing this cumbrous apparatus, "might have been regarded as having two doors, one of them a door of admittance for the population who stand at the margin of pauperism, and another of them a door of egress to the Town Hospital, through which the occupiers of the outer court made their way into the inner temple. It will be seen at once how much this economy of things tended to relax still more all the sessional administration of the city, and with what facility the stream of pauperism would be admitted at the one end when so ready and abundant a discharge was provided for it at the other. We know not how it was possible to devise a more likely arrangement for lulling the vigilance of those who stood at the outposts of pauperism, and that too at a point where their firm and strenuous guardianship was of greatest consequence—even at the point where the first demonstrations towards public charity were made on the part of the people, and where their incipient tendencies to this new state, if judiciously while tenderly dealt with, might have been so easily repressed. To station one body of men at the entrance of pauperism, and burden them only with the lighter expenses of its outset, from which they have a sure prospect of being relieved by another body of men, who stand charged with the trouble and expense of its finished maturity—there could scarcely have been set agoing a more mischievous process of acceleration towards all the miseries and corruptions which are attendant on the overgrown charity of England." * As a preliminary and essential step, it was necessary that the kirk-session of St. John's should be altogether disjoined both from the General Session and the Town Hospital, and that one simple and unembarrassed relationship should be established between it and the Magistrates and Council. But to effect this was no easy matter, both legal and political difficulties occurring to obstruct it. "If I dare make an allusion to natural philosophy, let me reveal to

* See Works, vol. xv. pp. 33, 34.

you, gentlemen," said Dr. Chalmers, addressing himself to the agency of St. John's, "that the difficulties I had to contend with in this matter often put me forcibly in mind of the difficulties which Sir Isaac Newton experienced in his attempt to resolve the problem of three bodies. It is an affair of very simple computation to assign the path of a planet acted upon by the sun exclusively, and when no other force is admitted into the computation than the mutual attraction of the two bodies; but it instantly becomes a labour of very profound analysis when the planet is acted upon both by the sun and the disturbing force of another planet, such as our earth for example, which, under the joint attraction of the sun and moon, gives us an example of the problem of three bodies. Now I just felt, and with great intenseness too, this very difficulty, when I had to compute my way among the mutual attractions, or rather repulsions, of no less than four bodies. When all is reduced to one simple relationship between us and the heritors, all will go smoothly and without embarrassment. But I must confess, that when tossed and tempest-driven under a set of opposing influences which we know not well how to manage or comprehend—when placed in the middle of clashing and conflicting authorities on every side of us, when we had to steer our course under the beck of so many great unwieldy corporations, which appeared to frown from their respective orbits both upon us and upon one another,—I must confess, that when we had thus to walk among such elements of perplexities, the enterprise of assimilating a town to a country parish often looked to me a very hopeless speculation." Toiling amid the difficulties of this problem, he addressed on the 3d August the following letter to the Lord Provost of Glasgow :—

"Glasgow, *August* 3, 1819.

"My Lord,—When I received the intimation of my appointment as minister of St. John's, it gave me sincere pleasure to be informed at the same time, that a letter written by myself to Mr. Ewing was read to the Magistrates and Council previous to my election, as it gave me the flattering assurance, that the leading objects adverted to in that letter met with the approbation of the honourable body over which your Lordship presides.

"In that letter I adverted to the wish I had long entertained, and which is publicly enough known by other channels, for a separate and independent management, on the part of my session,

of the fund raised by collections at the church-door, and with which fund I propose to take the management of all the existing sessional poor within our bounds, and so to meet the new applications for relief as never to add to the general burden of the city by the ordinary poor of the parish of St. John's.

"And I here beg it to be distinctly understood, that I do not consider the revenue of the kirk-session to be at all applicable to those extraordinary cases which are produced by any sudden and unlooked for depression in the state of our manufacturers. Nor, if ever there shall be a call for pecuniary aid on this particular ground, do I undertake to provide for it out of our ordinary means, but will either meet it by a parochial subscription, or by taking a full share of any such general measure as may be thought expedient under such an emergency.

"Your Lordship will not fail to observe, that if the new cases of ordinary pauperism accumulate upon us in the rate at which they have done formerly, they would soon overtake our present collections. And yet my confidence in a successful result is not at all founded on the expected magnitude of my future collections, but upon the care and attention with which the distribution of the fund will be conducted—a care and an attention which I despair of ever being able to stimulate effectually till I obtain an arrangement by which my session shall be left to square its own separate expenditure by its own separate and peculiar resources.

"At the same time, I can also, with such an arrangement, stimulate more effectually than before the liberality of my congregation; and with this twofold advantage I am hopeful, not merely of being able to overtake the whole pauperism of St. John's, but of leaving a large surplus applicable to other objects connected with the best interests of the population in that district of the city.

"What I propose to do with the surplus is, to apply it as we are able to the erection and endowment of parochial schools, for the purpose of meeting our people not with gratuitous education, but with good education on the same terms at which it is had in country parishes.

"My reason for troubling your Lordship with this intimation is, that I require the sanction of the heritors of the parish ere I can allocate any part of the sum raised by collections in this way. Without this sanction I shall make no attempt to stimulate the liberality of my congregation beyond what is barely

necessary for the expenses of pauperism. With this sanction I shall have the best of all arguments by which to stimulate the liberality of my hearers and the care of my distributors, and (most important of all) the zealous co-operation even of the poorest among my people, who will easily be persuaded to observe a moderation in their demands, when they find it stands associated with a cause so generally dear to them as the education of their families.

"There is another object, which I shall not press immediately, but which your Lordship will perceive to be as necessary for the protection of the other parishes of Glasgow as of my own; and that is, that the law of residence shall take effect between my parish and the other parishes of the city. I am quite willing that every other parish shall have protection by this law from the ingress of my poor, in return for the protection of my parish from the ingress of theirs. It is practically the simplest of all things to put this into operation from the very outset. But I mention it now chiefly with a view to be enabled to remind your Lordship, when it comes to be applied for afterwards, that it is not because of any unlooked for embarrassment that I make the application, but in pursuance of a right and necessary object, which even now I have in full contemplation.

"I shall only conclude with assuring your Lordship, that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to transmit, from time to time, the state of our progress in the parish of St. John's respecting all the objects alluded to in this communication; and that I hold myself subject to the same inspection and control from you, as the heritors of my parish, which the law assigns to the heritors of other parishes.

"A deed of consent and approbation relative to the various points that have now been submitted through your Lordship to the Magistrates and Council, will very much oblige, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant,

(Signed) THOMAS CHALMERS."

With this letter unanswered, and amid a host of perplexities as to the future, Dr. Chalmers left Glasgow on the 7th August, stayed during the 8th in Edinburgh, and early on the morning of the 9th crossed to Pettycur, where, having an interval of leisure, he thus journalized the events of the preceding day:—"The interesting occurrence of this day is a communication from Sir George Mackenzie and Dr. Brewster, backed with an earnest

solicitation from Mr. Thomson that I would allow my friends in Edinburgh to make interest for my succeeding to Playfair in the Natural Philosophy class. There is no doubt it is a situation of great ease and great pecuniary independence; but still I would not abandon St. John's for a year or two if I could carry all my arrangements, nor would I abandon my profession but for the prospect of an equal Christian good in another situation; so that I have just said nothing at all, and, in the meantime, I shall make this a strong argument for two objects:—1. For strenuously and determinedly insisting on all my own arrangements in my own parish. 2. For giving all my strength to its duties, and no part of that strength to other things. It is very hard when one set of friends urge my acceptance of the Professorship, because, say they, I will kill myself with the fatigue of my present exertions, that another set of friends, after I put away the Professorship for the sake of parochial usefulness, will lay the most interminable fatigue upon me additional to the work of my parish. I shall after this stand upon high ground for doing nothing to draw me away from an employment for the sake of which I have put a situation of ease and enjoyment away from me; and not only so, but for keeping all my strength entire by squandering away none of it on preaching and speechifying out of my proper and peculiar limits. I am more fortified than ever now by this event in my resolution to incur no fatigue whatever away from St. John's, and the habit of refusing all will soon exempt me from any applications."

On the morning of the 10th he arrived at Anstruther. "My mother," he writes to Mrs. Chalmers, "I think much altered. Age has imprinted its marks upon her far more strikingly and abundantly than I had before noticed. I bathed, dined, went to bed afterwards, and for the first time I ever recollect slept in broad daylight. This I think due to sea-bathing, which is an excellent soporific. I have written to Mr. John Graham, one of my elders, and have great pleasure in keeping up my intercourse in this way with St. John's. I have been reading more of Doddridge, and do indeed find myself a very alienated and undone creature. Let me cleave to Christ, and receive all my completeness from Him. Oh! make an active and honest work of your soul. May God help us to be thorough and consistent in this matter. O may He unite our hearts more to Himself, and in the blood of Christ may we be cleansed and sanctified! Were

there no atonement what might have been our dread and anxiety,—but now that there is an atonement, let not our dread and anxiety be just what they would have been without one. Take the comfort of this doctrine. Have full assurance of heart in the blood of the everlasting covenant. Have peace and joy in believing it."

"*Anstruther*, *August* 11.—Yesterday night I wrote to Mr. Parker, and am using every influence to obtain my favourite arrangements for the parish of St. John's. . . . My mother and I sort famously. She loves solitude, and so do I. She is deafer than I ever recollect, but there is a simplicity in having only one deaf person to manage. It is when you have half a dozen to carry along with you that the matter becomes inextricable; and when, in addition to the passive obstacles of mere deafness, there is also the one obtruding and active annoyance of positive and constantly recurring misconception, then is it indeed a trial which in this small way is the heaviest I ever was exposed to.

"*August* 12.—Am now, I trust, sleeping away my languor, and getting stout and well. I have been overdoing, and it is no rest from it to go into the midst of ceremony, and contending claims about visits, &c. &c. Fairley was no relief; Dunblane was none. Anster I like better than all our retreats, and Mr. Gordon [who had accompanied him from Edinburgh on this visit] is a great fill-up. The true enjoyment of solitude is in having one person as fond of it as yourself, and with whom you can occupy an unemployed hour just when you like and your business is over."

But while all was moving on so pleasantly at Anstruther, materials for discomfort were gathering elsewhere. On the very day of his leaving Edinburgh, Dr. Andrew Thomson had formally proposed Dr. Chalmers as a candidate for the Natural Philosophy chair, stating in his letter of proposal that he had the best reasons for believing that if the choice of the Council should fall upon him he would accept. This announcement surprised and grieved many of Dr. Chalmers's friends. The report travelled rapidly to Glasgow, that with his own sanction a canvass had commenced on his behalf for the vacant chair. His own letters were meanwhile coming in rapid succession from Anstruther, urging his friends to additional efforts on behalf of his projects for St. John's. Misconceptions naturally arose which the spirit of hostility framed into aspersions (apparently well founded) upon Dr. Chalmers's motives. Meanwhile he was

utterly unconscious of the public ferment which his fancied course of procedure was creating. It was not till Thursday the 19th that Dr. Chalmers was made aware, by a letter from Mrs. Chalmers, of the excitement which had arisen in Glasgow, and of the misrepresentations which were in circulation. The subjoined extracts from his journal letters will show the depth and acuteness of the feelings which this intelligence created :—

"*Friday 20th.*—For the first time since I came to Anstruther has my peace been a little broken in upon. If I do not get my arrangements it will become a serious question with me if I shall remain in St. John's; certainly I ought not if there be an impression on the part of those among whom I labour of my having acted unworthily in this matter. The public at large I hope I care not for: but if my own people, and especially my own agency, shall have their minds infected by the rumours which are now flying, there is either an entire end of my usefulness, or that usefulness may be easily made greater elsewhere. . . . You may show this to Mr. Collins, and, at the same time, let him and you both rest assured that if I can get my agency satisfied—and indeed convinced that it is they, and they alone, who have given such an attraction to the parish as led me to lay a stop upon the canvass in Edinburgh, if I can get this one object accomplished and my arrangements granted, I care not for all the interminable gossipings that may be now in full currency amongst you. I thought a good deal of the Glasgow groups last night, and as they stood in imagination before me, there was one half line of Burns that I could not get out of my head—'And some were busy bletherin'.' If Mr. Collins can report any alienation on the part of the agency about this matter, then it will be quite imperative upon me to vindicate myself to them; and I certainly do feel it hard that such a phrase as even that of vindication should be at all necessary to be resorted to by one who in the whole of this proceeding has evinced the strength of his determination for his own parish, provided that he is suffered to manage it in his own way. The thing which perplexes me more than anything else is my having no letter since I left Glasgow about the operations of the deaconship. If my own friends fail me, then I shall construe this into a very strong and distinct intimation indeed, though, if God be pleased to prolong the health of my body and the faculties of my mind, I will not despair of being more happily and more usefully employed in some other walk of exertion. . . . I have just had a letter from Mr.

Mackenzie, giving me the intelligence of a unanimous decision of the Magistrates and Council in my favour. The only point now is the zeal, and cordiality, and sound-heartedness of the agency, and I trust that the vile, and malignant, and ignorant gossip of the place will have no influence upon them. The canvassers in Edinburgh began at the wrong end. If an explicit declaration was necessary for the prosecution of the canvass, it ought to have been held necessary for the commencement of it, and then there would have been none of this fuss and folly.

"*Sunday 22d.*—The keeping up of this mysterious silence on the part of Mr. Collins disturbs me greatly.

"*Monday 23d.*—Rose at seven. Wrote a letter to Mr. Collins, which, if he do not answer, there is a breaking up of my agency, and in this case I shall try and carry on the matter upon the strength of weavers, and the native population of the parish.

"*Wednesday 25th.*—It has happened that in all my attempts at peace away from Glasgow something connected with Glasgow has found me out in the deepest of my retirements, and broken up the attempt. It is so now with the intimation you gave me more than a week ago of Mr. Collins going to write disagreeable things, and his mysterious silence, leaving the imagination to brood over them as things of shape and magnitude unknown. I hope in time to sit down to a quiet and independent and easily managed concern. But it were better still to have no such hope, to look on crosses as the conditions of our pilgrimage, and to forbear regaling our fancies with any enjoyment beneath these skies, with any rest short of heaven. My great and engrossing anxiety at present is, that my deaconship are in a state of entire heart and spirit for the functions which await them.

"*26th.*—I write this to make you easy on the subject of the Professorship. I have found out the key to this mysterious silence now. I have only seen the Caledonian Mercury to-day, and I fear that these papers must draw me out once more. I showed all my documents to J. N. two days ago, and he is quite satisfied, and to J. D. yesterday, and he is equally so. Meanwhile, you will go in with my feelings when I say, that understanding as I do that there is a great deal of misunderstanding in Glasgow about this matter, I shall never set a foot in it till I make Glasgow as thoroughly ashamed of the precipitancy of its judgment against me, as I would be ashamed if I were conscious of possessing one fraction of that worthlessness which they

so unkindly impute to me. I feel myself called and justified in coming forward with a written statement.

"*August* 27.—I am only able to put down short-hand jottings, which I trust will do famously. I mean to entitle them, 'Remarks by Dr. Chalmers applicable to the outset of his connexion with St. John's Parish, Glasgow.' In this pamphlet I will interweave as much narrative as will fulfil the whole promise of yesterday. I know not how soon I may send some of the MS. I want my brother and Mr. Collins to be the sole publishers. It will form part of a series of papers which, if God spare me, I mean to publish from time to time, on the Civic and Christian Economy of our Large Towns. . . . I have received Mr. Collins's letter at last, with Mr. Nelson's, and Mr. Craig's, and Mr. Falconer's. I take their letters to be truly kind."

Mr. Collins had waited only till he could convey to Dr. Chalmers the united assurances of the most zealous and influential of his agency, that their attachment and confidence remained wholly unshaken, and that their only regret was that he should have suffered any apprehensions as to their fidelity to prey upon his spirits. Reassured in heart, Dr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow, his vindicatory narrative issuing from the press almost concurrently with his return. On Friday, September 24, the first Number of the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns" was published. It opened with the following narrative:—

"I shall preface these remaks by the short and comprehensive statement of an affair which I know has painfully agitated the minds of many, and given birth to a very busy fermentation of rumours and calumnies in your city.

"I was in Edinburgh on the 8th of August last, and there received letters from two gentlemen of literary rank and estimation in that city, holding out to me a prospect of the Natural Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh, and urging me to take the matter into serious consideration.

"I had a conversation with the gentleman who delivered these letters to me on the subject of them. It is impossible to recollect all the particulars of that conversation. But I assuredly know what my mind and determination have uniformly been on this subject, and could say nothing at variance with that determination. It may be expressed by the following short alternative:—that if I got my arrangements in the parish of St. John, I would not take the professorship; but if I did not get these arrangements, I would think of it.

"I left Edinburgh early on the morning of the 9th; and my proceedings from that day to the 12th will best evince what the practical impulse was which I received from these overtures. I had no correspondence with Edinburgh during that period, but was quite assiduous in my correspondence with Glasgow. The object of it was to achieve for myself the first term of the above alternative, or in other words, to hasten on the accomplishment of my favourite objects for the parish of St. John. It was to attain that condition on which I made my continuance in the one office, and my rejection of the other office to turn. I knew not what my friends in Edinburgh were doing; for that was a matter on which I had given no counsel, and uttered no desire, and put forth no effort, and obtained no information. But whatever they were doing, I was labouring with all my might to nullify their exertions; and, in allusion to the shrewd remark which some of you may have heard, that I was working with both my hands, I have to observe, that there is a sense in which it is perfectly true; for with the one hand I was pulling down the wall of separation between me and my parish, and out of its broken materials I with the other hand was rearing a barrier between me and the professorship.

"But while I in the prosecution of my wishes was working as hard as I could for the first term of the alternative, my friends in Edinburgh, it would appear, were in the prosecution of their wishes working as hard as they could to realize the hopes which were held out by the second term of it. This, gentlemen, is the short explanation of the whole mystery, and serves to unriddle all the crudity and contradiction on this topic, by which the minds of my acquaintance have been so variously exercised.

"On the evening of the 12th I received the first letter I had gotten from Edinburgh on this subject since I left it, requiring an explicit declaration of myself as a candidate. In my reply, I reiterated my adherence to the first term of the alternative, and stated, that 'I was doing all I could to induce a favourable arrangement of matters in Glasgow, and of course was counterworking with all my might my kind friends in Edinburgh.' This letter laid such a discouragement on the attempt of my friends to get me into Edinburgh, that they forthwith abandoned it.

"There are only two misstatements among the multitude of others which have been circulated on this subject that I feel at all disposed to single out on the present occasion. The first is,

that I vacillated in my purposes. There was no vacillation. I took my ground from the first, and I all along acted upon it; and it was not my hesitation, but my steady and unfaltering adherence to the assigned object of *my own parish in my own way*, which in as far as I was concerned put an end to this affair.

"The second misstatement is, that these overtures had been made to me so early as a few days after the death of Professor Playfair. The author of this misstatement could not have taken a more effectual method of stamping the character of a well-sustained hypocrisy on my late visit of ten days to your city, from the 27th of July to the 7th of August—and that not merely in the eyes of my parochial agents, but in the eyes of our highest official men, among whom I was negotiating with all my might my favourite arrangements for the parish of St. John. The truth is, that the idea of filling the Natural Philosophy Chair of Edinburgh was never, in any shape or for a single moment, present to my mind before I left Glasgow on the 7th of August; and the propositions which were made on the 8th were the very first that were offered to me on the subject."

On Sabbath the 26th, two days after the explanatory pamphlet had appeared, the Church of St. John's was opened for public worship. The following account of the opening services is extracted from the *Glasgow Herald*:—"Dr. Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh, and Dr. Chalmers the minister of the parish, preached in presence of the Magistrates and a most crowded congregation. The first gentleman commenced the services of the day, and took for his text Hebrews iii. 12; Dr. Chalmers preached in the afternoon from Isaiah xxix. 9-12. In the evening the parochial sitters took their places, when Dr. Thomson again preached. From the intimations previously given, it was understood that the last of these services was meant for the exclusive benefit of the inhabitants of the parish, who are enabled by a wise and liberal arrangement on the part of the Magistrates and Council to obtain as good a right of occupation to the evening seats as is held by any other sitters among the day congregations of our city. . . . The decidedly parochial aspect of the evening congregation was scarcely if at all impaired by any great admixture of hearers from the general and indiscriminate public; and it was felt as a novel and affecting singularity to witness such a multitude of the labouring classes of our city so respectably provided with Sabbath accommodation

in one of the churches of the Establishment. The impression was much heightened upon observing that the great body of the population, on retiring from church, when they had reached the bottom of Macfarlane Street, turned in nearly an unbroken stream to the east along the Gallowgate, or in the direction which leads to the main bulk of the parish and its inhabitants. . . . It gives us pleasure to observe that the hour of meeting for the evening sitters is so early as four in the afternoon, thereby giving to this parochial diet the character and convenience of a day service, and enabling the hearers to spend an unbroken Sabbath evening in the bosom of their own families."*

The recent decision of the Magistrates and Council, of which he had been informed before leaving Anstruther, was to the effect "that the minister and kirk-session of St. John's church and parish shall have the separate, independent, and exclusive management and distribution of the fund which may be raised by voluntary or charitable collections at the doors of the said church, for the relief of the poor resident in the said parish: but reserve for further consideration the other matters noticed in Dr. Chalmers's letter, particularly the proposed application of the collections made at the church doors to any other purpose than the relief of the poor, and the enforcement of the law of residence as between the different parishes into which the city of Glasgow has been divided."† It was more difficult to persuade the General Session to relinquish its right of oversight or interference. At last, however, this final difficulty was removed. "I have been much turmoiled and agitated of late," Dr. Chalmers writes near the close of December, "by certain unhappy controversies about the management of my parish; but these I have now got over, and breathe a far freer and more peaceful atmosphere than I did at the outset of my connexion with my present charge."‡ The initial difficulties had formed in fact the chief difficulties of the problem. "It required," says Mr. Stow, "the mind and enthusiasm and urbanity and childlike generous feelings of a Chalmers to argue every point, to bear with the old fashioned prejudices and stubborn resistance to his schemes at every step. They could not but admire the man; but to knock on the head at once all their long experience by such a revolution was not to be tolerated. It was not enough for Dr. Chalmers

* *Glasgow Herald*, Monday, 27th September 1819.
† Extracted from the Records of Council.
‡ Letter to Mr. Wilberforce, dated 21st December 1819.

to explain his views in the most graphic manner, when sage men believed them to be quite Utopian; he must prove that they will actually succeed, else they must not even be attempted." In this, as in so many after instances, he found it easier actually to do the work than to convince others that it was practicable. The close of the year, however, saw him clearly extricated from the different administrative bodies with which he had been implicated; and his own parish being now fully given up to him to work it in his own way, he turned with hopefulness of heart to that agency which his four years' ministry in Glasgow had been gradually forming, and which I cannot but regard as the noblest band of Christian laymen which has ever gathered around a Christian minister, or concentrated its energies upon the cultivation of a single parish.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DR. CHALMERS'S HEREDITARY ATTACHMENT TO THE OLD PAROCHIAL ECONOMY OF SCOTLAND—HIS MINISTRY IN GLASGOW EXCLUSIVELY PAROCHIAL—EXTENT AND CONDITION OF THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S—ITS EDUCATIONAL NECESSITIES—MODE ADOPTED FOR MEETING THESE NECESSITIES—ERECTION OF TWO SCHOOL-FABRICS, AND PARTIAL ENDOWMENT OF FOUR SCHOOLMASTERS—EDUCATIONAL FRUITS OF THE ST. JOHN'S MINISTRY—EXPLANATORY ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE MACFARLANE STREET SCHOOLS.

A STRONG feeling of attachment to the old parochial economy of Scotland was a hereditary sentiment with Dr. Chalmers. His father had carried it so far that, although the churches of Eastern and Western Anstruther stood but a few hundred yards apart, he did not go to hear his own son preach when his doing so would have carried him across the separating *burn* and away from his own parish church. The one dominant idea which Dr. Chalmers carried with him from Kilmany, and which ruled the efforts of a lifetime, was that all those peculiar parochial means and influences which, among the peasantry of Scotland, had secured such an almost universal education of the young, and such an intellectual and moral elevation of the general community, could be employed, and would be equally efficacious amid the densest city population. On his settlement in Glasgow, he publicly announced that he considered himself to be set apart as the minister not of those who might choose to come to hear him in his church, but of those who resided within his parish. Throughout the whole period of his ministry his private attentions were devoted almost exclusively to his parishioners as distinguished from his congregation. He did not indeed refuse to attend the sick or dying among his hearers, but he never visited ministerially the families of those who had no other claim upon his attention than their sitting regularly in his church. He had been greatly hampered in carrying out his principles during the period of his Tron Church ministry, but now all checks and impediments were withdrawn. He had, it was true, five times as many people to deal with as could hopefully be intrusted to any one minister and kirk-session. According to a census taken by himself, the

parish of St. John's, previous to Whitsunday 1819, contained a population of 10,304 souls. But this population did not come into his hands in the same condition in which a country parish of equal magnitude would be committed to the care of its clergyman. It had deeply degenerated, and needed to be reclaimed. Of the 2161 families of which it was composed, there were so many as 845 families who had no seats in any place of worship whatever; and even that proportion gave no adequate idea of the extent to which church-going habits had been relinquished. The number of sitters in their own parish church scarcely amounted to a hundredth part of the whole population. And St. John's was not only one of the largest, it was the very poorest parish in the city. The numerical ratio which the household servants in it bore to the general population, an index of the condition of a community as to means, was about one to every thirty-three—in many districts it was so low as one to every fifty-seven. Weavers, labourers, factory-workers, and other operatives, made up the great bulk of the community. It was a large and onerous charge. Nevertheless, suffered now to manage it in his own way, Dr. Chalmers entered upon the task with all the elastic spirit of one emancipated from bondage, and all the hopeful confidence of one whose faith in the power of moral and spiritual influences, both human and divine, over the very worst of our species, was perhaps larger and stronger than that of any other man of his generation. The four years of his ministry in St. John's were among the busiest in a life overcrowded in every portion with activities; and if we include the after and the indirect as well as the immediate results accomplished by them, they formed four of the most productive of his years.

In St. John's, as in the Tron Church parish, Dr. Chalmers's earliest efforts were directed towards the education of the young. His preparations were so far matured, that at the commencement of his operations he had a band of forty-one Sabbath-school teachers, whose number, however, he needed to double, ere according to his method of sub-division the whole space was sufficiently covered. But four years' experience had now taught him that more was required than to supply religious instruction to those who could already read. Among the poorest classes many children were growing up without any, and still more with a very imperfect and comparatively useless education. "There are many," said Dr. Chalmers, addressing a meeting of his own parishioners, "who have been two or three quarters at

school, and have even got on as far as the Bible; but when I come to examine them, I am struck with their slovenly and imperfect mode of reading, obliged as they are to stop and to spell and to blunder on their way through every verse in such a manner as to make it palpable to those who hear them that it had been very little worse for them though they had never been at school at all. Now, be assured that those who cannot read with fluency and readiness to the satisfaction of others, cannot read with satisfaction, or any real understanding of what they do read, to themselves. They may go through the form of reading their Bibles, but I am sure that they do not understand them; and what is this to say, but that the Bible is still a sealed book to them—that they want the key by which it is to be opened." Much of the existing evil Dr. Chalmers attributed to a defect in the existing means and system of education. The schools of Glasgow at the period were divisible into two classes —endowed schools in which education was given gratis, and adventure schools in which the masters were supported wholly by the fees of their pupils. For the children of the middle and higher classes of society the second kind of schools supplied both in quantity and quality a good and sufficient education. But the labouring classes, if they did not succeed through patronage or perseverance in getting their children into those public schools where a gratuitous education was provided, had no alternative but to send them to one or other of those miserable schools which in garrets or by-rooms half-educated and ill-paid teachers had opened. The actual result was, that many parents kept their children at home, still hoping to get them into the free schools—that many were satisfied with the meagre instructions of teachers who themselves needed to be taught, and that not a few had lost the desire of providing their families with this first necessary of spiritual and intellectual life. Nor would it in Dr. Chalmers's apprehension have much mended the matter though, by one princely act of charity, the endowed schools had been so multiplied that there was standing-room within their walls for all the children of the community, and a wholly gratuitous education provided for them. The education which parents pay nothing for they prize as of little value; while that which is made somewhat costly to them they are more ready to appreciate, and more anxious that it should be actually and sufficiently acquired. And as it serves to relax the care and diligence of parents—a system of entirely gratuitous education has an equal

tendency to relax the care and diligence of teachers—removing that stimulus which operates when the fruits of their labour are proportioned to the effort and the abilities which they put forth. "The only way," said Dr. Chalmers in a pamphlet circulated at this period,* "of thoroughly incorporating the education of the young with the habit of families, is to make it form a part of the family expenditure, and thus to make the interest and the watchfulness and the jealousy of parents so many guarantees for the diligence of their children. And for these reasons do we hold the establishment of free schools in a country to be a frail and impolitic expedient for the object either of upholding a high tone of scholarship among our labouring classes or rendering the habit at all general, or perpetuating that habit from generation to generation." Between the two methods, of leaving a community to supply itself with education and of providing gratuitous instruction for all its families, there lay a middle course—that followed by the founders of the parochial schools of Scotland. Dividing the country into what were then considered as manageable districts, a school-house had been built in each, and a partial endowment provided for the teachers—their income from school-fees and fixed salaries when combined large enough to secure a highly respectable class of well-qualified instructors, and yet the fixed portion of it not so great as to secure a competence—however ill they taught or however few their pupils. This mixed system had wrought well in country parishes. Dr. Chalmers resolved to adapt and apply it to the population of St. John's. On Monday, the 27th September—the day after the church had been opened—at a meeting of a few members of the congregation organized into an "Education Committee," it was resolved—"That there should, in the first instance, and as soon as possible, be raised by subscription a sum of money deemed adequate to the erection of one fabric, to include two school-houses and two teachers' houses, which, when completed, shall in all time thereafter be exclusively occupied for the use and benefit of the parish of St. John's." Dr. Chalmers headed the subscription by putting his name down for £100—five other gentlemen subscribing each a like sum—subscriptions of £50 and lesser sums promptly following. In the course of a week or two £1200 were raised. The site which appeared to be most

* The pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the Advantage of Establishing them in Large Towns," was printed and privately circulated at the close of September 1819, and was published in February 1820. It will be found in Works, vol. xii. pp 191-219.

suitable for the erection was in Macfarlane Street, and belonged to the College. Dr. Chalmers went to Principal Taylor to negotiate a purchase. In the hope of obtaining it on reasonable terms he urged at once the novelty and importance of the undertaking. The Principal acknowledged the importance but demurred as to the novelty. "We have been talking for twenty years," he said, "of establishing parochial schools in Glasgow." "Yes; but how many years more did you intend to talk about it? Now we are going to do the thing, not to talk about it; and so," said Dr. Chalmers, putting the Principal into good humour by some kindly saying, "you must even let the price be as moderate as possible, seeing we are going to take the labour of talking and projecting entirely off your hands." The application was successful—the ground was purchased—the building was commenced, and early in July 1820 was ready for occupation. The patronage, including the right of electing the masters, was vested in the original subscribers of £100, the minister of the parish, and the elders and deacons, who collectively had two votes for each body. Dr. Chalmers knowing how important was the choice of his first teachers did not trust to testimonials—private inquiries were instituted—the schools of the candidates, when accessible, were visited, and a day fixed for a comparative trial. On Thursday, the 10th June, he writes to Mrs. Chalmers, "proceeded with Mr. Irving and Mr. Collins, our two examinators in the trial of our school candidates, to St. John's vestry, at eleven o'clock; Mr. Montgomerie and Mr. Macgregor being there also as patrons. We had twelve to examine, and gave them tasks to do in the church, besides subjecting each of them to a very strict and careful examination. This work took us up till six o'clock, and we sent John out for wine and bread and a tea-kettle, and made negus for ourselves and the young gentlemen. Our choice has fallen on Mr. James Aitken for the English school, whom you do know, and Mr. Macgregor, for the commercial school, whom you do not know." Two teachers having been thus nominated, to each of whom a salary of £25, with a free house, was guaranteed, in order that the fees might be reduced to 2s. per quarter for reading, and 3s. per quarter for writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, &c., the schools were opened on the 16th July. The right of admission was restricted to parishioners of St. John's. "On the day of opening," says Mr. Aitken, "I was waited on by an old lady, who craved admission for a very interesting boy she held by the hand; but

she resided in Gorbals, and the principle had been adopted and announced that none but the children of parishioners were admissible. 'But he is a good boy, and Dr. Chalmers will be sure to admit him if you tell him that he is my grandson and an orphan, and that his father was a minister.' I felt a strong desire to oblige the old lady, and engaged to submit the case to Dr. Chalmers. I did so at a meeting of St. John's agency held that evening in St. John's Church. His reply was, 'All very well; but you know how many extra-parochial applications have already been rejected, and by every additional refusal the urgency for more schools will just gain additional strength, so that in place of one school in St. John's, each parish will be forced into an erection of its own, and the whole city, and not Glasgow only, but every town and city in Scotland will be blessed with its parish schools.'"

It was soon apparent that for the educational demands of St. John's parish alone the two schools thus opened were not sufficient. On the 7th August Dr. Chalmers, at a meeting of his Education Committee, stated that "the present schools, though only opened on the 18th of July last (less than a month), are already crowded to such excess that the teachers have been obliged to teach two day-classes instead of one, and that altogether the number of scholars accommodated far exceeded the powers of the teachers to do justice to, while many could not be admitted who had applied." In these circumstances, Dr. Chalmers proposed the erection of another fabric in the eastern district of the parish, trusting to the liberality of the congregation of St. John's in a matter of such importance to the best interests of the parishioners. The second appeal was forthwith made, and the liberality which was trusted to did not fail: about £1000 were speedily collected. The second fabric was raised. Two additional masters were nominated. Within two years from the commencement of his ministry four efficient teachers, each endowed to the extent of £25 per annum, were educating 419 scholars; and when he left Glasgow in 1823 other school buildings were in process of erection capable of accommodating 374 additional pupils; so that the fruit of four years' labour was the leaving behind him the means and facilities for giving at a very moderate rate a superior education to no less than 793 children out of a population of 10,000 souls.

And his care and influence reached much further than the bare provision of school-houses and schoolmasters. He took the

liveliest personal interest in all the operations which he had set agoing. "His visits to my school," says Mr. Aitken, "were almost daily, and of the most friendly description. In all states of weather and in every frame of mind he was there; depositing himself in the usual chair, his countenance relaxing into its wonted smile as he recognised the children of the working classes. Again and again, looking round upon them from his seat, his eye beaming with peculiar tenderness, he has exclaimed, 'I cannot tell you how my heart warms to these barefooted children!' One day, after sitting longer than usual, he left, saying, 'I expected to meet Major Woodward and his lady here. Be sure, should they call, to tell them these are the children of our working classes, they form so striking a contrast to the sights they are accustomed to in Ireland.' Sometimes he would enter the school buoyant and congratulatory, introducing the Bishop of ——, or Lord and Lady ——, developing to the visitors this or that other feature of his parochial system, and generally concluding with the request, 'Now just let us hear one class read a portion before we go.' I may add, that he never once interfered in the slightest degree in the management of the classes. In everything pertaining to the internal management of the school I was allowed to take my own method. . . . I might record several instances of his goodness and condescension as manifested in the many friendly visits he paid to my family. Early in the week following my appointment I received my first private call. One circumstance occurred during the visit which I still remember most vividly. One of my children had been presented with a pair of guinea-pigs. These had found their way into the apartment where we were sitting, and ran about in all directions. I could have wished to turn them out, but had not the power to rise from my chair. I could have seen them at Jericho. He soon observed them, followed them with his eye as they now retreated under his chair and again ventured out into his presence, he even changed the position of his feet to give them scope. That same kindly eye, one glance of which we all loved so much in after-life to catch, beamed only the more warmly as the creatures frisked in greater confidence around him. It was to me an omen for good. He who could enjoy thus the innocent gambols of these guinea-pigs could not fail to be accessible for good when occasion required. It was the first flush of that largeness of heart which afterwards appeared in all I ever heard him say or saw him do. In all his intercourse

with his teachers he showed that he considered their labour in the classroom sufficiently harassing without any additional perplexities. His inquiries were frequent on every point on which our personal or family convenience depended. 'Does your house smoke? Is it not cold in consequence of its northern exposure? I fear that you will feel considerably cribbed and confined in it.' These, and many other considerate inquiries into our condition, made the service light and pleasant that otherwise might have seemed oppressive and intolerable. He seemed, of all men I ever was professionally connected with, best to understand that the teacher is not to be considered as a mere drudge—a beast of burden who may be treated as one pleases, well to-day and scurvily to-morrow, as the whim of his employers may dictate."

Before the first of the St. John's schools was opened Dr. Chalmers invited the parishioners to a meeting at which he delivered the following address:—

"The first thing I have to say of these schools is, that in no one sense of the term are they charity schools. I know that this misconception has gone abroad, and I take the earliest opportunity of correcting it. The education is not given—it is paid for. It is not given to a particular number, as in some schools, where so many poor scholars are admitted gratis, and marked out by this distinction from the rest of their play-fellows. We are anxious to keep every distinction of this kind away from our establishment. Each scholar comes upon the same equal and independent footing. There is nothing to elevate one but his superior scholarship,—and this is an elevation which may be attained by the very poorest in attendance. There is nothing to degrade another but that he is left behind in the career of emulation—and this is a degradation that the son of the richest parent may be consigned to. There will no other inequality be ever known within the walls of our institution, but such as arises from the diversity of talent and diligence and personal character. In every other respect it will be a little republic; and we can assure the poorest parishioner who may send his children to these schools, that one of the most gratifying exhibitions to which we look forward in the course of our regular examinations by the minister and members of session and gentlemen who have reared this edifice for the instruction of the young, is to find that the son of his best affections is also the pupil of our first and foremost admiration, that he stands the most signalized by his

masterly and scholarlike appearances, and that on the busy field of contest for preferment in places, and the approbation of respectable visitors, he has come out the victor in this honourable struggle with his fellows, and borne the palm of superiority away from them.

"The next thing I have to say of these schools is, that though the fees of attendance are very moderate, and though this be a circumstance of peculiar accommodation for the labouring classes of society, yet we do not want on that account the wealthier families of the parish to lie off from the benefits of the institution, and abstain from sending their children. We desire quite the reverse of this. We earnestly recommend these schools to the countenance of the higher classes in the parish; and now that they are built and endowed, all the countenance that we want of them is that they will simply send their children to be educated there, and that not on a higher fee because of their better circumstances—for this is a distinction to which we obstinately shut our eyes in this matter, but on the common fee that is paid by all, whether rich or poor, who may be in attendance. The great peculiarity of these schools is, that the education is so cheap as that the poor may pay, but at the same time it is so good as that the rich may receive. . . And it is matter of sincere gratulation to many of us that while the education we have attempted to provide has been so brought down in its terms as to be accessible I trust to the very poorest among you, it is at the same time such education as the very wealthiest may prize, and of which we can assure them, that while it is calculated to raise the young of humble life to a higher reach of scholarship than they have yet perhaps been in the habit of attaining, it is also an education which would sit most gracefully on the minds and persons of their own children.

"We have met since we came to Glasgow with an occasional feeling of dread and of dislike on the part of the higher classes upon this subject, as if their children would be tainted by intercourse with the young of our common and operative population, as if their minds would be vitiated and their manners be vulgarized by breathing the atmosphere of the same room with them, as if it would break down the kind of distinction in classes which necessarily obtains in grown-up society, and which ought, some think, to obtain also in the pursuits and exercises of boyhood. I have no hesitation whatever in saying, that receiving my first education in a country school where there was an indis-

criminate mingling of the children of all ranks and degrees in society, this is a feeling which I cannot at all sympathize with. I speak to the experience of some who now hear me, who are not natives of the city, and receiving their early education at some parochial seminary in the country, were of course exposed to the admixture of all sorts of children. Are they at all sensible of having received any permanent infusion of vulgarity whatever by sharing in the same sports, or associating in the same exercises, or standing up in the same class with children of a station inferior to their own? Even though I had suffered some loss from such a cause, there is one noble compensation that is gotten at such a school. It is well to learn there the lesson of respect for our common nature. It is well to have observed there that neither talent nor character are the prerogatives of rank alone. It is well to acquire there such friendships as will be retained in future life; and should it so happen of the two parties in such a friendship that one is covered with affluence and honour, while the other toils in humble poverty, it is exceedingly well that the prosperous and distinguished citizen should have to recognise on some future day in some obscure artisan the school-fellow of his now fading remembrance, with whom he strove for mastery in the class, and perhaps was overcome by him. I am sure that if his heart be in its right place, there were a luxury of feeling here which he would not forego, nor could his bosom refuse its cordiality to the object of a remembrance so interesting, and through the individual for whom he experienced such an emotion of kindliness would he learn to bear a friendly and respectful homage to the whole class of society to which he belonged; and therefore it is, that so far from wishing the children of various ranks in the parish not to mingle at these schools, I want them to mingle as extensively as they may. Let vice and blackguardism, and every communication of evil, be guarded against with all a parent's vigilance and a parent's alarm; but disdain not to associate your children in scholarship even with the humblest offspring of poverty. A far blander and better state of society will at length come out of such an arrangement. The ties of kindliness will be multiplied between the wealthy and the labouring classes of our city, the wide and melancholy gulf of suspicion between them will come at length to be filled up by the attentions of a soft and pleasing fellowship—and instead of rude encroachment on the one side, and the pride of a distant and disdainful jealousy on the other, will there be a community more

humanized by the circulation of a mutual good-will, and of which the extreme parties will be more mellowed into one as the intercourse of advanced life is thus softened by the touching remembrances of boyhood.

"It has been alleged that if the schools be as open and accessible to the children of the wealthy as to other children, and if the sound of an invitation so very general be sent abroad over all the families of the parish, there is danger of their being filled to excess, and of many who stand most in need of a cheap education being excluded by others who stand less in need and have got in before them, and thus of a pressure of application being brought down upon us greater than we can bear, and of a clamour for admittance being raised greater than we can satisfy, and of a crowd of expectants disappointed and excluded and put off whom we have no room for. Why, my brethren, to tell you the truth, this is just what we want. There are certainly some kinds of pressure that we are not very fond of, and some sorts of clamour which we know it were impossible by any expedient whatever to appease, and certain crowdings for admittance and relief which are quite interminable, and cannot possibly be managed to the satisfaction either of one party or another. But this does not apply to the present case. We hold it our duty to meet the whole demand of the whole parish for the kind of education that we have now proceeded a certain length in providing for you; and if the provision already made be not enough, we hold it our duty to extend it; and should the present fabric be overcrowded and overrun, this we shall consider as an intimation to us for another fabric and other teachers. We see the end of the demand for good and cheap education, and we should like to overtake it. On this particular ground, therefore, I have no objection whatever to be surrounded and assailed with your most earnest and vehement importunities. It were music to my ears to hear your loudest and most urgent cries for this kind of schooling to your families, and I shall make it my business to echo the cry back again to a quarter where I am sure of the readiest and the kindliest and the most plentiful returns of generosity, to a quarter crowded with your best and sincerest and most enlightened friends; with a set of men the style of whose liberality is not yet perhaps completely understood, but who I am sure up to the light they have, are all on edge for the furtherance of your best and truest interests; men who would grudge a single shilling if they thought that it helped to make

and to multiply paupers, but men who will not grudge a thousand of them when the object is to make and to multiply scholars; men who recognise in the very poorest of their brethren those high capacities which entitle them to a full and equal place on the general level of humanity, and would rejoice in admitting them to the brotherhood of all those privileges which belong to our common nature; men who know you to be their equals in all the grand and enduring attributes of our species, and long for nothing more than to see the gate thrown open by which all the children of all the population may find their way to an accomplished and respectable manhood in society upon earth, and instead of perishing as many of them do now for lack of knowledge, may, through the light of Divine science that is unfolded in the Scripture, attain a place in that society of heaven, where the distinctions of rank and of fortune are all unknown;—these men will hail your demand for more education, nor will they rest till the parish to which they have devoted their philanthropy be as fully instated in all the means of respectable scholarship as any parish which our classical and lettered and intellectual Scotland has to boast of.

"But for what purpose, it may be asked, the above style of education for the labouring classes? Is it to help on their preferment in life, that from labourers they may be fitted for the business of higher situations in society? No! some of course will in the vicissitudes of human history attain such an eminence, and their learning will serve to grace and to guide them in the place they have reached. But most assuredly it is not that they may aspire after an elevated condition that I would have them all to be learned, but to bless and to dignify and to pour a moral and literary lustre over the condition they already occupy. Were all to aspire, many would be disappointed; for, be assured, that to the end of the world the men of opulence will be the few, and the men of industry will compose the multitude. The structure of human society admits of no other arrangement; and whatever political convulsions may await us, through whatever stormy and adverse seasons of tumult and destruction and disturbance this land may have to pass, it cannot fail to settle down at last both in this and in every other nation into an economy of men of affluence who compose the minority, and men of labour and artisanship who compose the great majority of every commonwealth. And therefore, my brethren, my object in pouring the light of education through the mass would not be

to kindle up a diseased ambition among you after the high places of society. This some of you by perseverance and industry and good fortune will attain. But to associate the object of general education with the excitement of a general ambition of this kind among the people were an attempt to divert the uncontrollable tendencies of human society. And what then is the object? it may be asked. It is not to turn an operative into a capitalist: it is to turn an ignorant operative into a learned operative, to stamp upon him the worth and the respectability of which I contend he is fully susceptible, though he rise not by a single inch above the sphere of life in which he now moves, to transform him into a reflective and accomplished individual—not to hoist, as it were, the great ponderous mass of society up into the air where it could have no foundation to support it, but supposing that mass to rest and be stationary on its present basis, to diffuse through it the light both of common and of Christian intelligence. I know that there has been a most severe and overwhelming pressure of late on the labouring classes, and that between sleep to recruit their exhausted nature and labour to subsist, there are many who for months together have not had a single hour of recreation, and that thus the privilege of reading to store their minds either with general or religious information, has by circumstances been withheld from them. But it is not to be always so. There will, I prophesy, if the world is to stand, there will be a great amelioration in the life of general humanity. The labouring classes are destined to attain a far more secure place of comfort and independence in the commonwealth than they have ever yet occupied, and this will come about not as the fruit of any victory gained on the arena of angry and discordant politics, but far more surely as the result of growing virtue and intelligence and worth among the labourers themselves. I trust the time is coming when humble life will be dignified both by leisure and by literature, when the work of the day will be succeeded by the reading and the improving conversations of the evening, when many a lettered sage as well as many an enlightened Christian will be met with even in the very lowest walks of society, when the elements of science and philanthropy and high scholarship will so ripen throughout the general mind of the country as to exalt it prodigiously above the level of its present character and acquirements.

"On that future day, which I pray may not be far distant—

in that millennium of light and love, of which it is prophesied that many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased, there may just be as many mechanics, and as many labourers, and as many men of handicraft, as there are at this moment. And while zealous, therefore, for the growth of the cause of learning amongst them, it is not, we think, the object of this cause to stir up a restless appetite for being removed from one condition of earthliness to another condition of earthliness. That object is to refine alike and to dignify alike every condition of earthliness. It is to give us the comfortable feeling as we move through the swarms of population that issue from the manufactory and the workshop, that instead of a rude mass of ignorance and its companion profligacy, we are in fact passing through a most respectable assemblage of human worth and human accomplishment. This has been verified in many individual instances, and did we only do what we ought, it will be verified throughout the whole mass in the course of another generation. A most delightful eminence of mental cultivation has been attained by the ploughmen of a country parish and by the mechanics of a city parish. It is clear as day to all who have been much in contact with those classes of society, that there are among them the full capabilities for thus adorning their own condition with all the graces of cultured and well-taught humanity. And I repeat it, the main object of pouring a more copious and rich supply of education amongst them is not to furnish them with the means of abandoning their status, but to furnish them with the means of morally and intellectually exalting it. It is not to raise them on the artificial scale of life, but to raise them on that far nobler scale which has respect to the virtues of mind and the prospects of immortality. It is to confer a truer dignity upon each than if the crown of an earthly potentate were bestowed upon him. It is to pour the stores of knowledge into his understanding, and more especially of that sacred knowledge by the possession of which he becomes rich in faith and heir of that kingdom which God hath prepared for those who love Him."*

* From an unpublished Manuscript.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. WILBERFORCE DURING THE WINTER 1819-20—DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF GLASGOW DURING THE PERIOD OF THE RADICAL RIOTS—SUGGESTIONS BY DR. CHALMERS AS TO POLITICAL MEASURES FOR AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE—INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT.

From 1808 to 1813 the harvests in this country were deficient. During four of these years the political state of the Continent virtually prohibited any foreign supply of grain. The result of this was a rise in the price of wheat from seventy-five shillings per quarter, the average price for the six years from 1802 to 1807, to one hundred and eight shillings, the average price for the six succeeding years. This rise in value being proportionally much greater than the defect in produce, the cultivation of land became so much more profitable. It was apparently a period of great agricultural prosperity. Whenever it was brought into the market, land was eagerly purchased at advanced prices; rents in many instances were doubled; cultivation was forced beyond its proper limits, to the exhaustion in some instances of productive soils, while lands were brought under the plough the tillage of which, at slightly lower prices, could not be remunerative. The crop of 1813, so large as to leave a surplus for two years, effected a sudden reduction in the price of grain. The Peace soon followed, opening the Continental markets. Landlords and tenants were in despair. In the spring of 1815, the price of wheat had fallen from one hundred and eight shillings to sixty shillings per quarter. If it rose to sixty-six shillings, according to the existing corn-law, British ports would be opened for the admission of foreign grain. The demand for additional protection to the agricultural interest became so urgent that a Bill was hurried through the House of Commons fixing eighty shillings per quarter as the point at which importation should commence.

Throughout the war, and even under the severe prohibitory commercial policy of Bonaparte, British goods had in large quantities found their way into the Continental markets. The natural

impression in this country was, that when peace brought that policy to an end, the Continental demand would experience a large increase; and the first results seemed to verify this impression. Our exports in 1814 were double those of the preceding year; and although the increase was not relatively so great, the exports in 1815 exceeded in value those of 1814 by about seven million pounds sterling. The alluring prospect led the British merchant astray. He forgot that the resources of the Continent were necessarily limited, and had been drained by war. The overtrading into which he plunged bore its accustomed fruits. The Continental markets were glutted: English goods were selling in them at lower prices than in this country. Heavy losses and frequent bankruptcies ensued. The pressure fell at last, and most heavily, upon the working classes. Multitudes were thrown out of employment at the very time that the reduction of our military establishment had thrown a large number of additional hands into the labour market. To aggravate the evil, the price of bread began again to rise. The autumn months of 1815 and the spring months of 1816 were most ungenial. The crop of 1816 turned out one of the worst which had been for many years. In the course of twelve months wheat rose to double its former value; and in 1817 and 1818 the war and famine prices were once more reached. There was no class of operatives upon which the pressure of the times fell more heavily than upon the hand-loom weavers. In the end of August 1819, Mr. Cleland made a survey of Glasgow and its neighbourhood. Taking a radius of about five miles from the centre of the city, excluding Paisley, but including all the suburbs and many populous villages beyond them, he found within the circle now specified 18,537 looms, of which 13,281 were working, and 5,256 were unemployed. The results of this and of other surveys and investigations Mr. Cleland embodied in a publication entitled "The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow," &c. Seizing upon the leisure which a fortnight's visit to Kirkcaldy in January 1820 afforded to him, Dr. Chalmers undertook to review this work in the Edinburgh Review. Confining his attention exclusively to the capital fact stated above as ascertained by Mr. Cleland, he devoted his paper to an inquiry into the causes and remedies of those evils under which the manufacturing population was at this period labouring. Many of the leading ideas unfolded in this review will be found in the following series of letters addressed to Mr. Wilberforce:—

"Glasgow, *December* 15, 1819.

"My dear Sir,—I should have answered your last kind communications long ago. I have been most thoroughly engrossed with professional work, but feel myself urged at present to write you on the subject of our affairs in this city. The population are overawed for the present by the large military force in town. But you know that this is not the most pleasant, neither is it the most permanent means of tranquillity. It were greatly more desirable to sweeten the spirits of the disaffected than to subdue them; and while I approve very much of certain minor expedients for this object—such as the repeal of the cottage tax, and of the taxes on the first necessaries of life to be commuted into an income tax upon the wealthier classes—yet, from my extensive minglings with the people, I am quite confident in affirming the power of another expedient to be such that it would operate with all the quickness and effect of a charm in lulling their agitated spirits. I mean the repeal of the Corn Bill. I have ever been in the habit of disliking the interference of the Legislature in matters of trade, saving for the purpose of a revenue. The interference in question is perhaps of all others the one by which Government has incurred the greatest waste of popularity with the least return of advantage to the country; nor could they take a readier step than by recalling this measure to soothe the manufacturing districts of the country.

"There is, I have often thought, a native vigour in the elements of a nation's prosperity, in virtue of which they survive all the fears and forebodings of our economical reasoners; and I am quite sure that the more our Government approximates to nature and justice and liberty in her commercial regulations, the nearer will the country be to the best possible adjustment of all the various interests which abound in it. You are quite familiar with the bugbears of political imagination on the matters of trade, and how effectually time and experience came to dissipate them at length. What else was it than a bugbear which arrested for years the abolition of the slave-trade? and did ever commerce rise more triumphantly above all the fancied mischiefs which were to flow from this measure than she did upon that occasion? It is an equally groundless chimera that the landed interest will sensibly suffer from the repeal of the Corn Bill. It will bring no mischief upon the country, and do more than Government can by all her other devices accomplish towards the object of recalling our people to loyalty and quietness.

"On this subject I have only to add, that had such a measure been proposed a week ago in Parliament it might have been resisted as carrying in it the appearance of an extorted concession. But now that the menacing attitude of the Radicals has been so effectually reduced it would not compromise the dignity of Government to confer upon them this most soothing of all gratifications. It were more like the act of a conqueror extending a deed of clemency to the vanquished than the compliance of a degraded sovereign with the high demands of his rebellious subjects; and be assured, that by no single measure, or no number of measures that can be specified, could Government hold out, with a greater prospect of a welcome and responding movement on the part of the country, the olive branch of reconciliation.

"I can take up no more of your much-occupied time at present. I mean to write you soon on a topic about which you put me a question—that is, the state of religion in this quarter. I shall be at all times happy to meet any inquiries upon any subject relative to this neighbourhood in which you may be interested. At the same time, however much I feel myself honoured by an epistle from your own hand, I beg, for your own ease—which it is the duty of all your friends to consult to the uttermost—when it is more convenient for you, to send your communication by any amanuensis whom you may choose to employ.

"Mrs. Chalmers desires her most respectful compliments to you, and I beg mine to Mrs. Wilberforce.

"I cannot adequately express the tenderness and veneration that I feel for one who has done so much under God for the best of causes.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours with the utmost love and esteem,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *December* 21, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Maxwell, to whom you refer, is not, I believe, of my opinion with regard to the Corn Bill, but I believe that he is equally hostile with myself to the maintenance of the poor by assessments; and if there can be one form in which assessments are more hurtful to the interests of the lower orders than another, it is when the produce of them is administered to meet the defect either of work or of wages. The sure and almost instantaneous result of such a measure is a further reduction in the wages. And it is this which lays Scottish industry under such a disadvantage. English industry is in

many instances upheld partly by a proper remuneration in the shape of wages, and partly out of the poor-rate. The Scottish operative suffers all the disadvantage of the reduction which your system has produced in the nominal price of labour without the compensation; and I can assure you, that of all parliamentary measures I know none that would more effectually relieve our working classes of this heavy disadvantage than the enactment by which you should restrict your poor's-rate to the relief of that *want alone* which arises from inability to work, and not to that want which arises from the work being inadequately paid for. This would instantly raise the nominal price of labour, and so bring our operatives on a par with those of your country.

"Do not, I beseech you, grant us the equalization we need by extending any part of your poor's system of management to us; but as an act of justice to us, expunge that part of your system which provides out of a legal and compulsory fund for a defect of work or of wages. This, by the way, would prove a good first step towards the gradual abolition of your poor-laws altogether. It is a sound principle in political economy, that what you give to labour out of a legal provision you take away from it in the shape of wages, and when you withhold the former ingredient from the remuneration, the other ingredient expands to a magnitude equal to the sum of both. This is beautifully illustrated on a small scale by Mr. Vivian in his examination before the House of Commons' Committee, the Report of which was ordered to be printed July 4, 1817.

"But the urgent matter is *present relief*. You will, of course, perceive that it would place me in an invidious light were I to say, that a pecuniary grant by Parliament for the purpose of direct distribution among the poor is not advisable. It would expose me to the outcry of many. It is, however, my firm conviction that this is really not the kind of application which would do so much good as a loan to be laid out on spade labour, and by which the operatives would be drawn away from their looms, and through the production of the article being lessened, a better price will come round for their work, and matters be restored to a fair average. Money to supplement defective wages in any line of industry has not the salutary effect that money has which is employed to draw away workmen from that line of industry. The temptation to the former instead of the latter is, that it appears to require a less sum to make good a difference than to render full wages for the new kind of labour

that is devised as a substitute for the weaving. But the truth is, that could a small fractional part of our weavers be taken up in this way, it were a mighty relief to us; and what I would earnestly advise is, that Government should comply to as great an extent as it can with the various proposals which are before it from this quarter on the subject of advances of money, whether by loan or by grant, for employing so many of our weavers at another occupation. One mighty advantage would be, that it would transfer so many of them permanently to another line and habit of industry altogether, and thus take away that excess of labour which is now given to the preparation of an article for which I fear there is now a permanent reduction in the demand.

"There is this peculiarity in weaving, it is easily acquired, and can be done by women and boys; hence a vast overplus of work in times of general depression. I trust the day is coming when, like strawplatting and tambouring, it will sink down into a female employment, as too cheap a branch of industry for men to be engaged with.

"I never upon any occasion represented the distresses of the people here to be such as called for any other measures than those which I now recommend. I think that there ought to be, and I trust that there is, a very great exertion making through the channels of private kindness. I should like to see the whole of almsgiving reduced to the scriptural principle of secrecy. I do think that the obtrusive hand of public charity serves to arrest sympathy, and to freeze a far more copious fountain of liberality than it opens; and sorry should I be if individual compassion, flowing in unseen but innumerable rills, did not discharge a far greater amount of relief on the unfortunate than even Government itself could afford to bestow.

"I repeat my very great desire for what I deem the best expedient in our present difficulties—a sum to draw away labourers from the loom to other employments. We have a few stocking weavers as well as common weavers; it were well if they too were provided for in this way. They are as ill off as the others; and this, by the way, is due, I have heard, to the extreme liberality of the poor's-rate at Nottingham, which deducts from the wages as much as it affords of legal provision, and exposes the Scotch operatives to a proportional disadvantage.

"Believe me to be, with most respectful compliments to Mrs. Wilberforce, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"I kept this letter one day, that I might converse with one of the most intelligent of our public men on the subject of it. He agrees with myself in thinking that the suitable remedy is for Government to grant the aid in loan that was requested some time ago.

"I cannot close this without reiterating the expression of the very fervent and unabated regard that I have all along entertained for you. I beseech you to spare yourself all fatigue in the work of correspondence. I trust that my school pamphlet has reached you. For once I should like to trouble you with my urgency by requesting as favourable an opinion of the system in writing as you feel yourself entitled to give. I refuse all extra-parochial money for the object, as I want to exhibit a parish in a state of complete provision for schooling upon its own capabilities. Yours very affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *December* 23, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It just occurs to me to say, that what ought to be advanced as the peculiar claim of the Scottish operatives on relief from Parliament is the peculiar disadvantage under which the English system of poor-laws has laid them, by the depreciation which it has effected on the nominal price of labour. Better surely that compensation were rendered to them in the shape of a loan for giving them employment, which is only an occasional boon, and required in times of particular depression, than that there should be any attempt to assimilate what is pure to what is corrupt, by an extension of a debasing and deteriorating system to a part of the country that is yet uncontaminated. I have the utmost confidence, I assure you, after we have weathered a few months, in the certainty of our proving that a manufacturing population can be sustained without any legal or compulsory provision whatever. Keep our part of the country free from poor-rates, and we shall remain a palpable argument on the side of a reformation which you stand so pressingly in need of. Give way to the present emergency, and at once establish the principle among us, and you set a conclusive seal upon a system which all your enlightened men would rejoice in seeing that it was mitigated if not entirely abolished.

"I have had much conversation in the course of this day upon the subject, and the general desire is for such a measure as would draw away our operatives from their looms, and not any such as

would fix them to that employment and merely supplement the defective wages they receive for it. By the former expedient you will soon clear away a mischief which consists in an overstock of manufactured goods. By the latter expedient you aliment and perpetuate the very evil which it is proposed to do away."

"GLASGOW, *January* 22, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Perhaps I should delay answering your last till the decided revival of our trade, which would enable me to speak more fully as to the whole progress of that visitation which seems to have excited so much notice and commiseration at a distance. There are the incipient symptoms of such a revival; and I confidently expect that our population will be conducted to a state of average comfort without even the advantage of the last loan awarded to our city by Government. The truth is, that our city has not yet been able to avail itself of this accommodation from certain difficulties attendant on the purchase of ground, so that I trust the truth of a favourite doctrine will in this instance be realized, that even through the darkest vicissitudes either of a town or a nation's fortune, the daily bread of all its inhabitants may be assured to it by the hand of private sympathy, and out of the capabilities which actually exist within its limits. I must confess that I took alarm at the parliamentary notice that was taken of our situation, fearful as I was that it would beget a delusive confidence on the part of the givers here, as if something so effectual were to be done as to supersede their responsibility for the sufferings of their poorer brethren; and further, fearful lest the receivers should feel themselves relieved from those shifts and exertions which are always sure to be made when the show of a great public interference in their behalf is withheld from them. I deprecate the interference of Parliament in these cases in any other way than the one way of simply aiding the provision of work, and of such work as might withdraw labourers from an overdone branch of employment. I am glad that the 'Christian Observer' has come forth with such a series of wise and enlightened observations upon this subject.

"The infidelity of this neighbourhood has been much overrated. There is a fearful majority of practical ungodliness amongst us, as there is everywhere, and I believe some few hundred, even of the labouring classes, who avow Deism or Atheism; but I think I am quite sure that the irreligion of the

Radicals did much at length to neutralize their political influence amongst our people. The whole spirit of Radicalism is, I think, fast subsiding amongst us, and the tone of the public feeling is now that of tranquillity and confidence.

"Whatever our difference of opinion may be about the Corn Bill—which I consider as just another example of that busy and unwise intermeddling which is too characteristic of all Legislatures—I have to entreat that you will not lose sight of the measure of restricting your poor-rates to the poverty that springs from the inability of working alone. This would equalize the Scotch and English operatives. It is all that we want for keeping ourselves untainted by this baneful system altogether, and would, I think, form amongst you a good first step of a gradual process for its ultimate and entire abolition.

"It were well if amid the engrossments of public matters we could keep our hearts at liberty for the influences of God's Holy Spirit. How possible is it, alas! to be busied even among Christian doings, and yet to be abandoned by the life and unction of Christianity altogether! And yet the two are compatible; and who exemplified it better than the apostle Paul, whose conversation was in heaven, while he sustained a busy and diligent and ever doing converse both with the men and the things of this lower world?

"With most respectful and kind regards to Mrs. Wilberforce, and Mrs. Chalmers's best remembrances to yourself, I beg you to believe me, my dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"I have got £900 raised for my education fabric, and will begin to it immediately. I got several offers of foreign aid, but rejected them all. I am confident that a complete apparatus of scholarship might be raised all over the country did each satisfy himself with the cultivation of his own local portion of the great territory. Your kind letter has been of the greatest use to me."

"GLASGOW, *March* 22, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I suffered an unfinished letter to lie a long while beside me, when I was called upon last Saturday by two men going to London on the business of our Emigration Societies here. I took the liberty of reading that letter to them, along with another, of which I made them the bearers, to Mr. Finlay. They go without any advice from me, and in virtue

of a resolution by their own constituents. I trust you will excuse the liberty that I have taken. I am sure that I am exceedingly averse to give you any trouble. But however fruitless their mission may be as to the business object of it, I am quite satisfied that nothing would tend more to tranquillize the public feeling than a little more of personal intercourse between the various orders of society; and I am sure that from the interview even of a very few minutes with yourself, they will bring down a good and a sweetening influence along with them.

"The matter seems to be thus:—Some months ago in Glasgow there was a very general desire on the part of our labouring classes to seek relief in emigration. For this purpose meetings were called, which generally terminated in the factious expression of political discontent, to the great annoyance of a certain number among them who were honestly bent upon this object, and have prosecuted it with such steadiness and perseverance as at length to have obtained a grant of land and other advantages from Government,—leaving however the means of conveyance across the Atlantic to be provided for in another quarter. Of course the men have been elevated by all this to a very high degree of buoyancy, and are now I fear on the eve of a very sore mortification, unless our Glasgow public can be stimulated to a handsome subscription for the object of providing them with a passage to Canada. I do not see altogether the use of the London expedition; but even if it should satisfy the people that their main dependence for getting what they want must be on the public at home—and still more if it should draw out either from yourself or Mr. Finlay such expressions as may stimulate the people here to make an effort for completing what Government has so kindly and liberally begun—it will not have been in vain.

"It had been infinitely better that Government had made no advances upon this subject, than that such a distressing failure of hope and such an accession of discontent should come out of it. The grant is only for a definite number, you will observe; and the expense of conveying the whole is, according to my rate of estimation, far from beyond the capabilities of Glasgow. It is not my opinion that it can have any great effect, economically speaking, on the state of matters here. It will leave a very small vacancy behind it, and a single week of such importations as we have often had from Ireland would fill it up again. It is this which makes me regret that Government should ever

encumber itself with trade or pauperism, or interfere in any way with the economics of the country, save for the purpose of a revenue to itself. But as it has interfered, and brought on so many of our families to a ground of hope and of dependence, I shall regret that it shall reap as the fruit of its own doings, founded though they have been in a real desire to promote the welfare of our community, the suspicion and discontent of men who have kept so steadily aloof from the turbulence of the times. —Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Distress had engendered political discontent. The materials for agitation were abundant, and in too tempting a condition for the demagogue. The demand for parliamentary reform, which, so long as it confined itself to a moderate extension of the representation, had found supporters among all classes of the community, was among the lower orders changed into a fiercer cry for universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The very name of Reformer was rejected, and that of Radical adopted in its stead. The disastrous results of the Manchester meeting in August 1819 stimulated the general irritation. At a large assemblage convened soon afterwards in the Glasgow Green, the leading speakers appeared dressed with weepers, as if in mourning for those whom the swords of the Manchester yeomanry had cut down. Secret societies were extensively organized. Threats of rebellion began openly to be uttered. The 13th of December, announced as a holiday from labour, was anticipated in Glasgow with the greatest apprehension. It passed, however, peaceably—all tendency to riot being suppressed by the admirable dispositions made by the public authorities. For a month or two the alarm subsided, to break out, however, in March 1820, in greater force than ever. Rumours of pikes manufactured in large quantities, of midnight drillings, and of days fixed for the great rebellion breaking out, were rife throughout the city. At last the worst fears of the most terrified seemed about to be realized. On the morning of Sabbath the 2d April printed proclamations were to be seen posted on the walls, commanding an immediate and entire cessation from labour, and summoning the people to open insurrection, "Signed by order of the Committee of Organization for forming a Provisional Government." The consternation felt that forenoon in Glasgow was intense. The authorities immediately assembled. The civic

troops,—the Glasgow yeomanry and sharp-shooters,—got orders to be ready at a moment's warning. The military were on the alert; hussars dashing through the streets, posting pickets on the various roads leading into the town. It was understood that the signal for commencing the rebellion in Glasgow was to be the stoppage by the Radicals of England of the London mail, which then generally reached Glasgow about five o'clock in the morning. Three gentlemen of the Glasgow yeomanry rode out to Hamilton (a distance of ten miles) on Sunday night, that in case the mail did not arrive there at the usual hour information of the event might be carried as quickly as possible to Glasgow. At half-past four o'clock, on Monday morning, all the troops, civic and regular, were at their appointed rendezvous, and under arms. The three volunteers, however, appeared ere long, bringing the tidings that the mail had reached Hamilton at the usual hour, and that in England all was quiet. But the alarm was not to be so speedily dissipated. On Monday it was evident that the treasonable proclamation in one part of its summons had been obeyed. Voluntarily, or through intimidation, the public works were deserted. For many miles around Glasgow the whole working population ceased from labour. Crowds poured along the various roads, and bands of idlers, with sullen and scowling visages, filled the streets. The authorities were informed that Wednesday had been fixed as the day upon which the Radicals from all the adjoining districts were to march into and take possession of the town. Throughout the whole of that night all the available troops were under arms. The firm spirit of the inhabitants, the resolute attitude of the authorities, and the strong military force, struck terror into the half-armed and ill-guided multitude, and without any bloodshed the outbreak was repressed. Next day brought tidings of the skirmish at Bonnymuir, near Stirling, in which the only band of Radicals that faced the troops was scattered in a few moments, nineteen having been taken prisoners on the field. Betrayed, as they imagined, by their friends in England, and awake to the folly of their schemes, the resolution of the Radicals melted speedily away—a better spirit soon returned among the working population, and in a week or two all terror of a Radical insurrection had passed away.

On the 18th April, Dr. Chalmers resumes his correspondence with Mr. Wilberforce:—"My dear Sir,—As far as I know of our disaffections in this city, I would say that there are perhaps

not half a dozen instances of people befriending Radicalism who are possessed of more than £200 a year. Its most active instigators appear to be the well-paid workmen of cotton-mills and other manufactories where there has been little or no decline of wages, though the depression that obtains in the weaving department gives them without doubt the advantage of such materials as encourage them greatly to prosecute the designs of agitators. I ought also to have mentioned that among the weavers themselves, who, speaking generally, are a highly intelligent order of men, there are not a few who act as delegates and leaders to the rest, and are well qualified for the whole business of counsel and committeeship. Of these there are certainly some who have acquired their taste and their talent for public management, I think, from the circumstance of being the members of a dissenting congregation, and thus offer the melancholy combination of a fierce, restless, and dangerous politics, with a regular and respectable habit of attendance upon the ordinances. But still this is so far from being generally the case, that the aspect here of Radicalism upon the whole is just what it is with you—an aspect of infidelity and irreligion, the great majority of the men of ascendency among them being of this stamp, and verily all, I believe, who have stated their determination to the extent of actual war and bloodshed, having just as little of the profession of Christianity as they have of the substance of it.

"This is so palpably the case, that I believe the general public, undiscerning as they are upon this subject in the main, have the well-founded impression, in the present instance, that religion and Radicalism are utterly at antipodes with each other; so that we have little, I trust, to fear from any wrong association in the public mind upon this topic. And here I ought to say, that though Dissenterism has often the effect of engendering a political taste and tendency among those who are connected with it, yet our dissenting ministers here have nobly acquitted themselves on the present occasion. I know an instance in which a member of the Methodist Churches was excommunicated for his attendance on the Union Societies. Mr. Ewing, our Independent minister, has both preached and published in the strongest terms against the political spirit of the times; and, on the whole, Glasgow is just all the less Radical than it would have been by every congregation of Christian worshippers, whether in the Establishment or out of it, that is within its limits.

"It is awkward for a man to refer to his own works, but I think that No. 3 of my periodical publication, which was out before our recent explosion, explains why Glasgow should be so Radical in spite of its supposed numerous attenders upon Christian worship. The truth is, that after all they form a woful minority of our whole population, and nothing but the multiplication of our Established Churches, with the subdivision of parishes, and the allocation of each parish to its own church, together with a pure and popular exercise of the right of patronage, will ever bring us back again to a sound and wholesome state of the body politic. I shall resume this, if God will, in a day or two.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *April* 25, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I should have mentioned in my last that the irreligious spirit of the rioters in Glasgow was strongly evinced by their breaking the windows of two of our Established clergy; but as it is our misfortune to be implicated with the pauperism and civil business of the place, this, perhaps, is not so unequivocal an expression as the fact of their having broken the windows of one of the Methodist chapels. You will, of course, have seen the circular sent by the Methodist Committee in London to all their ministers, dated the 12th November last, and which serves not merely to vindicate that body, but Evangelical Christianity at large, from the suspicion of being at all favourable to political turbulence. The alleged ground of complaint is political. As I wrote before, there is an exceeding degree of odium and unpopularity attached to the Corn Bill. They share in feeling here with the English Radicals on the common topics of reform, annual parliaments, &c. I have little doubt, however, that were the circumstances of the people amended, their discontents would very quickly subside. As to the prevalence of the discontent, I would say of the vast majority of the labouring population, perhaps five-sixths of them, that they are passive—would rather be quit of all the disturbance and alarm that we have been exposed to, though, at the same time, they would acquiesce so far with the Radicals as to offer no positive opposition to any new order of things which they might have instituted. But this is no argument for a feeling of security, as I should suppose that in all revolutions the agents in the business, whether by counsel or war, are by much the minority of the whole population. The truth is, that turbulence and discontent are far

more active and stirring and ostensible than are the opposite qualities; so that a minority with these will, to the general eye, outnumber the majority without these, and thus it is that the imagination of the multitude may be held in bondage by comparatively few from among themselves; and this may be enough for the purpose of giving effect to the schemes and operations of a disaffected minority. I have considerable intercourse with the families of my own parish, consisting of upwards of 10,000 people, and though chiefly among the poor, I am quite sure that there was as honest a terror, and as sincere an aversion to public disturbance among them as among the families of the rich. But this terror laid them open to the influence of the agitators, who compelled almost the whole of them to strike work. On that occasion I am convinced that the intimidators did not form more than a tenth part of the intimidated.

"I quite agree with you as to education. No system of coercion can prevent demagogues from obtaining it; and a few of them are far more formidable when operating on the soil of general ignorance among the population. The true way of disarming them of their influence is to educate the people up to them. And it is all in confirmation of this that our cotton-spinners, with good wages, were greatly more disaffected and mischievous than our weavers with bad wages. There is less of scholarship among the former than the latter, for a reason which you will easily perceive. They go early to cotton-mills, and have no command of their own hours afterwards. Weavers have that command, and there is a better rate of education among them than the others. At the same time, Glasgow is not a fair specimen of Scotland. My own observations have convinced me that there is a great decline of scholarship here; and I should liken our general population more to that of an English town than any other Scottish population I am acquainted with. I am not aware of the proportion that the Irish disaffected bear to the Scotch, but from the apprehensions that have taken place, I should regard it as greatly beyond the proportion of their numbers in this place.

"The most tranquillizing measure that Parliament could adopt would be the abolition of the Corn Bill. The next would be the repeal of the cottage tax, and such other taxes as bear hard on the necessaries of life. Let the deficiency be made up by an income-tax. I trust there will be no bankruptcy, however partial. *Fiat justitia, ruat' cœlum.* I trust that faith will be

kept with our national creditors. So long as the upper and middling classes have such a command over business we have not yet attained to the limit of our resources. A five per cent. income-tax would enable Government to make a number of popular, and I may add moral commutations, covering I should suppose the whole loss incurred by the cottage, salt, and butter tax, and by the abolition of the lottery.

"I yesterday saw one of our sheriffs for the populous county of Renfrew, and he assures me, that in the cases which come before him for ordinary crime among the young he notices a very sensible decline of education. It will really not be fair to argue against education from the case of Glasgow, which has receded very widely of late from the general condition of Scotland in respect to scholarship.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *May* 2, 1820

"MY DEAR SIR,—I should have mentioned in my last, that the shawl manufactory recently introduced into Paisley requires a great number of boys, whose business it is to draw such pulleys as the working of the pattern may require, and are therefore called draw-boys. They amount to upwards of 2000 it would appear, and going to this business very young they are almost universally without reading. It is thus that the young men are very widely contrasted with the old in that town, who are indeed among the most intelligent and best educated operatives in the kingdom. But be assured that it is not the knowledge of our people, but their growing ignorance which has opened a wide and effectual door for all the Radicalism that exists among them.

"I feel that I have been guilty of some omissions as to a few former topics of our correspondence. I have not had the satisfaction of seeing your work on education, nor do I recollect anything more at present respecting the Baptist communications on this subject from India, with the exception of a very enlightened memoir about schools.

"I have been called upon by two members of our Emigration Societies. If anything could be done for them in the way of guiding them to information, I would feel myself very much obliged.

"They have called upon me in the instant, and I must come to a close, only observing that the men have been buoyed up to

a high state of expectation, and that if they are frustrated it will really turn what might have been a matter of gratitude into a matter of discontent, the more formidable that there will be really some reason for it.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

One of Dr. Chalmers's main objects of anxiety at this period was to vindicate the religious element from having had any other than a salutary effect. He entered upon this vindication in a more formal and elaborate manner than was possible in any correspondence, in two discourses* preached in St. John's Church on Sabbaths the 30th April and 7th May. "An enlightened Christian," he said upon the former of these occasions, "recognises the hand of God in all the shelter that is thrown over him from the fury of the natural elements; and he equally recognises it in all the shelter that is thrown over him from the fury of the moral elements by which he is surrounded. Had he a more favourable view of our nature he might not look on government as so indispensable; but with the view that he actually has, he cannot miss the conclusion of its being the ordinance of heaven for the Church's good upon earth; and that thus a canopy of defence is drawn over the heads of Zion's travellers; and they rejoice in the authority of human laws as an instrument in the hand of God for the peace of their Sabbaths, and the peace of their sacraments; and they deprecate the anarchy that would ensue from the suspension of them with as much honest principle, as they would deprecate the earthquake that might engulf, or the hurricane that might sweep away their habitations; and, aware of what humanity is, when left to itself, they accept, as a boon from heaven, the mechanism which checks the effervescence of all those fires that would else go forth to burn up and to destroy.

"This, at all times the feeling of every enlightened Christian, must have been eminently and peculiarly so at that time when our recent alarms were at the greatest height. It was the time of our sacrament; and to all who love its services, must it have been matter of grateful rejoicing, that, by the favour of Him who sways the elements of nature, and the as uncontrollable

* These two discourses, embodied into one, entitled "A Sermon on the Importance of Civil Government to Society," were published on the 16th May. In less than a month 6000 copies of the two first editions of this sermon were issued, and on the 9th June a third edition of 3000 copies was printed. It now appears in Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. vi. pp. 335-377.

elements of human society, we were permitted to finish these services in peace; that in that feast of love and good-will we were not rudely assailed by the din of warlike preparation; that, ere Sabbath came, the tempest of alarm, which had sounded so fearfully along the streets of our city, was hushed into the quietness of Sabbath; so that, like as if in the midst of sweetest landscape, and amongst a congregation gathered out of still and solitary hamlets, and with nothing to break in upon the deep repose and tranquillity of the scene save the voice of united praise from an assembly of devout and revering worshippers, were we, under the protection of an arm stronger than any arm of flesh, and at the bidding of a voice more powerful than that of mighty conquerors, suffered to enjoy the pure and peaceful ordinances of our faith, with all the threats and all the outcries of human violence kept far away from us.

"It was the apprehension of many, that it might have been otherwise. And what ought to be their enduring gratitude, when, instead of the wrath of man let loose upon our families, and a devoted city given up to the frenzy and the fierceness of a misguided population; and the maddening outcry of combatants plying against each other their instruments of destruction; and the speed of flying multitudes, when the noise of the footmen and the noise of the horsemen gave dreadful intimation of the coming slaughter; and the bursting conflagration, in various quarters, marking out where the fell emissaries of ruin were at work; and the shock, and the volley, and the agonies of dying men, telling the trembling inmates of every household, that the work of desperation had now begun upon the streets, and might speedily force its way into all the dwelling-places:—this is what that God, who has the elements of the moral world at command, might have visited on a town which has witnessed so many a guilty Sabbath, and harbours within its limits the ungodliness of so many profane and alienated families. In what preciousness, then, ought that Sabbath to be held; and what a boon from the kindness of long-suffering Heaven should we regard its quietness, when, instead of such deeds of vengeance between townsmen and their fellows, they walked together in peaceful society to the house of prayer, and sat in peacefulness together at its best loved ordinance."

On the Monday which followed the delivery of this passage, Thistlewood and his four companions, convicted for the Cato Street conspiracy, were executed in London, and the whole

country was shocked by the horrors of such a scaffold scene as has rarely if ever been witnessed among us.* On the succeeding Sabbath, while prosecuting his subject, Dr. Chalmers made the following allusion to the execution:—"There is something in the history of these London executions that is truly dismal. It is like getting a glimpse into Pandemonium; nor do we believe that in the annals of human depravity did ever stout-hearted sinners betray a more fierce and unfeeling hardihood. It is not that part of the exhibition which is merely revolting to sensitive nature that we are now alluding to. It is not the struggle, and the death, and the shrouded operator, and the bloody heads that were carried round the scaffold, and the headless bodies of men who but one hour before lifted their proud defiance to the God in whose presence the whole decision of their spirits must by this time have melted away. It is the moral part of the exhibition that is so appalling. It is the firm desperado step with which they ascended to the place of execution. It is the undaunted scowl which they cast on the dread apparatus before them. It is the frenzied and bacchanalian levity with which they bore up their courage to the last, and earned, in return, the applause of thousands as fierce and as frenzied as themselves. It is the unquelled daring of the man who laughed and who sung and who cheered the multitude ere he took his leap into eternity, and was cheered by the multitude, rending the air with approbation back again. These are the doings of infidelity. These are the exhibitions of the popular mind after that religion has abandoned it. It is neither a system of unchristian morals, nor the meagre Christianity of those who deride, as methodistical, all the pecularities of our faith, that will recall our neglected

* "Ings then came up;—he was dressed in his butcher's jacket. On reaching the scaffold he gave three cheers, and turned round several times to the multitude, and smiled at them, and then sung in a discordant voice—'O give me death or liberty.' Brunt was the last that came out. He passed hastily up the steps, and advanced with a laugh on his countenance. Whilst the rope was adjusting, he looked towards St. Sepulchre's Church, and perceiving some one with whom he had been acquainted, he nodded several times, and then made an inclination of the head towards the coffins as if in derision of the awful display. When his neckerchief was taken off, the stiffener fell out, and he kicked it away, saying, 'I sha'n't want that any more.' The executioner now proceeded to pull their caps over their eyes, and adjust the ropes. When he came to Ings, the unhappy man said, 'Now, old gentleman, finish me tidily; tie the handkerchief tight over my eyes; pull the rope tighter, it may slip.' . . . When the bodies had been suspended exactly half an hour, the executioner and an assistant appeared on the scaffold to prepare for the revolting ceremony of decapitation. Thistlewood was first cut down, and being placed with his head on the block, an eminent medical Professor, disguised in a rough jacket and trousers, and a mask on his face, appeared with an amputating knife, and in a few moments the head was severed from the body. . . . The operator was loudly hissed and groaned at by the mob, and some atrocious expressions were applied to him."—Extracted from Glasgow Herald of date May 5, 1820.

population. There is not one other expedient by which you will recover the olden character of England but by going forth with the gospel of Jesus Christ among its people. Nothing will subdue them but that regenerating power which goes along with the faith of the New Testament, and nothing will charm away the alienation of their spirits but their belief in the overtures of redeeming mercy."

CHAPTER XXIX.

ILLNESS OF HIS BROTHER ALEXANDER—VISITS TO BLOCHAIRN, STRATHBLANE, AND GLENFINART—PAROCHIAL LODGINGS—MINISTERIAL ACTIVITY—THE REV. EDWARD IRVING—HIS AGENCY AND THEIR OPERATIONS—INSTANCES OF HIS PLAYFUL FAMILIARITY—THE DINNER IN THE VESTRY—ANECDOTES OF MR. IRVING AND DR. BELL—ADDRESS TO THE ELDERS.

"*March* 17, 1820.—I am this day forty. Oh that God may give me a more tenacious purpose than ever of cleaving to Him wholly! I desire to be as He would have me. What a removal of a mighty barrier it is that Christ has died for our sins. It is my desire to live for Him who died for me. Pray for me and for yourself; and let not the world that passeth away detain our attention from the world that is fast approaching. God will give us rest in eternity if we serve Him aright here. . . . That is a sad delusion in virtue of which things present so engross our hearts; and nothing serves more surely to perpetuate it than the legal imagination of our being able to cast off the burden of this engrossment with our own strength. Let us admit by faith the things which are told to us and offered by God, and these will cast them out. Let us lay hold of the stretched-out forgiveness; and should we thus receive the atonement, that will relieve and purify the heart of its evil visitants. Let me entreat you to look to the word of God's testimony, and think not that anything else than a simple reception of these words, 'that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin,' is necessary for the purpose of your being cleansed from your sin. It is the idea that something more is necessary which obstructs this reception. It is the imagination of a great personal work to which you must set yourself, and in which you have hitherto sat down in listlessness and despair, that keeps you at a distance from God. He approaches you with overtures—and what you have to do is to close with them. He approaches you with tidings—and what you have to do is to give credit to them. This is doing the work of God, that you believe on Him whom He hath sent; and could this transition be accomplished, then would you be translated into a habit of cheerful and progressive obedience,

which in a way of legalism, or in the attempt to establish a righteousness of your own, you never can attain.

"Let me know particularly how Sandy is. I have long mourned over my utter helplessness in the way of free communication on these subjects with my own relatives. I could no more, for example, enter into close conversation with —— than I could fly. O that I were enabled to say, by example, by patience, by kindness, what I have not yet been able to say in words."

These instructive sentences were addressed to Mrs. Chalmers, whose sister had been married a few months previously to Dr. Chalmers's favourite brother Alexander. An alarming and tedious illness, which had attacked him in the beginning of the year, affected the whole summer arrangements of the family in Glasgow. Mrs. Chalmers joined her sister at Kirkcaldy in February, and remained with her till the end of August. During the earlier part of this period, the children were left with Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, and he had to taste the sweets and the bitters of his solitary charge. "The children were up stairs," he says, describing one of his arrivals from Edinburgh, "while I settled with the porter in the lobby, and went afterwards to my own bedroom. I heard them come down in a very gleesome style, but they had to wait in the lobby till I came out, which when I did they positively quivered and danced with pure gladness. I felt the cat and kitten principle most powerfully towards them, and spent a very joyous and thankful hour with them." "Was greatly fashed," he writes again about a week afterwards, "with the restlessness of the bairns upon the sofa—at one time pressing in between me and the back of it; at another standing upright and coming suddenly down upon me; at a third sitting upon its elevated border and repeating this threatening position, forgetful of all my biddings upon the subject, and in fact putting me into a perfect fry with their most incessant and ungovernable locomotion." Of both the joys and the sorrows of this condition he was relieved at the end of May, and during the months of June, July, and August, he was alone in Glasgow. One delightful week was spent at Blochairn, with a family to whom he became very strongly and tenderly attached. "I stayed," he says, "in Mr. Parker's from Monday the 5th June to Saturday the 10th. On Saturday I took my final leave of Blochairn. The kindness I have gotten there is very great, and will, I trust, be indelibly graven upon my remembrance." On Monday

the 12th, Dr. Chalmers preached for the Rev. Dr. Hamilton at Strathblane, and stayed during the following week in one of the most agreeable and hospitable of Scottish manses, from which he writes—"The way here is to breakfast at eight and dine at two. This gives me a forenoon of from four to five hours, during which I make two distinct efforts of study. I threw off this forenoon (Thursday) a great quantity of No. IV.; and immediately after dinner Mr. Hamilton and I ascended the highest hill in the neighbourhood, from which we had a superb view; the Lomonds of Fife and Largo Law were distinctly visible. The ascent took us two hours and a quarter, the descent about an hour and a quarter. We drank tea with a parochial family, and attended a library-meeting after it. . . . *Saturday.*—After dinner, I left Strathblane, and set out on a walking expedition to Glasgow. A chaise, with only two in it, and one of them Mr. M'Callam, a man of Architecture, whom you may recollect at our house in Kilmany, overtook me, and I got a place in it to Glasgow. I was a good deal annoyed with one of the London deputies calling upon me and telling me of his success in consequence of my letter to Mr. Wilberforce, and after all craving something personally from myself. Called on a parishioner with the view of announcing my purpose to have family worship in his house on Monday night: he also unhallowed the visit by obtruding upon me a case of pauperism. This contrasts a little painfully with the pleasure and quietness of the scene which I have left so recently."

"*Glenfinart, Wednesday, June* 28.—I proceeded in the steamboat to Gourock, from whence I hired a small boat for this place. It was delightfully calm and warm, and after two hours of partly rowing and partly sailing up the fresh and bold and nobly-banked Loch Long, I landed about a mile below Glenfinart, where I found Lord and Lady Dunmore, Lady Jane Montgomerie, the young Earl of Eglinton, aged seven, his tutor, and a few callers, who left us in a few minutes; all above named remaining as the guests or inmates of the house for some time. *Thursday.*—I had a most delicious drive with Lord Dunmore in a gig up the interior of a singularly wild and simple country. Dined about four, and had a little party afterwards to ascend the highest hill in the neighbourhood. His Lordship soon gave up the ascent. We had a little pony, of which I made great use. It was somewhat hazy, but I enjoyed the prospect amazingly. We descended so as to be at home again

after nine. Brought down a beautiful new plant, and investigated it before the Countess and Lady Jane. Tell Sandy that it is the *saxifraga stellaria*. Lord Dunmore is very accomplished in conversation. I trust that I feel more solemnized among these great features of the Divine workmanship; but oh how slender is the principle of my spiritual life! There is the utmost kindness in this place."

"*Glasgow, Tuesday, July* 11.—Miss ——'s sister, a married woman, called with the object of delivering a long rigmarole invective against her sister. I was quite impatient. She spoke of my being in her sister's will, and of my having taken her down one day in my chariot from Kensington Place to St. John's, which was all true of the noddy. I got so desperately tired of her incessant volubility that I said I would listen no longer, and left the drawing-room for my bedroom, whither, however, she followed me, but I soon got the door shut against her; and I shall now insist that Miss —— puts my session out of her will altogether, for I am to have nothing to do with a set of cackling wives and old maids.* Mr. Robert Dalgleish's chaise came with Mr. and Mrs. Wood to take us out to Campsie, where we all arrived about four o'clock. After tea, a number of us walked to Campsie Glen, and did not return till eleven o'clock at night.

"*Wednesday.*—Went on horseback with a brother of Mr. Dalgleish's to scale the Muckle Bin, a large and lofty hill in the neighbourhood. The chaise came so far on after us with Mr. and Mrs. Wood, and Miss Dalgleish. The day was hazy. After we descended a little from the top, Mr. A. D. and I parted from the chaise party—taking our horses and our guide along with us. I had nearly *laired* among the soft moss of the hill, and in the struggle my horse fell on its side, but providentially not till it had thrown me on my side at a sufficient distance away from it, having previously, in throwing back its head, struck my face and set my nose a bleeding. I was not materially hurt. We walked and rode alternately home, my companion keeping me abundantly in countenance by falling twice from his horse. The chaise party at home long before us: we found them at dinner between five and six o'clock. After dinner, there came an express from Kilsyth, with an intimation of poor Dr. Rennie's

* Greatly teased one day by a lady, who kept him listening to her for a long and at a very inconvenient time, he said to a friend after her departure, when describing the infliction from which he had just escaped—"And it would have been nothing if she had been saying anything to the purpose, but it was a *mere gurgle of syllables*."

death. This is his sacramental week, and I had been engaged to preach there to-morrow. We were on the eve of sending a messenger to Kilsyth to inquire if the sacrament was to go on, when Mr. Lapslie came in the meantime and told us that it was. I took the warm bath this evening in one of the immense circular vats of the manufactory. It was fortunate that it was not a dyework, else I might have come out of a bottle-green colour.

"*Thursday.*—I took my leave of the kind people of Campsie, and on reaching Kilsyth found Dr. M'Lean and Mr. Marshall there before me. Was conducted to the room where the corpse lay, and got a view of it. Mr. Marshall preached most admirably in the forenoon on 'Grieve not the Spirit.' I preached in the afternoon. We saw Mrs. Rennie for a little, and there was a struggle between her anxiety to prolong our talk with her, and my anxiety about the boat, into which we got at half-past six o'clock, and are now on our way to Glasgow. I have written the whole of the last page, and what is written of the present, since I came on board."

A hasty visit was paid to Kirkcaldy in the end of July. In passing through Edinburgh on his return to Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers spent a night at Merchiston Castle, where Dr. George Bell was residing. "He assures me," says Dr. Chalmers, "that had I declared myself a candidate I would have obtained the Moral Philosophy Chair,* but that as matters stood nothing short of such a declaration would do. He evidently believes that I would have taken it had it been offered, and perhaps he is right. My desire is, to give the remainder of my days to intellectual rather than to bodily labour. An excess of the latter I find to be very hurtful, and should God uphold me in strength and in the exercise of my faculties, I contemplate a far more deliberate process of authorship than I have yet had leisure for."

That he might prosecute his parochial labours with greater facility and less distraction, Dr. Chalmers rented a small apartment within the bounds of the parish. "I called on Mr. New-

* The Moral Philosophy Chair in the University of Edinburgh had become vacant by the lamented death of Dr. Thomas Brown. Dr. Chalmers was early asked to become a candidate. "I this day," he writes on the 9th March, "received letters from Dr. Jones and Dr. Charles Stuart about the Professorship. The former was asked by a member of the Town Council to put the question, whether, if I was elected to the Chair, I would take it? I wrote back that I was too busy to deliberate about such a supposition—that I was not at all solicitous for a change—and that if patrons did not choose to hazard my refusal I did not want to have anything to do with them. I told him I was not a candidate, nor did I ask anybody to move in the matter at all."

bigging," he writes on his return to Glasgow, "and went along with him to Mrs. Hamilton's. I take one room from her, and the bed is to be put up on Monday. I took a lesson from you, and determined to settle beforehand about the rent. She said that would be according to the trouble, and condescended on six or seven shillings a week, but that we would not cast out. After such a moderate condescension as this, I do think that there is very little danger." The following letter presents such a picture of ministerial activity as has seldom been paralleled:—

" , Head of Marlborough Street,
At Mrs. Hamilton's Lodgings.

"My ever dearest Grace,—I have been so much occupied these ten days that I have not been able to put pen to paper for you, and a regular journal of my transactions is now out of the question. I landed here on Monday evening last week, and find everything done for me in a most quiet and comfortable style. I only regret that my present very long visitation should lie so remote from the district of my parish that is immediately around me. This will be a mighty improvement in any of my future parochial lodgments; and I feel and perceive the mighty charm of being much among the people in the capacity of their next-door neighbour.

"As it is, I spend four days a week visiting the people in company with the agents of the various districts over which I expatiate. I last week overtook between 700 and 800 people, and have great pleasure in the movement. This I am generally done with in the forenoon, and then dine either at the vestry or in a friend's house. In addition to this I have had an agency tea every night excepting yesternight; and in a few evenings more I expect to overtake the whole agency of my parish. At nine I go out to family worship in some house belonging to the district of my present residence, where I assemble the people of the *land* or close vicinity, and expect, ere I quit my present quarters, to overtake in this way the whole of that district. I have generally Mr. Newbigging, who lives on the opposite side of the road, to accompany me upon these excursions in the capacity of precentor, and to drink a tumbler of rum toddy with me ere I go to bed. I generally breakfast at home; so that tea and punch have formed the only manufactures which I have yet required of my landlady.

"I furthermore have an address every Friday night to the

people of my vicinity in the Calton Lancasterian schoolroom, and a weekly address will be necessary for each of the four weeks in St. John's Church, to the people whom I have gone over in regular visitation. Add to all this the missionary monthly meeting held yesternight, and you will find that, without one particle of study, I am in full occupation. I study only on the Fridays and Saturdays; and I am happy to say that the stock prepared by me in Kirkcaldy is serving me out abundantly for my pulpit ministrations.

"In spite of all I have done, I have had many interruptions. Going to Mrs. Wood one day for papers connected with Mr. Ballardie's affairs; a meeting of the Sabbath-school Society another; the Presbytery a third; my Thursday's sermon a fourth; a calling on stamp-offices and banks a fifth; a meeting of session a sixth; and lastly, another series of measures to originate for a second fabric, to be raised by a different operation over all the sitters in the parish of St. John's. It is wise to disentangle severe study from severe exertion; and I have great reason to be thankful, that though I have been labouring strenuously, I find that I am standing out marvellously.

"On Thursday last I got a letter from Mr. Andrew Thomson, stating that Mr. Dickson was dying, and urging me to declare for the successorship—assuring me, at the same time, that if I would do so, I would be sure of obtaining it. I did not choose to answer this immediately, as I thought it possible Mr. George Bell might write. On Saturday, however, I got another letter from Mr. Thomson intimating the death, and still more urgent for an immediate reply than before, as the opposite party were taking measures for a moderate clergyman. I wrote him, therefore, a declinature. On Tuesday I had a letter from Mr. George Bell, of the same date with Mr. Thomson's that came on Saturday, and which he by mistake had kept up. It was as urgent as Mr. Thomson's for my acceptance, and stated that he was to be in Glasgow on Thursday. I adhered to the answer I gave Mr. Thomson, and so that matter also rests for the present.

"My parochial operations are now at their most interesting crisis, and I do not feel that there is any church or congregation in Scotland that should tempt me to abandon them. There is a prodigious excess of reading day-scholars — inasmuch that another fabric has been resolved upon, and measures have been taken to prosecute a subscription for it among the sitters, and we have already got four patrons of £25 each, viz., Mr. Fal-

coner, Mr. Robert Brown, Mr. George Watson, and Mr. David Stow. The subscription is still in its infancy, and promises remarkably well. Mr. W., our excellent friend, is evidently labouring under a vehement desire to be a patron of the second fabric as well as the first; and this desire is further seen in an evident struggle with the very modesties which made him recall for a season his £100 subscription to us, and Mr. Collins and I cannot help laughing most ecstatically at this circumstance, while in proportion to the heartiness of the laugh is the heartiness of the love that we bear to him.

"I had a long letter from Captain Gordon forwarded to my lodgings by Mrs. Foljambe, an English lady, who with her family are on a Scottish tour. I got it on Friday night, but I could not see her all Saturday, and did not meet with her till between sermons on Sunday—a very pleasant and polite personage certainly, who offered me £1 for my schools after she heard sermon. In the morning of Sunday, too, before breakfast, and when I was still in bed, there came in an aged clerical-looking personage, whom I had not before seen, and who asked if he was in the apartment of Dr. Chalmers, to which I replied in the affirmative. He announced himself to be Dr. Bell, founder of the Madras system of education, and he spoke with great vehemence and volubility in behalf of his method. In the course of the day I handed him over to Mr. Collins, who you know is the stout antagonist of the new system, and they have had a good tough controversy upon the subject. He spoke himself hoarse to me about it on my walk from the church to the bath; and on the Monday morning at breakfast I got him and Mr. Collins to have a further engagement thereanent; I believe he has left us in some degree of dudgeon. I have most gratifying testimonies from Edinburgh and other places of the progress of the system of locality. The work will not, however, get into very wide and abundant circulation till it has attained the size of a volume."

"*August* 15, 1820.—It is now more than a week since I left off; and in the animating bustle of a condition that I certainly like very much, and in which I trust that God may honour me to be useful, I have suspended many things that I ought to mind. I expect to be done with my visitations in two days, and propose spending next week in light miscellaneous work devoted chiefly to the fabric.

"We have now got twelve patrons, and have made sure of £6000. Eight hundred will warrant us to proceed.

"Since writing last, Mr. Bell and I had an interview. He acquiesces; but assures me, at the same time, that if I would only state my willingness, I would get it without a struggle. This I am quite decided about; and on the other hand, it gives me pleasure to observe that the people here are laying their account with losing me sometime; and many of them even now acknowledge the superiority of a professorship to a church.

"When I look back for the events of the past week, I find myself at a loss how to single out any for your attention. I have been in a state of prodigious activity, and have not suffered by it. I have finished the whole round of my agency as to teas; and have really now very great comfort in the pauperism of the parish going on so smoothly and so easily. I fully expect that it is verging fast to annihilation. Yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

His parochial arrangements were now complete, and with almost superhuman energy Dr. Chalmers guided and impelled every movement of the complicated apparatus. At the commencement of his ministry in St. John's he had secured the services of the Rev. Edward Irving, then a licentiate of the Church. There were peculiarities both of thought and utterance which made Mr. Irving unpopular as a preacher. He had given up the prospect of a settlement at home, and had resolved to leave his native land, full of the chivalrous romance of Christianity. His intention was, relying simply upon such resources as he could open up for himself by the way, to go as a missionary to Persia, after a preliminary wandering over Europe. To qualify himself for the self-imposed office, he applied himself to the study of the modern languages, and buried himself among his books. "Rejected by the living," as he told a friend,* "I was conversing with the dead." In the midst of his studies he was interrupted by a note from Dr. Andrew Thomson asking him to preach in St. George's, and telling him that he would have Dr. Chalmers, who was looking out for an assistant, as an auditor. He complied with the request, and preached as he had been desired, without, however, having seen or conversed with Dr. Chalmers. Days and weeks elapsed without any indication of his preaching having made any favourable impression. His books were all packed up and despatched to Annan, while he himself set off on a farewell tour round the west coast of Ayr-

* The Rev. Mr. Craig of Rothesay.

shire to see some friends ere his departure for the East. Loitering on the quay at Greenock he stepped into a steamboat which was to carry him, as he thought, to Stranraer. It was only after her paddles had commenced to move that he discovered that she was bound for the Highlands. He leaped ashore, and treading in no pleasant frame of mind the Greenock quay once more, he resolved that, carry him where she might, he would embark in the next boat that sailed. It so happened that the vessel was bound for Belfast, and having just time to write his father saying, that if any letter came for him it should be addressed to Coleraine, he crossed the Channel and wandered for two or three weeks over the north of Ireland, sleeping in the houses of the peasantry, and in all its lights and shadows seeing Irish life. In due time he reached Coleraine, which there awaited him a letter from Annan, containing an enclosure which his father told him he would have copied if he could, but he could not decipher a single word. It was a letter from Dr. Chalmers requesting his immediate presence in Glasgow. He hurried there, arriving on a Saturday, when he found that Dr. Chalmers had gone to Fifeshire. As there was nothing definite in the letter, and as weeks had passed since it was written, Mr. Irving was about to give up the matter altogether when told by a friend that Dr. Chalmers had just returned. He saw him, and was told that it was his desire that he should be his assistant. "Well, sir," said Mr. Irving, after the unexpected tidings had been communicated to him, "I am most grateful to you, but I must be also somewhat acceptable to your people. I will preach to them if you think fit, and if they bear with my preaching they will be the first people that have borne with it." He did preach, proved acceptable, and for the two years which followed—the busiest perhaps in all his busy life—Dr. Chalmers was refreshed and sustained by the congenial fellowship and effective co-operation of a like-minded and noble-hearted associate. There were three public services every Sabbath in St. John's Church, and one in a school-house situated in the eastern end of the parish, which commenced at the same time with the forenoon service in the church. These four services were shared equally between Dr. Chalmers and his assistant, the forenoon and evening service in the church on each alternate Sabbath devolving upon the one, the service in the school-house and the afternoon service in the church devolving upon the other. Dr. Chalmers commenced a series of lectures upon the Epistle to the Romans, and his assistant a series of

lectures upon the Gospel of St. Luke. The same lecture which was delivered by each in the forenoon in the church was re-delivered, but not on the same day, to the evening congregation, the series as preached in the forenoon being generally two or three lectures in advance of the series as delivered in the evening. It was particularly desired that the evening congregation should only consist of parishioners and those of the poorer classes whom the high seat-rents charged upon the general or forenoon congregation served to exclude. The labours of household visitation were also shared between Dr. Chalmers and his assistant. In this department Mr. Irving was pre-eminently effective. In many a rude encounter the infidel radicalism of the parish bent and bowed before him. His commanding presence, his manly bearing, his ingenuous honesty, his vigorous intellect, and above all, his tender and most generous sympathies melted the hearts of the people under him, and second only to that which his more illustrious colleague possessed was the parochial influence which, after a few months' visitation, he gained and most fruitfully exercised. His own round among the families of the parish Dr. Chalmers completed within two years. The general manner of these visits has already been described. Much greater pains, however, were now taken both by himself and the other parochial agents to secure a large attendance at the evening addresses, by which these forenoon visitations were followed up. The success justified the effort. Multitudes who otherwise would never have had the overtures of Divine mercy addressed to them were brought within the sound of the preacher's voice. These local week-day undress congregations assembled in a cotton-mill, or the workshop of a mechanic, or the kitchen of some kindly accommodating neighbour, with their picturesque exhibition of greasy jackets and unwashed countenances, and hands all soiled and fresh from labour turning up the pages of unused Bibles, had a special charm for Dr. Chalmers; and all alive to the peculiar interest and urgency of such opportunities, he stirred up every faculty that was in him while he urged upon the consciences and the hearts of such auditors the high claims of the Christian salvation. His chosen and beloved friend Mr. Collins —who, after such a life of honourable service in the cause of Christ as few laymen among us have ever lived, in that retirement into which feeble health has forced him* still cherishes with unabated zeal those interests which in bygone years he toiled so

* Mr. Collins is now no more. He departed this life on the 2d of January 1853.

much to further—often accompanied Dr. Chalmers to these evening meetings; and we have his reiterated and emphatic testimony, that no bursts of that oratory which rolled over admiring thousands in the Tron Church or in St. John's, ever equalled, in all the highest qualities of eloquence, many of those premeditated but unwritten addresses, in which, free from all restraint, and intent upon the one object of winning souls to the Saviour, that heart which glowed with such intense desires for the present and eternal welfare of the working classes, unbosomed in the midst of them all the fulness of its Christian sympathies.

His own peculiar province of preaching and visiting formed but a section of that wide domain over which the labours of Dr. Chalmers at this period extended. Single-handed, or even with such zealous aid as Mr. Irving could supply, but little comparatively could be done towards bringing the young and old of a population of 10,000 under effectual Christian training. He threw himself, therefore, upon the help of the laity, and in no region of effort does his power appear to us to have been rarer or more unrivalled than in his gathering around him, and stimulating to such noble deeds of Christian philanthropy so large a number of the intelligent and influential merchants of Glasgow. His genius threw a spell over many, and his brilliant fame, which now filled the empire, would have made them proud and happy to be associated with him. And in that intense and impulsive enthusiasm with which he embarked on any enterprise, there was much that was contagious. But his power over his agency had deeper and more enduring roots. Not a few of those who now became his fellow-workers owed to his ministry their first serious impressions of religion. And all, as in concert with him they prosecuted their labours of Christian love, came under the imperial sway of that guileless simplicity, that genial kindliness, that homebred sagacity, that playful humour, that generous and grateful benevolence which broke out at every stage of his intercourse with them, and which bound them to him and to the cause in which he had enlisted them by links of attachment a thousand times stronger than mere genius or fame has ever forged.

The parish of St. John's was divided into twenty-five districts, called proportions, each embracing from sixty to one hundred families. Reviving the ancient order of deacons, which in Scottish Presbyterian practice had long fallen into disuse, Dr. Chalmers appointed over each of these districts an elder and a

deacon; the spiritual interests of his proportion being committed to the former, and its temporal interests to the latter. The whole management of the pauperism of the parish, the details of which are reserved as the subject of a separate chapter, was intrusted to the deacons. In each district one or more Sabbath-schools were instituted; male and female teachers, to the number of between forty and fifty, being engaged in this work, while a few classes were opened for the adult population. There were the ordinary meetings of the kirk-session, there were monthly meetings of the deacons, monthly meetings of the Sabbath-school teachers, monthly meetings in the church for missionary purposes, and frequent meetings of the Educational Association; all of these Dr. Chalmers regularly and punctually attended, or, if at any time necessarily absent, such excuse as the following was sent by him:—"I entreat that the want of my presence may have no weight in injuring the spirit and energy of your proceedings, and let the worth of the cause at all times carry it over the want of a thing so worthless as a mere human instrument." When present at these meetings of the different sections of his agency, he was himself the soul and spirit of almost every movement, but there was no desire to dictate, no assumption of superiority. Gifted as he was with the happy art of placing all around him at perfect ease, entire liberty of discussion was suffered, yet the liberty never was abused. The hint or suggestion of the humblest or youngest member received the fullest and kindest consideration, and, if adopted, to mark the obligation thus conferred, it was generally called by the name of its proposer. "Our meetings," says one of his elders,* looking back over thirty years, "were very delightful. I never saw any set of men who were so animated by one spirit, and whose zeal was so uniformly sustained. The Doctor was the very life of the whole, and every one felt himself, as led on by him, committed to use his whole strength in the cause of that good God who had in His mercy sent us such a leader." It was only in greater matters, or when general principles were concerned, that Dr. Chalmers personally interfered. The minor details were intrusted to the agents themselves,—the confidence reposed in them quickening and animating their zeal. But while much was committed into their hands, the most incessant vigilance was exercised over the manner in which every duty was discharged. Regular reports from all quarters were constantly

* James Thomson, Esq.

coming in, and messages and requests and suggestions were as constantly being issued. Had his agents but preserved all the brief notes of a line or two which they received from Dr. Chalmers, it would be seen what an incessant shower of these little billets, not one of which was despatched on a fruitless errand, he was constantly discharging. Intercourse at meetings or by letter was not enough; something closer and more familiar was required to bind all lovingly together. Every Monday morning in his own house there was an agency breakfast, to which a general invitation was issued, and at which from six to eight of his elders, deacons, or Sabbath-school teachers, were generally present. More special invitations to tea were also given, and that with such frequency, that there was scarcely an agent who was not asked once to the house within each six weeks.

Over the whole of this intercourse the charm of an open-hearted cordiality and the light of a cheerful mirthfulness were thrown. Entering the schoolroom in Macfarlane Street one Monday forenoon, he said to Mr. Aitken, "My family, you are aware, are now at Kirkcaldy, and as I wish to have an hour's easy chat with you and Mr. M'Gregor, will you just come up at three o'clock and have a steak with Mr. Irving and myself in the vestry?" In company with Mr. Irving he called as the schools were dismissing, and the two ministers and the two teachers proceeded to the vestry. The table was set, and John Graham, the beadle, officiated as waiter. Tales of the school and out of the school followed close upon each other. "I am afraid," said Dr. Chalmers to one of the teachers, "that your labour is not of the right sort—too exhausting." Mr. Aitken mentioned that Dr. Bell from India had called the previous day between sermons, desiring to see the classroom. "I had a call from him," said Dr. Chalmers, "this morning. I was lying awake in my old woman's room, cogitating whether I should get up or not, when I heard a heavy step in the kitchen, and the door opening, and the speaker entering, a rough voice exclaimed, 'Can this be the chamber of the great Dr. Chalmers?'" "And what did you say?" inquired Mr. Irving, who enjoyed exceedingly the ridiculousness of the question. With a quiet smile and inimitable archness, accompanied by frequent shutting of his eyelids, "I even told him," said Dr. Chalmers, "that it was, and I invited him to stay and breakfast with me. I knew that Mr. Collins was to be out with a proof, and was glad to think

that the discussion between the merits of his school system and the Scottish, which I knew was soon to follow, would be supported by one who, I suspected, was more than a match for him." "Well," said Mr. Irving, "and how did it turn up?" "Mr. Collins arrived as I expected, and to it they set tooth and nail." "And the result?" "Collins was too many for him." The hour filled up with such pleasant talk, the two teachers returned to their schoolrooms, and the two ministers to their rounds among the parishioners.

At an agency tea-party, Mr. Irving, who had just returned from a tour in Ireland, related some amusing particulars of his perambulations through the liberties of Dublin. "I entered," he said, "a miserable cabin, in which an old woman was smoking a pipe by the fire. Seeing three coarse portraits on the wall, I asked her who they were? 'Sure that's St. Paul on the right.' And this? 'An' sure, isn't that St. Peter?' And he in the centre? 'And don't you know Pat Donnelly, the bruiser?—sure everybody knows him.'" Mr. Irving proceeded to tell of his going to the Roman Catholic chapel in Dublin to see high mass performed, a ceremony which he had never witnessed. To escape observation, he ensconced himself behind a pillar, where he stood. Every now and then, however, an old woman behind him pulled him by the skirts, saying, "Sure you'll go down on your knees." "And did you go down?" said one of the St. John's elders. "I went down at last, both to please the old woman, and to prevent the tails of my coat being torn off by the tugs she was constantly giving." The question as to whether he should have done this or not was raised and keenly discussed. Dr. Chalmers said nothing. The discussion closed, and conversation took another turn, still, however, Dr. Chalmers stood in dreamy abstraction. He was evidently still busy trying to settle the *quæstio vexata* satisfactorily to his own mind; nor was it till some practical question had to be determined that he came out of his abstraction.

Such instances of absence of mind would frequently occur. "Three members of session," says Mr. Aitken, "being also patrons of the school, called on me, along with the Doctor, to perfect a certain arrangement regarding my adult class. The Doctor had introduced the subject when the drums in the adjoining barracks struck up the usual tattoo, and continued playing military airs. The discussion was maintained by the other gentlemen, but the Doctor, I saw, was completely engrossed by

the music. They came to a decision during his mental absence, and waited his hearing. That was only obtained when the drums stopped. 'Well, gentlemen,' he then said, 'what do you propose?' 'The question is settled, Doctor.' 'Indeed! then I suppose we may go.' It had been often disputed whether the Doctor had any tune. This I cannot determine, but am certain he had his musical enjoyment as well as others—of this the above is one proof, his choice of Scarborough* and Devizes as his favourite tunes with all precentors is another."

Mr. Thomson and Mr. Heggie, an elder and a deacon, went out one evening to Kensington Place, where Dr. Chalmers was living, to speak to him about some parish matters. They found him on the floor busy playing at bowls with his children. "Come away, Mr. Heggie," he exclaimed when they entered, without changing however his position, "you can tell us how this game ought to be played." Elder and deacon, minister and children, were soon all busy at the game together. "This is not the way," said Mr. Thomson, "we used to play bowls in Galloway." "Come along, then," said Dr. Chalmers, "let us see what the

* Scarborough was the chief favourite, scarcely a Sabbath passing in which the precentor did not get specific instructions to close the services by singing it: and they were once opened by it in St. John's in rather a singular manner. A half witted woman, who was a most faithful attendant on Dr. Chalmers's ministry, seized the opportunity, and as soon as the first line of the psalm had been given out from the pulpit, struck up the favourite tune. The precentor had no time given to him to interfere, and so well and so powerfully was his office performed for him that he wisely let her singing stand for his own, and struck in at the second line of the psalm. This woman's extreme love for the ministry, turned at last into an extreme love for the person, of Dr. Chalmers, a love which became with her an absorbing passion. She firmly believed it to be returned. "Mrs. Chalmers folk said was his wife, but she kent better, and so did the Doctor himsel." At first she had been perfectly harmless, and had been freely admitted to the church, but now persecuted by all kinds of strange attentions from her, and alarmed as to what her singular passion for him might tempt her to do, Dr. Chalmers was seized with a nervous terror of her. One Sabbath, when the church was very crowded, she had got up to the top step of the pulpit stair. Dr. Chalmers entered the pulpit without noticing her, but on turning round there she was by his side. "John," said he to the beadle, shrinking back to the furthest side of the pulpit in extreme terror—"John, I must be delivered conclusively from that woman." She was now forbid access to the church, as the very sight of her disturbed him. Nevertheless, she faithfully attended in Macfarlane Street, and when she could not get near to him she would stand wiping with her handkerchief the froth off the mouth of the horse which had carried him to church. At one time she was seized with the dread that he did not get enough to eat at home. Coming upon him once unexpectedly at the corner of a street, "Come, Doctor, do come, and get a plate of parritch: I hae fine meal the noo." As he would not take the food that she thought so necessary at her house, she resolved to carry it to his own. One evening, at Kensington Place, the servant, on opening the door, was surprised by a large round bundle, covered with a red handkerchief, being thrown into the lobby. On unwrapping it, it was found to contain oat cakes and sheep's trotters, for the special sustentation of the minister. On his return to Glasgow a year after going to St. Andrews, he entered the house of one of his elders in great agitation.—"Mr. Thomson," he said, "that daft woman is in pursuit of me. Can you not carry me to my brother's by some way that she cannot track our path?" Mr. Thomson undertook and executed the commission, but they had not been long gone when she appeared at the door with a large jug of curds and cream, nor would she be satisfied till Mrs. Thomson had taken her through all the rooms of the house to convince her that Dr. Chalmers was not there.

Galloway plan is." And to it they set again with keener relish than ever, till Mrs. Chalmers at last said, "What a fine paragraph it will make for the Chronicle to-morrow, that Dr. Chalmers, and one of his elders, and one of his deacons, were seen last night playing for a whole hour at marbles!" "Well, really," said Dr. Chalmers, starting up, "it is too bad in us, gentlemen, we must stop." Two hours of useful and instructive conversation followed, not made in any way the less so by the manner in which they were ushered in.

Dr. Chalmers often spoke of "the prosperous management of human nature" as one of the noblest and most delightful exercises of human power, and most pleasantly and most prosperously was such management now carried on by himself, with admirable skill, which never once, however, bordered upon artifice, the singleness and simplicity of the aim being always as conspicuous as the wise adjustment of the means—the harmlessness of the dove being blended with the wisdom of the serpent. Nor was it forgotten that while many plans were formed, and many efforts made, and many zealous agents embarked in their prosecution, something else and something higher was needed ere any spiritual fruit was borne. At the first setting apart his elders to their office in St. John's, Dr. Chalmers thus addressed them :—

"The whole habit and tendency of my thoughts on the subject of Christian usefulness incline me to attach a far higher importance to your relationship with the parish of St. John's than to your relationship with the church, and I do honestly believe, that never till the rights of parishes come to be better respected, never till the attention of ministers and elders be more restricted to the population of a given local territory, never till God put it into the hearts of men to go forth among our heathen at home with the same zeal and enthusiasm which are expected of missionaries who go abroad, will there be anything like a revival of religion throughout the mass of our city families, or a reclaiming of them from those sad habits of alienation from God and from goodness into which the vast majority of them have fallen.

"There is one circumstance of encouragement which you will soon, in the course of your movements through the districts that are assigned to you, be enabled to verify by your own experience. All the householders, with scarcely one exception, and whatever

be their character in respect of Christianity, will welcome you with the utmost cordiality and courteousness. There is something in the very presence of one human being when he comes with the feelings and the desires of friendship, which serves to conciliate and to subdue another human being. Bear an honest regard to the people, and the people will, in spite of themselves, bear you an honest regard back again. This is what may be called an open door for you in the first instance, and the effect of frequent intercourse between the higher and lower orders of life in tranquillizing the general spirit of a community, and softening their malignant antipathies which else might ferment and fester and break out into open violence, and consolidating something like a system of brotherhood through a mighty aggregate of human beings—this, I say, would confer a civil blessing on the establishment of an eldership that is altogether incalculable.

"But it must be remarked, on the other hand, that so wide and universal a welcome from the families may lead, at the outset, to a most delusive anticipation. A civil comes more easily and readily than a Christian effect. You are not to infer, because the good-will of the people can be so immediately carried, that the conversion of the people will therefore speedily follow in its train. There is much of what is constitutionally attractive among men distinct and apart from any religious tendencies; and there is none who sets himself in good earnest to the working of a Christian effect, that will not soon feel himself engaged in a business where aids and instruments are necessary that are altogether superhuman. You will, in particular, be struck with the obstinate and determinate stand which the manhood of the population will make to all your proofs and all your earnestness. In sad proof of the progressive hardening of conscience will it be seen how arduous if not how impossible it is, with all the arts and resources of Christian philanthropy, to make any sensible advances on those who have been suffered to ascend from boyhood without the Word and without the ordinances.

"It is this which has shut up so many adventurers on the field of Christian usefulness, both at home and abroad, to the melancholy conclusion, that the grown-up generation are to be given up in despair, and that the hope of brighter and better days all lies with the capabilities of the young; and I certainly do recommend, among the foremost objects of your attention, the encouragement of those religious schools which may be

situated within the limits of your respective localities, and for the discouragements which you will experience in the obstinacy and immovableness of many parents, you will often meet with a cheering compensation in the promise and docility of their children.

"At the same time, I would never give up any human being in despair. Forget not the affirmation of the missionary Elliot, that it was in the power of pains and of prayers to do anything. We are apt to confide in the efficacy and wisdom of our own arrangements—to set up a framework of skilful contrivance, and think that so goodly an apparatus will surely be productive of something—to please ourselves with parochial constitutions, and be quite sanguine that on the strength of elderships and deaconships and a machinery of schools and agents and moralizing processes, some great and immediate effect is to follow. But we may just as well think that a system of aqueducts will irrigate and fertilize the country without rain, as think that any human economy will Christianize a parish without the living water of the Spirit —without the dew of heaven descending upon the human administrators, and following them in their various movements through the houses and families under their superintendence. Still it is right to have a parochial constitution, just as it is right to have aqueducts. But the supply of the essential influence cometh from above. God will put to shame the proud confidence of man in the efficacy of his own wisdom, and He will have all the glory of all the spiritual good that is done in the world, and your piety will therefore work a tenfold mightier effect than your talents in the cause you have undertaken; and your pains without your prayers will positively do nothing in this way, though it must be confessed that prayers without pains are just as unproductive, and that because they must be such prayers of insincerity as cannot rise with acceptance to heaven. It is the union of both which best promises an apostolical effect to your truly apostolical office; and with these few simple remarks do I commend you to Him who alone can bless you in this laudable undertaking, and give comfort and efficacy to the various duties that are involved with it."

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ST. JOHN'S EXPERIMENT OF PAUPER MANAGEMENT—CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH IT WAS UNDERTAKEN—DIRECTIONS TO DEACONS—MODE OF CONDUCTING IT—ILLUSTRATIVE INSTANCES—THE RESULTS—ALLEGED EXPLANATIONS OF ITS SUCCESS—TESTIMONY OF DR. MACFARLANE—REPORT BY MR. TUFNELL—REASONS OF ITS RELINQUISHMENT.

"I THINK it right to state," said Dr. Chalmers,* "that my great inducement to the acceptance of the parish of St. John's was my hope thereby to obtain a separate and independent management of the poor, which I felt it extremely difficult to obtain in my former parish from the way in which we were dovetailed and implicated with a number of distinct bodies." The desired extrication being once fairly effected, he proposed to relinquish for the future all claim upon the fund raised by assessment, and to conduct a population of 10,000, the cost of whose pauperism averaged £1400 annually, into the condition of an unassessed country parish, and to provide for all its indigence out of the fund raised by voluntary contributions at the church-doors. The experiment was almost universally regarded as chimerical; but as severe censures had been passed by its proposer on the existing mode of pauper management, and as sanguine expectations were expressed by him as to the result, there was a general desire in all the public bodies that full scope and opportunity for working it should be afforded. The magistrates of the city consented that the entire and exclusive control of the church-door collections in St. John's should be vested in the kirk-session of that parish. The General Session relinquished all claim to interfere, while the Town Hospital readily acquiesced in the proposal submitted to it by Dr. Chalmers. Its own pensioners, out-door and in-door, connected with the parish of St. John's, the Town Hospital was to continue to maintain, permitting the kirk-session of that parish to retain all its own funds, on condition that it took up all the new cases that should occur; that it bore the charge of all the existing cases of sessional poor; and

* In evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1830. See Works, vol. xvi. p. 314.

that henceforth neither from the one class nor from the other should a single pauper be sent to the Town Hospital, or become chargeable on the general assessment for the city. The annual outlay upon the sessional poor whose claim to parochial relief had already been admitted, was £225. The yearly collections at the church-doors amounted to £400 received at the forenoon and afternoon services, and £80 at the evening service. With a balance therefore of £255 per annum, all new cases were to be permanently provided for, and all the old cases, however aggravated, were to be prevented from passing into the Town Hospital. A generation of paupers is so short-lived that the obvious result of this arrangement would have been that in the course of a few years what had previously cost £1400 annually, would be intrusted to a body of management who had only £480 annually at its disposal. The reduction however of pauper expenditure from the larger of these sums to the smaller, was far short of the extraordinary result which was actually accomplished.

The new applications for relief were committed for investigation to the deacons. Confident that a comparatively small sum would be adequate, and jealous of mismanagement should a larger sum be allotted for the purpose, Dr. Chalmers gave into their hands the evening collection alone, the available surplus of the two day-collections being reserved for other parochial purposes. All depended on the watchful vigilance of those who, stationed at the out-posts, opened or closed the entry which led from poverty to pauperism. The instructions issued for their guidance were few but compendious. "When one applies for admittance through his deacon upon our funds, the first thing to be inquired into is, if there be any kind of work that he can yet do so as either to keep him altogether off, or as to make a partial allowance serve for his necessities; the second, what his relatives and friends are willing to do for him; the third, whether he is a hearer in any dissenting place of worship, and whether its session will contribute to his relief. And if after these previous inquiries it be found that further relief is necessary, then there must be a strict ascertainment of his term of residence in Glasgow, and whether he be yet on the funds of the Town Hospital, or is obtaining relief from any other parish. If, upon all these points being ascertained, the deacon of the proportion where he resides still conceives him an object for our assistance, he will inquire whether a small temporary aid will meet the occasion, and state this to the first ordinary meeting.

But if instead of this he conceives him a fit subject for a regular allowance, he will receive the assistance of another deacon to complete and confirm his inquiries by the next ordinary meeting thereafter, at which time the applicant, if they still think him a fit object, is brought before us, and received upon the fund at such a rate of allowance as upon all the circumstances of the case the meeting of deacons shall judge proper. Of course pending these examinations the deacon is empowered to grant the same sort of discretionary aid that is customary in other parishes."

To a deacon just entering upon office Dr. Chalmers wrote.* "I had three applications from your district yesterday, each of which will afford a distinct opportunity for introducing you into a habit by the perfecting of which what you now feel to be a laborious business will soon be felt a very easy, manageable, and at the same time interesting task. There is a distinction to be observed between one sort of application and another. The first is for relief grounded on age or bodily infirmity, in virtue of which those applying are not able to work;—this furnishes the cases for ordinary pauperism. The second is for relief granted on the want of work or defect in wages;—this it is not understood that by the law of Scotland we are obliged to meet or to provide for, and therefore ought never to be so met out of the ordinary funds. Your present applications are all of the second order, and the likelihood is that you will be able to meet them by work alone, or if this will not suffice, by a small temporary donation, which will be paid by Mr. Brown, our treasurer, when you render your account to him. In prosecuting the second sort of applications, you have to ascertain, in the first instance, whether the applicants have resided three years in Glasgow; and secondly, what are the profits coming into the family from their various sources and employments. Now, what I would earnestly recommend to you, is a thorough examination of these matters in the three present instances, were it for nothing but your own improvement in a business in which you will soon acquire an expertness that will give a facility and pleasure to all your future operations. Be kind and courteous to the people, while firm in your investigations about them; and just in proportion to the care with which you investigate will be the rarity of the applications that are made to you. The evidence for residence is had either by the receipts of rents from landlords, or by the oral testimony whether of these landlords or of creditable

* Letter addressed to Campbell Nasmyth, Esq., dated December 2, 1819.

neighbours; the evidence for income, by inquiring at the people who furnish them with work. It may serve you as a sort of criterion of the adequacy of the means if you take along with you the fact that many are now working on the Green for 6s. a week, and are struggling with this as a temporary expedient for wearing through with their families—far from being a comfortable provision, we admit; but in times like the present, the burden is not all transferred from the poor to the rich, but is shared between them: it should be a compromise between the endurance of the one and the liberality of the other. N.B.—If drunkenness be a habit with the applicants, this in itself is an evidence of means, and the most firm discouragement should be put upon every application in these circumstances. Many applications will end in your refusal of them in the first instance, because, till they have had experience of your vigilance, the most undeserving are very apt to obtrude themselves; but even with them show good-will, maintain calmness, take every way of promoting the interest of their families, and gain, if possible, their confidence and regard by your friendly advice and the cordial interest that you take in all that belongs to them. It is a mighty element in all your inquiries, the character of the applicant, and hence the good of a growing familiarity with your district."

Furnished with the general instructions, and occasionally guided and stimulated by such private letters of advice as the one now given, the deacons of St. John's commenced their interesting work. That work was at first somewhat delicate and difficult. A few hours could carry each through the territory allotted to him, and make him familiar with the limited number of families which it contained, but the applications for relief were numerous. The first imagination of the people was, that as a new and better system had been instituted under Dr. Chalmers, liberal allowances were to be more freely and generously distributed. It was not long till this misconception was rectified, nor was it difficult to carry the whole mind and feeling of the general community in favour of the methods and objects which these zealous agents set themselves to explain, to recommend, and to accomplish. The scrutiny to which each case was subjected was patiently, minutely, and most searchingly conducted. It was soon perceived that the very last thing which a deacon would allow was that any family in the parish should sink into the degraded condition of being chargeable on the

parish funds. The drunken were told to give up their drunkenness, and that until they did so their case would not even be considered; the idle were told to set instantly to work, and if they complained that work could not be gotten, by kindly applications to employers they were helped to obtain it; the improvident were warned, that if, with such sources of income as they had, or might have, they chose to squander and bring themselves to want, they must just bear the misery of their own procuring. A vast number of the primary applications melted into nothing under the pressure of a searching investigation. Deceptions of all kinds were attempted, and until experience had quickened incredulity, and made detection easier, were frequently successful. "In acting," says Mr. Kettle, "as a substitute for a friend, who had gone to the coast, I repeatedly assisted a poor woman from his district who had four children (one in her arms), and whose husband was in the Infirmary. On detecting her, and putting her into the hands of the police, it turned out that her husband was an industrious weaver, she a drunken slut, and their domicile nearly a mile out of the parish.—A brother deacon had a case still more flagrant. A poor woman in tears applied to him to bury a grown-up daughter who had died that day. He refused, notwithstanding much importunity and reference to another deacon, in whose district she had lately been, until he made a personal visit. This he did, but could find no such person. She applied next day, and on sending a young man with her, she disappeared in a crowd by the way. In stating the matter to her former deacon, he wondered if her husband, whom he had been at the expense of burying some six months before, was really dead. The two went in quest of the family, and found the buried husband and the dead daughter performing all the usual functions of life. I need hardly say that the woman was a drunkard. Such cases of deception were, however, rare, as the surveillance in general was very complete."

When the difficulties and distress of the applicants were patent and indubitable, every argument was employed and every facility was afforded to induce them to relieve themselves by their own efforts and their own industry. The father and mother of a family composed of six children both died: three of the children were earning wages, three were unable to work. The three elder applied to have the three younger admitted to the Town Hospital. They were remonstrated with; the evil of breaking up the family—the loss to the younger children—the

disgrace that would be incurred by consigning them to pauperism, and the small additional sum required to keep them all together, were pointed out. The offer was made of a small quarterly allowance if they would continue together. They yielded to a suggestion wisely, kindly, but firmly urged. The quarterly allowance was only twice required. The Town Hospital was saved a sum fifty times greater than was expended upon the children at home, and that home was made fifty times happier and more blessed. "Who is there," says Dr. Chalmers, after recording an incident of which he made frequent use, "that does not applaud the advice that was given, and rejoice in the ultimate effect of it? We could have no sympathy either with the heart or understanding of him who could censure such a style of proceeding; and our conceptions lie in an inverse order from his altogether of the good and the better and the best in the treatment of human nature."

But the applicants were often absolutely helpless. They might have near relations, however, able to assist, or their neighbours, touched by the sympathies which former acquaintance or felt proximity to distress beget, might be willing to aid. —In one district two young families were deserted by their parents. Had the children been taken at once upon the parochial funds, the unnatural purpose of the parents would have been promoted, and the parochial authorities would have become patrons of one of the worst of crimes. The families were left to lie helplessly on the hands of the neighbourhood, the deacon meanwhile making every endeavour to detect the fugitives. One of the parents was discovered and brought back; the other, finding his object frustrated, voluntarily returned.—An old and altogether helpless man sought parish aid. It was ascertained that he had very near relatives living in affluence, to whom his circumstances were represented, and into whose unwilling hands, compelled to do their proper work, he was summarily committed. —Typhus fever made its deadly inroads into a weaver's family, who, though he had sixpence a day as a pensioner, was reduced to obvious and extreme distress. The case was reported to Dr. Chalmers, but no movement towards any sessional relief was made; entire confidence was cherished in the kind offices of the immediate neighbourhood. A cry, however, of neglect was raised; an actual investigation of what the man had received during the period of his distress was undertaken, and it was found that ten times more than any legal fund would have

allowed him had been supplied willingly and without any sacrifice whatever to the offerers.—A mother and daughter, sole occupiers of a single room, were both afflicted with cancer, for which the one had to undergo an operation; the other was incurable. Nothing would have been easier than to have brought the liberalities of the rich to bear upon such a case; but this was rendered unnecessary by the willing contributions of food and service and cordials of those living around this habitation of distress. "Were it right," asks Dr. Chalmers, "that any legal charity whatever should arrest a process so beautiful?" "I never, during my whole experience in Glasgow, knew a single instance of distress which was not followed up by the most timely forthgoings of aid and of sympathy from the neighbours: I could state a number of instances to that effect. I remember going into one of the deepest and most wretched recesses in all Glasgow, where a very appalling case of distress met my observation—that of a widow, whose two grown-up children had died within a day or two of each other. I remember distinctly seeing both their corpses on the same table: it was in my own parish. I was quite sure that such a case could not escape the observations of neighbours. I always liked to see what amount of kindness came spontaneously forth upon such occasions, and I was very much gratified to learn a few days after, that the immediate neighbours occupying that little alley or court laid together their little contributions, and got her completely over her Martinmas difficulties. I never found it otherwise, though I have often distinctly observed, that whenever there was ostensible relief obtruded upon the eyes of the population, they did feel themselves discharged from a responsibility for each other's wants, and released from the duty of being one another's keepers; and this particular case of distress met the observation of the Female Society at Glasgow, which Society bears upon the general population, and with a revenue of some hundreds a year, from which it can afford very little in each individual instance, besides the impossibility of having that minute and thorough acquaintance with the cases that obtains under a local management. I remember having heard that a lady, an agent of that Society, went up stairs to relieve this widow, and gave all that the Female Society empowered her to give, which was just five shillings. The people observing this movement felt that the poor woman was in sufficient hands, and that they were now discharged from all further responsibility; so that the open-

ing up of this ostensible source of relief closed up far more effectual sources that I am sure would never have failed her."

By patient inquiries imposture was thus detected, and the deserving and the undeserving poor were carefully distinguished from each other. By kindly counsel and temporary aid habits of industry and the spirit of self-reliance were fostered. By diligent application at all the natural and ordinary sources of relief, relations and friends and neighbours were stimulated to the fulfilment of obligations binding in themselves, and most beneficial to society in their discharge; and all this was done by men who held a far different kind of intercourse with the poor from that of the cold official, who, ignorant of everything but the application made, presents himself in no other than the repulsive attitude of rejecting it if he can, or reducing the allowance to its lowest limits. The St. John's deaconry—employed as it was to promote the education as well as to manage the indigence of the parish—mingling as it did familiarly with all the families, and proving itself, by word and deed, the true but enlightened friend of all, did far more to prevent pauperism than to provide for it.

The results of these operations during the three years and nine months that Dr. Chalmers personally presided over them was most striking and instructive. The whole number of new cases admitted on the roll was twenty, the annual cost of whose maintenance was £66. Of these twenty cases, however, one was that of a lunatic, one of a deaf and dumb person, two of illegitimate children, and three of families where the husband had run away, so that there were only thirteen admitted on the ground of general indigence, the yearly expense incurred on their behalf amounting to no more than £32.

The number of sessional poor (that is, of poor who had been on the session's roll of one or other of the three parishes from sections of which St. John's had been composed) originally committed to Dr. Chalmers, after deducting those transferred to the session of St. James's, was ninety-eight, of whom, in the course of the period above indicated, twenty-eight had died and thirteen had been displaced in consequence of a scrutiny, leaving thus seventy-seven on the roll, the cost of whose yearly maintenance was £190. Their prosperous financial condition induced the session of St. John's, in the second year of their operations, to take the whole of the Town Hospital paupers connected with their parish off that institution, involving themselves in an addi-

tional expense of £90 a year. So that all the old pauperism which had not originated under their management—and which they had every reason to estimate as much larger than under that management it should have been—and all the new pauperism which had arisen was now managed at a yearly cost of £280. From one-tenth of the city, and that part composed of the poorest of its population, the whole flow of pauperism into the Town Hospital had been intercepted, and an expenditure which had amounted to £1400 per annum was reduced to £280.

"By very many," says Dr. Chalmers, "our scheme was viewed with a hostility which proved to be relentless and persevering; and by many more, who looked to it with good-natured complacency, it was regarded as at best an airy, perhaps a beautiful idealism, the fond and sanguine speculation of a mere student, whose closet abstractions would never stand when brought into collision with the practical wisdom of practical men. We appeal to the still abiding recollection of more than twenty years back, if, mixed with no little derision and disdain, our proposal was not met with an incredulity which was all but universal."*

It was sagely predicted at the outset of this experiment that it was sure to misgive, from the inability of any city parish of such a kind and extent of population to maintain its own poor from its own church-door collections. Nearly four years had now elapsed, and after defraying the expenses of all that they had originally undertaken, and assuming an additional annual burden of £90, the session of St. John's had £900 of surplus, of which, with the consent of the Magistrates and Council, £500 had been appropriated for the perpetual endowment of one of their parochial schools. Such unbounded prosperity might be attributed to the singular liberality which Dr. Chalmers's ministrations had called forth, and to the large amount which his church-door collections annually realized. He was apprehensive from the beginning that his success might be attributed to such a cause, and it was partly because of this, and partly because he desired to deliver his deacons from the temptation which the command of large and expansive funds is apt to produce, that he intrusted them only with the pence of the poor—the small collection of £80, received from the evening congregation. And now the singular and significant result was held up before the eyes of the incredulous, that even with so small a sum as this all the pauperism of 10,000 people, emerging during the course

* See Works, vol. xxi. pp. 103, 104.

of nearly four years, could be adequately met, if at the first rightly dealt with. But there was still another suggestion which, in anticipation of some appearance of success in an enterprise which they regarded as wholly Utopian, has been made at a very early stage by the opponents of the scheme. Dr. Chalmers, it was said, might succeed in reducing his pauper expenditure within sufficiently narrow limits, by starving the poor out of his own parish, and driving them into the parishes adjoining. So fully open was his eye to this objection, and so well grounded was his confidence that the actual result would be precisely the opposite of that which the objectors had anticipated, that the reader may have already noticed, that in his letter to the Lord Provost, Dr. Chalmers strongly urged that the free interchange then suffered between the poor of the different city parishes should cease, and that a law of residence, the same as that which subsisted between different country parishes, should be established between them. His impression was, that the poor themselves would be so much better pleased with a system which, while it would do nothing for the idle and the dissolute, brought human sympathy and kindness, and all friendly aids to industry into the dwellings of those who were in real want—that instead of an efflux out of his parish there would be an influx into it, or, to use his own phrase, his conviction was, that his imports would exceed his exports. And it remains as one out of many evidences of his practical sagacity and foresight, that it turned out exactly as he had conjectured. At the beginning of March 1823, fifteen of the St. John's poor had removed to other parishes, and twenty-nine from other parishes had been received, the imports being thus about double the exports, a sum of £28 having thus been added to the natural and proper parochial expenditure.

Driven from their first positions, and forced by the evidence of figures to confess that a remarkable result had been realized, the opponents of the scheme now began to attribute it to the extraordinary eloquence and zeal of its author, and to the strenuous management of that select body of agents which he had gathered from all quarters of the city, and whom by his presence and his impulsive energy he had kept working at a rate of vigilant activity altogether unprecedented. It would need, they said, another Dr. Chalmers, and another agency such as he only could assemble and inspire, to accomplish in any other parish a like result. It was in vain alleged by Dr. Chalmers that the

result which had awakened such wonder was mainly attributable neither to him nor to his agency, but to the workings of nature's own simple mechanism, from which they had done little more than remove the encumbering check which had been laid upon it so as to allow free scope for its own spontaneous evolutions. It was in vain that in proof of this he pointed to the unassessed suburb of the Gorbals,* where, upon a population of 20,000, as poor as any within the city, the whole annual expenditure for pauperism was £350, but which nevertheless was found to be in so much better a condition than the assessed districts to which it lay contiguous, that when in 1817 an extraordinary expenditure of £10,000, raised to meet the existing distress, came to be distributed, it was found that instead of requiring more this parish required three or four times less than its own proportion of this sum. The idea had seized the public mind that some magic charm belonged to the chief operator and his chosen agents, by whom the parish of St. John's had been conducted to its existing condition;—and much *was* due to Dr. Chalmers, and much to his zealous band of coadjutors. It was his instinctive perception that much of the idleness and immorality of the lower classes was due to a legal security of support, and his strong intuitive faith in the power of a few primary principles of our nature to make a better provision for human want than law had made, which prompted him to try the experiment. And it was his singular power over others, both to convince and to inspirit, which surrounded him with fellow-workers without whose aid it could not have been successful. Great confidence in his wisdom was required. "At my first outset," says one of his agents, "in surveying my proportion, I found so many families, and even clusters of families, without any visible means of support, that I could hardly sleep at night thinking of their starving condition, but after more matured observation I found out secret springs of supply, and became more easy in my mind." In each deacon's first visitation of his

* In 1819, in the Royalty of Glasgow (assessed) there was one pauper to every twenty-seven persons; in the Gorbals parish (unassessed) there was one pauper to every one hundred and seventy-eight persons. In the Royalty, supposing each person to pay an equal share of it, the sum expended on the poor amounted to three shillings and eleven-pence half-penny per head; in the Gorbals parish to *three-pence halfpenny* per head. See Cleland's "Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow," &c., p. 33. Glasgow, 1820. It is curious to compare with this the information given in the "Third Report of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland," bearing date August 1848. It appears from this Report that in 1848 there was one pauper to every 11·6 of the population, and that the cost amounted to four shillings and a penny three farthings per head.

district, in acquainting himself familiarly with all its families, in his inquiries and efforts connected with the education of all its children—in his thorough sifting of all cases of alleged want presented to him—in his firm refusal of all aid to the undeserving, much time and much energy were undoubtedly consumed. Still, however, it was true that the main difficulty had lain, and the chief expenditure of strength had been put forth in carrying the parish over that obstacle which the assessment had created. Once brought into the condition of an ordinary unassessed country parish, the management was very simple. From answers drawn up in reply to a series of questions put to them by Dr. Chalmers, it appears that the time spent by each of his deacons on the pauperism of the parish did not on an average exceed three hours a month. Even the forcing of the passage, arduous for the first adventurer and the gallant crew who accompanied him, was made comparatively easy for all who should come after, while, by the subdivision of parishes, the initial difficulties admitted of being indefinitely lessened. The public mind, however, remained unconvinced. The system had succeeded, it was said, in Dr. Chalmers's hands, but it would fail in any other. His removal from Glasgow in 1823 put this assertion fairly to trial. It would be seen when he had withdrawn how much of the success had been due to his presence and power. Instead of giving way and falling speedily to the ground, the system survived unhurt the shock of his departure as well as of the lengthened vacancy in the parish which ensued. His successor, the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane, has left us the following testimony as to the manner in which it wrought during his incumbency :—"The experience of sixteen months, during which I was minister of St. John's, confirmed the favourable opinion which I previously entertained of the system; it worked well in all respects. With an income from collections not much exceeding £300, we kept down the pauperism of a parish containing a population of 10,000; and I know from actual observation that the poor were in better condition, and excepting the worthless and profligate who applied and were refused assistance, were more contented and happy than the poor in the other parishes of Glasgow. I was also agreeably disappointed at finding that Dr. Chalmers was not the only person having sufficient influence to obtain the aid of the respectable members of his congregation in administering the affairs of the poor; I had not the smallest difficulty in procuring a sufficient number

of deacons for that purpose." * In 1830, ten years from the commencement of the undertaking, Dr. Chalmers informed the Committee of the House of Commons, before which he was examined, that the whole annual expense of St. John's pauperism for the preceding year had been £384, or, deducting the expense for lunatics and for deserted children, which, owing to peculiar circumstances, had come to press heavily upon the parish, was £232. At the end of the year 1833, an English Poor-law Commissioner, E. C. Tufnell, Esq., visited Glasgow, and after careful inquiry as to the state of matters in St. John's, drew up a report, from which we take the following extract:—"This system has been attended with the most triumphant success; it is now in perfect operation, and not a doubt is expressed by its managers of its continuing to remain so. . . . Its chief virtue seems to consist in the closer investigation which each new case of pauperism receives, by which means the parish is prevented from being imposed on; and as it is well known by the poor that this severe scrutiny is never omitted, attempts at imposition are less frequently practised. The laxity of the old management and utility of this investigation may be exemplified by what occurred when it was first put in practice. As all the St. John's sessional poor were closely examined, it was thought unfair not to bring their out-door hospital poor, which the old system had left, to the same scrutiny, when it was discovered that many persons were receiving relief who had no claim to it, and who were consequently instantly struck off the roll. One man was found in the receipt of a weekly allowance who had eight workmen under him. . . . In spite, however, of this success, the lovers of the old system still oppose the new as keenly as ever, and there seems to be as much difference of opinion in Glasgow at present respecting its merits as when it was first established. Amid these conflicting statements, it would be presumptuous in a stranger to give an opinion, except so far as it is drawn from facts, and these, it seems, are all in favour of it. . . . The essence of the St. John's management consists in the superior system of inspection which it establishes; this is brought about by causing the applicants for aid to address themselves, in the first instance, to persons of station and character, whose sole parochial duty consists in examining into their condition, and who are always ready to pay a kind attention to their complaints. This personal attention of the rich to the

* See Works, vol. xvi. p. 345.

poor seems to be one of the most efficient modes of preventing pauperism. It is a subject of perpetual complaint, that the poor do not receive the charities of the rich with gratitude. The reason of this appears to be, that the donation of a few shillings from a rich man to a poor man is no subtraction from the giver's comforts, and consequently is no proof of his interest in the other's welfare. If the rich give their time to the poor, they part with a commodity which the poor see is valuable to the givers, and consequently esteem the attention the more, as it implies an interest in their prosperity; and a feeling seems to be engendered in their minds of unwillingness to press on the kindness of those who thus prove themselves ready to sympathize with them in distress, and to do their utmost to relieve it. This feeling acts as a spur to the exertions of the poor; their efforts to depend on their own resources are greater, and consequently the chance of their becoming dependent on the bounty of others less." *

But though sufficient to elicit such a testimony from a stranger, thirteen years' experience of its success was not sufficient to obtain for this system the countenance and support of the civic authorities of Glasgow. From the very outset of the enterprise, there were two conditions laid down by Dr. Chalmers as essential to final and permanent success. The first was, that a law of residence should be established between the different parishes of the city. The equity of this was apparent, as otherwise a parish might to a great extent become burdened with a pauperism which it had done nothing to create. The second condition was, that a parish which had ceased to receive from the assessment fund should be no longer forced to contribute to it; and in the case at least of such parishes as (like St. John's) saved the fund far more than they yielded to it, the equity of this condition was equally clear. Though urgently pressed, neither of these conditions was acceded to. The St. John's deaconry were burdened with a load not of their own making, which it was peculiarly irksome to bear; and their parish, having cost the city nothing for so many years, had to contribute its share to the central fund. The required conditions remaining unfulfilled, all public countenance being withheld, their expenditure for lunatics and exposed children growing upon them at a much greater rate than the population of their parish, and the

* For the remainder of Mr. Tufnell's most interesting Report, see Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. xvi. pp. 437-444.

funds of a chapel with which their pauper management was implicated falling into an unprosperous condition, it did not surprise Dr. Chalmers, that the managers of St. John's should finally, in 1837, have voluntarily relinquished their office, and suffered their parish to lapse into the general system of Glasgow. That intelligent and devoted member of this management* to whom in later years, and after long experience of his ability and zeal, Dr. Chalmers was in the habit of specially referring in all matters connected with St. John's, informed him "that as the scheme did not receive the countenance which we all thought it well deserved, both from the authorities and the sessions generally, we were discouraged, and did give it up. At the same time, we were all satisfied that it was a scheme quite practicable even in St. John's, increased as it was in population from 8000 to 12,000, and had proved this to a demonstration after eighteen years' experience." It did, however, both surprise and grieve Dr. Chalmers exceedingly, to find that under such circumstances the voluntary relinquishment of an enterprise, hampered and discouraged throughout, should be publicly held up and generally regarded as a conspicuous evidence of its failure; and that those whose very want of faith in its success had contributed so largely to the relinquishment should plead that relinquishment as a justification of their want of faith. It endured, through all vicissitudes, for eighteen years. The accounts of its receipts and disbursements throughout this period show that its whole expenditure on pauperism was upwards of a thousand pounds less than the produce of the church-door collections; that if the expense for lunatics and foundlings and illegitimate children and the families of runaway parents be deducted, the balance in favour of the experiment amounts to upwards of £2000; that never in any year was there a pauper expenditure higher than at the rate of £50 for each thousand, and that the average expenditure for the eighteen years was at the rate of £30 for each thousand of the population. I shall have occasion hereafter to refer to the general question of poor-laws and pauper management, but I cannot close this account of the triumphant experiment of St. John's, without saying, that if Glasgow had but received the lesson which upwards of thirty years ago was given to her—had she promoted the scheme which was executed under her own eyes, and within her own domain—had those feeble imitations of the operations of St. John's which were con-

* William Buchanan, Esq.

menced in others of her parishes, been fostered into maturity, instead of being allowed, as they were, to wither into decay and extinction—had her unwieldy parishes been broken up, and her intelligent citizens been invited, under public patronage, to follow in the track which the deaconry of Dr. Chalmers had opened up—the cost of her present pauperism, instead of the enormous sum of £120,000, might have stood at the moderate sum of £12,000*—more than £100,000 a year would have been saved to her, whilst her poor would have been better cared for; and her citizens, engaged to such extent in kindly offices among them, would have linked all classes of her community together in closer and blander ties. The instructive example, however, was not followed. A policy directly the reverse of that counselled by Dr. Chalmers was pursued—the voluntary mode of exercising charity was discountenanced—the legalized mode of enforcing it was favoured, till the assessed finally swallowed up all the unassessed parishes. The different boards established under the recent Poor-law have diligently carried out the principle and spirit of that Act, with the result, that during the last ten years the cost of pauperism has increased in a twenty-fold higher ratio than the population,† amounting for one year to the enormous sum of £150,000. In the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1822, when engaged in his first public explanation and defence of St. John's operations, and when threatened with a measure which would have driven him back upon his course, Dr. Chalmers said, "Do with the first adventurer what you will—order him back again to the place from which he had departed—compel his bark out of its present secure and quiet landing-place, or let her be scuttled if you so choose, and sunk to the bottom; still, not to magnify our doings, but to illustrate them, we must remind you that the discovery survives the loss of the discovery ship; for if discovery it must be called, the discovery has been made—a safe and easy navigation has been ascertained from the charity of law to the charity of kindness; and, therefore, be it now reviled, or be it now disregarded

* Estimating the present population of Glasgow at 400,000, and taking the rate at which, for eighteen years, the poor were supported in St. John's—namely £30 per 1000 of the population—the whole expenditure would amount to £12,000. The actual expenditure, supposing it to be reduced to £100,000, is at the rate of £250 for each thousand.

† Dr. R. Buchanan, after giving the cost of pauperism in Glasgow as it stood in 1840 and 1849, adds, "It thus appears, that while the population had increased between August 1840 and May 1849 about 20 per cent., the cost of pauperism had, during the same interval, increased about 430 per cent."—See "The Schoolmaster in the Wynds; or, How to Educate the Masses." Glasgow, 1850.

as it may, we have no doubt upon our spirits, whether we look to the depraving pauperism or to the burdened agriculture of our land, that the days are soon coming when men, looking for a way of escape from these sore evils, will be glad to own our enterprise, and be fain to follow it."*

* See Works, vol. xvi. p. 154. For full information upon the subject of this Chapter the reader is referred to Dr. Chalmers's Speech before the Assembly of 1822, and particularly to its Appendix. See Works, vol. xvi. pp. 145-216.—"Statement in Regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the experience of the last eight years, first published in 1823." See Works, vol. xvi. pp. 217-284.—Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of a Poor-Law for Ireland. See Works, vol. xvi. pp. 312-378.—Reflections of 1839 on the now protracted Experience of Pauperism in Glasgow. Works, vol. xvi. pp. 422-444. see also vol. xv. chap. xii., and vol. xxi. sect. iv.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PUBLICATION OF A VOLUME OF SERMONS, AND OF THE "CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ŒCONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS"—ADDRESS TO HIS AGENCY IN OCTOBER 1821—VISIT OF KING GEORGE IV. TO SCOTLAND IN AUGUST 1822—THE LANDING AT LEITH PIER—ENTHUSIASTIC LOYALTY OF DR. CHALMERS—TOUR THROUGH ENGLAND IN SEARCH OF INFORMATION AS TO THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF ITS POOR-LAW ADMINISTRATION—INTERCOURSE WITH LORD CALTHORPE, MR. WILBERFORCE, MR. CLARKSON, MR. MALTHUS, ETC.—SUDDEN DEATH OF MR. BROWN—RETURN TO GLASGOW.

Amid all the urgency of these parochial labours, the press was actively employed. In November 1820, a volume of sermons was published, "On the Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life." Concurrently with the commencement of the St. John's ministry, a series of quarterly publications on the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns" began to be issued, and was sustained in unbroken order till Dr. Chalmers's removal to St. Andrews. These papers were devoted to the exposition of the very measures which he was then carrying into accomplishment; so that at this period he presents himself to us in the unique and compound character of the skilful deviser, the vigorous conductor, and the eloquent defender of his own schemes of Christian usefulness. We scarcely know to which of the three—the wisdom of his counsel, the energy of his action, or the eloquence of his exposition—the palm should be awarded. The rare exhibition of three such qualities, each so high in its degree, all working at once and for the one object, excites unbounded admiration. There was an instance in ancient times of the general who planned the campaign, and who personally presided over its conduct, becoming afterwards its best historian; but it was while he was in the very heat and tumult of his bustling enterprise that Dr. Chalmers carried on continuously his narrative; so that it might almost be said, that he was doing the work with the one hand while he was describing it with the other. The weight, however, of the conjunct operation soon became too heavy for him, and he sought a partial relief. In October

1821, having invited his agency to meet him in the church, he addressed them in the following terms :—

"I beg leave, in the first instance, to explain my general purpose in calling you together. You are well acquainted with the power and the charm that I have ever been in the habit of associating with locality—how I regard this, in fact, as the only principle on which a crowded town can be brought under a right or efficient system of management—that by the adoption of this principle the population of a city would be in as fair circumstances for becoming Christian and moral and civilized as the population of any country parish—that there is a wide and open door for entrance among the families themselves, insomuch that if any Christian philanthropist should assume a district to himself, and give his time and his attentions to those who reside within its limits, and cultivate an acquaintance with them, founded on good-will to our brethren of the species, and the desire in any way to be of service to their interests, it is found that there will scarcely a shut door or a shut heart be ever met in the prosecution of such an enterprise as this, affording therefore free scope for all the undertakings of him whose heart deviseth liberal things, and securing that most encouraging of all outsets to the work and the labour of love, even the almost universal welcome of a thankful and a cordial population.

"I was, indeed, so convinced of this when I first came to Glasgow, about six years ago, that I longed from the very commencement for a parish as separated as possible from the general town, and where I could reiterate my visits in the same houses and on the same families without the distraction of city business, or the interminable calls for ministerial attention from the people who resided without the limits of the parochial territory. I succeeded in a great measure in this object, and thought that, by incessant personal labour, I should be sure to achieve what I had so long been desirous of, the condition of being the personal acquaintance of all the parishioners, an object which I thought might be generally accomplished by the perseverance of a busy routine among the sick and the dying, and all others who called for the attention of their minister upon Christian grounds; being resolved, as you well know, to disembarrass myself from the whole charge and concern of secularities, and become exclusively a spiritual labourer in the midst of those who had any value or professed any desire for having services of that description administered to them.

"The design was in the abstract good and unexceptionable, but the execution has fallen miserably short of the design. I can now experimentally say, that it is an undertaking much beyond the strength of any single individual; and as the fruit of much observation and of many actual trials upon this subject, I have come to the conclusion, that instead of nine thousand, which is the population of our parish, that perhaps three thousand form a manageable and a desirable extent, throughout which a laborious and hard-working minister might make his exertions and his ascendency as much felt in a city as it were competent for him to do in the general run of the country parishes of Scotland.

"You will also, I trust, concede to me a peculiar indulgence from the consideration that in one respect I stand a little distinct from the mere pastor of a parish. You know that, whether to good or to ill account, I have fallen into the habit of devoting a good deal of time and strength to the exertions of authorship. I think that three thousand is an overtakable number in a city for one who gives himself up exclusively to the labours of a practical clergyman; but I do assure you, that when one has got into a tract of literary publication, and finds himself, from the encouragement of any usefulness, whether real or imaginary, induced to persevere in this, that he would have very little time to do full justice even to three thousand, and that perhaps the preparations of the pulpit and the press were enough to engross his faculties, without such a straining and pressure upon them as might serve to hasten their decay, and bring them at length to a speedy and premature extinction altogether.

"I can assure you, that I know not a more effectual method of making one's earthly existence most painfully harassing and uncomfortable than by associating an excess of missionary with an excess of mental labour, than by combining in one person a jaded body with an exhausted spirit. One species of fatigue may be endured, but both together are insufferable; and when both kinds of service are attempted in too high a degree, the quality of both will be most essentially deteriorated.

"The question with me has been long in agitation, which of the two I should surrender. By giving up the one, I sacrifice the favourite object of a parochial acquaintanceship, extending over the field of that vineyard the care of which has been assigned me by Providence. By giving up the other, I must not only dilute my pulpit preparations, but bid adieu to the labours

of authorship; and I have resolved, in the choice of two evils, to devote myself more assiduously than before to the cares and exertions of a mere student, and to abandon to a great degree the parish as an unprotected orphan to the care and the charity of other labourers.

"I should like you, however, to understand what the precise extent is to which I shall find this abandonment to be necessary. I used to make regular monthly and quarterly rounds among all the sick and dying of the parish: I shall give up the rounds but will go to any patient that requires my services,—and the channel through which he will require it, generally speaking, will be by the elder of his proportion. I shall also, if possible, continue to go through all the houses of the parish in two years, and invite each proportion to a week-day evening address; and another very important approximation to the people which I would never like to forget, as affording, perhaps, the finest opportunity for Christian usefulness to the most interesting sort of parochial group that occurs in the annals of the parish—I should like to make attendance on the parish funeral take the precedence of all other duties and engagements whatever.

"Now, my brethren, I am somewhat ashamed of the egotism in which I have indulged, and with which, I fear, you may be thinking that I have detained you a great deal too long,—I therefore hasten to the practical application of all these remarks. There is a way in which the parish, instead of a loser, would become a gainer by the resolution that I have now announced to you. There is a way in which the whole benefit and influence of locality might be realized among its populace to an extent that would greatly multiply the good which it were in the power of any single individual to accomplish;—in a word, what he cannot do in his own person may be done twenty or thirty or a hundred-fold by deputation; and I have had too much experience of the zeal and the acceptableness of your services to doubt, my friends, that if you approve of the step which necessity has laid upon me, you will study, each within his own sphere, to render to the families a greatly overpassing compensation for the services which I withdraw from them."

Prosecuting his series of quarterly publications, Dr. Chalmers had advanced so far, that in the spring of 1822 he had fully entered on the great question of pauperism. After discussing this subject in its Scottish aspects and bearings, he meant to deal

with it in reference to the condition and prospects of England. Feeling, however, that his information was too limited to allow of anything like an adequate treatment of it, he resolved to make a tour of inspection through a number of the English counties, and, by inquiries conducted on the spot, to become his own Commissioner; but this tour was postponed for a week or two by a public event in which he took the profoundest interest. Some months before King George IV. landed on the Scottish shores, he wrote to Mr. Wilberforce,—"We are looking for the royal visit, and it is my decided opinion that the best political effects will follow from it. I wish you had access to the royal ear on the subject of the King's route, for I am sure if he miss Glasgow it will be deeply felt as a stigma by the whole population. There was a most unfortunate advice given to Prince Leopold when in this neighbourhood, and that was, to avoid Glasgow because of the Radicalism which was then in full fermentation amongst us. Little do they know of our nature who do not calculate on the efficacy of that charm which lies in the condescension of superiors. It delights me to think that, after all, monarchy is so congenial to man, that the monarch has simply to show himself, and have a tolerable character, and he is sure of the honest welcome and cordiality of all his subjects. It will be quite marked if the King visit the Duke of Montrose and do not visit Glasgow; and, on the other hand, should he visit our city, he may walk through the most Radical streets of it, and be hailed with acclamations from all the occupiers. It would positively put us all into temper and tranquillity for many years to come.—P.S. What I write respecting the King is from a real desire to promote a great public and patriotic good in this city and neighbourhood." It was soon known that the King's visit was to be restricted to the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and as the day approached on which he was expected at Leith, such crowds of strangers poured into the Scottish metropolis, that, in defect of accommodation, tents, in which hundreds were content to sleep, were raised on Salisbury Crags. On the 5th August, Dr. Chalmers wrote to Mrs. Chalmers, then living at Fairley, who was to accompany him into Edinburgh:—"There still hangs an uncertainty over the most probable time of the King's landing, but I do think it safe to postpone the movement till Monday the 12th, and far more convenient. In this case, I do not think that you should move till Saturday, and I shall make my projected visit to Daldowie on the Friday,

and return on the Saturday, so as to meet this arrangement; and I would recommend our taking Anne to Edinburgh. Her school-fellow, Miss Ramsay, is to be taken by Miss Crombie. It is a sight that will leave an indelible impression upon young people, and, should they be spared, may be their talk and their triumph fifty years hence, when we are asleep in the dust. Mr. Gibson was with us this day at breakfast; and there could not, you will allow, be a better hand for conveying to us the whole state and hubbub and enthusiasm of Edinburgh on this great occasion, in which he fully participates."

Edinburgh had not seen royalty in state since the days of our ancient monarchs, and under the guidance of Sir Walter Scott she stirred herself up to give to the King who now came to Holyrood a right loyal welcome. The first and perhaps the finest burst of her loyalty was given at the King's landing. Soon after midday, on Wednesday the 14th August, borne forward by a gentle but steady breeze, the royal squadron entered Leith Roads, and amid salvos of artillery and the cheers of congregated myriads, the royal yacht came to anchor off the pier. The day, however, proved unfavourable, torrents of rain descended, and the landing was postponed till the following day. That day rose bright upon a city well fitted for the picturesque and magnificent processions which her streets witnessed during the royal fortnight.

"*Leith Pier, Thursday, 15th August, twelve o'clock*"—(we quote now from a letter written on the spot, and as the events evolved)—"A gun has just been fired from the royal squadron, as a signal that his Majesty has left the yacht, and the bells of Leith have struck up a merry peal. Leith Fort and the vessels of war in the Roads are thundering away; Edinburgh Castle and every gun on the surrounding heights responding. Never was there such a sight as is now before us; anxiety is at its height, and the people on the pier are with difficulty persuaded to keep their seats, notwithstanding the danger of confusion, to such a degree are the feelings excited. The King is off the end of the pier in his barge with the royal flag flying, with sixteen rowers. He is now advanced half-way along the pier. The air rings with acclamations, and the cheers of his assembled subjects seem to be most grateful to him." And among all the cheers which rent the air as he passed along, there was not one which came from a heart more full of chivalrous loyalty than that which issued from the platform where Dr. Chalmers and his wife

and little daughter were standing. "The burst of enthusiasm," says one who was standing at the moment by his side, "with which he hailed his sovereign's approach was tremendous. 'Well done—honest fellow—God bless him! Is not monarchy,' he added, turning round to me, 'congenial to our nature?' In one of the royal processions through Edinburgh he was much annoyed that louder demonstrations of loyalty did not break forth from all around him, and turning impatiently to the person next him, he exclaimed, 'Why, sir, you are not half vociferous enough.' Some curiosity having been manifested as to who should preach in the High Church on the occasion of the King's attendance there, Wilkie* asked him whether Principal Baird, who had a habit of crying (*Scoticè*—greeting) in the pulpit, was to preach. 'Why,' said Dr. Chalmers, 'I do not know; but if he does, it will be George Baird to George Rex, *greeting*.'"

After witnessing the processions and attending at the levee in Holyrood House, Dr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow, and soon after set out upon that tour of which the following records are presented to the reader:—

"Cumnock, *September* 2, 1822.

"My ever dearest Grace,—Was a little too soon at the coach. It takes in four only, and was full inside; an elderly gentlewoman, a young lady going to spend her boarding-school vacation in the country, Major ——, and myself. He upon the whole interesting. Lost his wife three years ago in India in childbed. Both mother and child died, and he, left without a family, travels for the dissipation of his melancholy. He never knew your brother, and his introduction to me is founded on the single circumstance that he lodged for three weeks in the same quarters after he had left them; a tolerably slender argument, you will allow, but I feel pleased and affected by him, with no other drawback than a disagreeably drawling voice, which he exercises, too, pretty freely. He is just now going all the way to Hereford, within thirty miles of Gloucester, for the purpose of attending an oratorio in that place next week—a pretty strong proof of his affection for music. We did not breakfast till we reached Kilmarnock, a distance of twenty-two miles. There was a number of outside passengers, among whom was the brother of the young lady, who turned out afterwards to be the Laird of Dalswinton, formerly the property of Thomas Miller's father. We dined at Sanquhar, and reached Dumfries

* Sir David Wilkie.—See "Memoir of W. Collins, R.A.," vol. i. p. 208.

after eight o'clock. It was on the whole a good day, and the Nith was in all its glory. It recalled the former period of five years back, when you and I and John Smith went over the same track in a post-chaise. Drumlanrig Castle on the opposite side of the river stood forth in great majesty. On reaching Dumfries I found Dr. Thomas Duncan, his brother Henry of Ruthwell, whom you have seen, and Mr. Clyde, waiting me at the inn. They explained the arrangements of to-morrow, and I left them with Mr. Clyde for Mr. Inglis, who, though above eighty, is still marvellously well. The Misses Inglis expressed great disappointment at not seeing you. I had to conduct family worship before supper, and had a very pleasant little family party of themselves alone. Mrs. Clyde was not with us. I ought to have mentioned that I read a good deal in the coach, of the Bible and Cunninghame's Sermons, and lastly a large pamphlet by Mr. Davison on the Poor-laws. The females left us within a few miles of Dumfries, and I ventured on a close and firm appeal to Major —— about his griefs, and his feelings, and his prospects. I was favoured to be free and faithful with him, and he professed, and I believe felt, the utmost gratitude at my explanations. I believe that we are greatly too timid and reserved on the topic of Christianity, and I have often found a gratifying result from being open and intrepid about it. This day's history is an example of it. The Major was disappointed in not getting on to Carlisle this evening, so I left him at the inn.

"*Tuesday.*—Mr. Clyde and I went forth at nine to Dr. Duncan's, where we breakfasted with a party. Mr. Henry Duncan there, Provost Kerr, the present chief magistrate, Mr. Armstrong, treasurer of the kirk-session, Major ——, and, lastly, Miss Goldie, who knew your brother and inquired about him. I put my questioning powers upon their full exercise; Miss Goldie is very sensible indeed, and, upon the whole, I have gotten most satisfactory information in this place. Preached in one of the churches to an audience that comfortably and without squeezing filled it, the multitude being repressed by a previous intimation that nothing less than silver would be received. The collection was seventy pounds. I had some introductions afterwards. There were eleven established clergy there, besides a number of dissenting ministers. Went afterwards to the poor-house, where I had a conference with the dignitaries, and got all the information I wanted. I also inspected the establishment, and took in a powerful impression from my sight of the aged and

orphan inmates. Then went to Mr. Inglis's, where I wrote and packed up for half an hour, and took lunch with them. Mr. Duncan of Ruthwell came with his gig to me after two, for the purpose of taking me out to his manse, which takes me forward about eight miles. I left the Inglises with a feeling of great mutual cordiality, and have the utmost veneration and love for the old gentleman, whose affection on the other hand for me would fain have led him to kiss me both at meeting and parting —a catastrophe which I by coyness and good management had the good fortune however to avoid on both occasions. Got on to Ruthwell after four. I again preached at half-past five to a well-filled church. The congregation of a very interesting moral aspect. After tea called on Mr. Duncan's mother, who lives in an elegant cottage which Mr. Duncan has raised upon his premises. She is a fine old lady, and an aunt of Mr. Duncan lives along with her. He has forty acres of glebe, and out of it has assumed a policy of five or six acres around his house, which he has transformed from a moor into a very beautiful and gentlemanly pleasure-ground, consisting of gardens, lake, and a number of well-disposed trees. Had an hour before supper to wind up my narrative and letters. Obtained most satisfactory information from Mr. Duncan, and threw myself into bed between twelve and one. I should have mentioned that I was asked by the magistrates to dine, which I could not do, but at eight I received a letter from the Provost inclosing a burgess ticket which they had meant to give me after dinner. It was exceedingly handsome to send this mark of distinction ten miles after me.

"*4th.*—Started about seven. Wrote a little. Got into the gig with Mr. Duncan at eight. Rode to Mount Annan, the seat of General Dirom, where we had been invited to breakfast. A very great company there, and among others Mr. R——, Rector of Liverpool. He is an important acquisition to me. He befriends locality and district schools. I left pamphlets with him and the General. Got out to Annan at twelve, where, agreeably to our arrangement of yesterday, I met with my old friend Major ——, and hired a post-chaise along with him to Carlisle. Called at Annan on Mr. Irving's father and sister for a few minutes; took leave of Henry Duncan; parted with the Major at Carlisle after giving him a letter to Mr. Gipps of Hereford. Reached Mr. F.'s after three. Thought there was a great deal of stiffness and coldness and reserve at first, but it all wore off in the evening, and I ascribe a great deal of this in England to mere shyness.

Met here with most satisfactory information from Mr. N——. A crowd of other people here also. Received satisfactory letters from Kendal and Liverpool, and all looks promising thus far on. I was introduced here to a number of religious characters; and came up to my bedroom at eleven, where I wrought at winding up my narrative, and finished a little after twelve.

"*Thursday.*—Started at six. Packed and prepared for my departure at seven. Got breakfast previously at Mr. Fawcett's. Had the coach to myself till I came to Shap, where a young man whose friends are in Glasgow came in, who knew me, and two ladies beside. It was a famous coach. I read a good deal at Cunninghame's Sermons, and a pamphlet on the Poor-laws. Reached Kendal between one and two. I have prospered to my uttermost wish in Kendal. I had a letter to Mr. Gandy of this place from Mr. Walkinshaw, who had been kind enough to write him besides by post, and he called, insisting that I should dine with his brother and lodge with him. He first took me to the work-house, where I saw much and got most satisfactory information, then to his own house, where I met with the mayor, recorder, and overseer of Kendal, with Mr. Crewdson, a Quaker, from which gentleman I obtained most kind and satisfactory answers to my queries. Crewdson struck me as a most admirable fellow, both on the score of principle and good sense. Then dined at the other Mr. Gandy's, where there was a very superior company, consisting I should imagine of the best society in the place. Among others Mr. Christopher Wilson, banker, with £10,000 a year, a great landed proprietor, a magistrate, and most intimately and intelligently acquainted with pauperism. I left them, to drink tea with Mr. Crewdson, and I had very great pleasure for two hours in the bosom of this interesting and well-regulated Quaker family. Went back to Mr. John Gandy, with whom I stopped all night. His lady is indeed remarkably good-looking, and of very pleasing and cultivated manners withal. I am much pleased with my doings at Kendal, and have accumulated a great deal of substantial information.

"*Friday.*—Got into the coach at seven. Had a long journey of seventy-six miles to Liverpool. Employed most of my time in reading, and finished 'Courtenay on the Poor-laws.' The coach mostly full. A man from Mr. Hope stopped and inquired for me on our entrance into Liverpool. I went out and landed at Everton, where Mr. Hope lives, after eight at night—Dr. Barr and Mr. Mejunel, a French minister, there before me, Miss

Hope, whom you may have seen, also there. I requested an hour of my bedroom before supper, where I got comfortably forward with my various writings. On being called down again I was ushered into a most select and genial society, consisting of Dr. Pye Smith of Homerton, Dr. Raffles of this place, and Dr. Barr. Dr. Smith has chalked out for me a most admirable arrangement when I go to London: he is an Independent minister in one of its suburbs. Tell Mr. Collins that I have got his letter inclosing one for Dr. Robertson of Warrington, and that nothing can exceed the kindness and rational hospitality, and above all, perfect arrangements of Mr. Hope on my behalf. He has laid down all the meetings for me at Liverpool with very great judgment and regard for my substantial comfort, and I do feel exceedingly well served and obliged by all his attentions."

"MANCHESTER, *September* 9, 1822.

"*Saturday.*—Started between six and seven in Mr. Hope's. Wrote a good deal before breakfast, which we had at half-past eight. Mr. James Cropper, a Quaker there, a most respectable and intelligent man, with whom I had a most delightfully interesting conversation. He talked, and I took short-hand notes, and this went on among ladies and tea-cups and plates of buttered toast. The thing that charms me in Liverpool is the business rapidity and distinctness wherewith all my interviews and queries are gone through. Miss —— obtruded her reports upon me, which are good in their season; but I have no room for anything at present but pauperism. . . . At half-past nine Mr. Cropper, Mr. Hope, and I, went down in the family car to Liverpool, where I took short-hand notes of a conversation with Mr. Ellis and Mr. Hardeman, and am now quite ripe on the pauperism of Liverpool. Tell this to Mr. Collins, as it will interest him. I then called on Mr. Gladstone, who is mainly unintelligent upon the subject; but it is good to have the kindness of Members of Parliament on your side, whether you have their understandings or not. Mr. Gladstone I hold to be a most sensible and judicious person, but so manifoldly engrossed with other topics as not to have turned the powers of his gifted and vigorous mind to this one in particular. I then called on Charles Parker, who kindly accompanied me in all my future Liverpool excursions. . . . A little before two I got into the coach for Manchester. . . . I reached Mr. Daniel Grant's of Manchester about seven, and found Mr. Dalgleish there with a letter

from you. Did you know, my dearest G., the pleasure which a communication from you, however short, is at all times sure to administer, you would write me frequently. I am thankful for your tidings of comfort and prosperity at home: God grant that undisturbed peace and affection may ever dwell amongst us, and that our dear children may rise around us and call us blessed. I was not long at Manchester before I smelt a design against me to preach; and as I had to go to Nuttle and preach there on the morrow, the first suggestion was that I should preach in Manchester on the Tuesday. But I had so decidedly resolved against all week-day sermons in England, that rather than this very obnoxious arrangement I forfeited my prospect of a quiet domestic Sabbath in the country, and consented to take Manchester on the Sabbath evening.

"*Sunday.*—Preached to a full congregation in Mr. Roby's chapel at half-past six. I was not worse of my exertion. In the vestry I was introduced to a number of the dignitaries in the place. Robert Tennent, Mr. Hugh's son, I had great pleasure in meeting. We supped at nine, with a considerable party, in Mr. D. Grant's, where I live, and I threw myself into bed at eleven. . . . I should have mentioned an amusing enough circumstance in the coach from Liverpool to Manchester. An old gentleman eyed me with great curiosity, which at length passed into the complacent smile of a conscious and confident discovery. After an interval of many minutes' observation and cunning scrutiny, he first asked me if I was from Glasgow, and my affirmative answer served him with food for his satisfaction a little longer. He then ventured to ask if my name was Chalmers. On my replying aright thereunto, he told me that he was quite sure of it, though he had never seen myself, for in 'Peter's Letters' he had seen my picture; which I said was the best account of the picture that I had heard, for it was generally thought to be an execrable one. However, I got immediately into the best possible terms with all present, and the cordiality was kept up during the whole of my journey.

"*Monday.*—Rose between seven and eight. Breakfasted between eight and nine. I am much behind in my writings, both as to letters and as to the extending of my short-hand conversations at the various places. I have therefore secured part of this forenoon from all intrusion as well as I can. Mr. James Alexander, however, of Glasgow, is here, and he called after breakfast, with his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Bannerman; and then,

after retiring from them, there came in a deputation of Methodist ministers, requesting a sermon on Tuesday. I got pleasantly quit of them; and Mr. Dalgleish, who is really most attentive to me, is determined that I shall have no interruption till one, at which hour any who call are to call back again. I have thus been enabled to finish a letter to Jane, another to Mr. Cropper of Liverpool, and a third to Mr. Robertson of Glasgow, and furthermore, to carry forward my Journal from the beginning of this sheet to the point at which I now stand;—and I just hear the door-bell ringing. Mr. Tweddel, and Mr. Burns, a Methodist preacher, called—the latter I did not know. Went out with the former and Mr. Dalgleish, first to a conference with Mr. Murritt, a magistrate, and two others, from whom I got information respecting an outer township—then to Mr. Brierly, the boroughreeve of Manchester, who in conjunction with others gave me all the requisite information about Manchester—then dined with Mr. Tweddel, in company with Mr. Holt and others—then at night went to Salford. At this point Mr. Dalgleish left us. Thomas Potter and the boroughreeve of Salford, with ten or twelve of the select vestry, gave me all the particulars of that township. Mr. Norris is not at home. Returned to Mr. Tweddel's after tea, and stopped there all night. Mr. Tweddel seems to me a mild, elegant, and on the whole a very cultivated man, with a kind of literary retreat, and of literary habits, and I feel very much interested in him. I went to bed between twelve and one.

"*Tuesday.*—This rather a day of whirl and confusion, and most unfortunately ceremony and invitations and calls are beginning to mix with my objects, and sadly to impede them. I am glad of the present interval, between two and three, to enable me to bring up my Journal thus far. An immense party of citizens came to dinner, among whom I had particular enjoyment in Mr. Brierly, the boroughreeve of Manchester, and a Mr. Dalton, who lives here, and is the most philosophical chemist in the island—a Quaker, of great simplicity and profound science. We had speechifying after dinner, in which I bore part. All Mr. Grant's brothers were present, along with Mrs. Grant and her father Mr. Dalgleish. He has been most attentive to me: came from Glasgow at this particular time upon my account, and even offered to accompany me to Birmingham. This I would on no account hear of. The party sat up most unconscionably late, insomuch that it was one o'clock ere I got to bed.

"*Wednesday.*—I reached Birmingham at five in the evening. Found Mr. Knott waiting me at the inn—and more than he, Mr. Hunter from Gloucester, and his brother, who together made, if you recollect, the long call upon us in the forenoon of the day that we went down to Fairley. We all went off in a hackney coach to Mr. Knott's, where they remained an hour or two, and I spent the night. Mr. B., Mr. Knott's partner, and three other citizens of Birmingham, came in and passed under my questioning process. I have been treated with much kindness here. Mrs. Knott and her mother very domestic and motherly people; but nothing can exceed the trouble that Mr. Hunter's brother has been at in this matter. He lives near Warwick, and came in his own carriage, and went out this day to Darlaston, in order to obtain Mr. Lowe, the clergyman, to meet with me, and takes me to-morrow to Worcester, along with his brother the clergyman, who is still in bad health and at large from his parish. I have, furthermore, had the most satisfactory letters from Mr. Davies, the clergyman of Worcester, relative to the arrangements that he is making for me in that place.

"I fear that all this bustle is not very consistent with the habit of spirituality, and that it even engrosses too much of our correspondence. O, my dear G., let us think of life, with all its vanities and sorrows, as coming speedily to its close, and let us labour for the meat that endureth. I endeavour to lift myself up at times unto God; and sure I am that out of Him all is treacherous here and wretched through eternity. My mind has, within these two years, been sadly agitated and exercised, and yet I cannot but trust that out of its many conflicts and sore distressful processes of thought and feeling, the peaceable fruit of righteousness will at length, by the favour of a righteous and merciful God, be made to arise. Do give me your kind communications on my journey through England, and let me know of yourself and my dear children. Give a kiss to each of them from me, and lay it upon them to fear God and to keep His commandments. O that He would put His fear more and more within us, and deliver us from that evil heart of unbelief by which it is that we depart from the living God. Give my compliments to my aunt and Helen. I now expect to be at Pudhill in two days, and have the prospect before me of tolerable ease for five or six days."

"Gloucester, *September* 13, 1822.

"*Thursday.*—Started at seven; wrote at the extension of my

notes; had a numerous party to breakfast, among whom were Lord Calthorpe, brother to the gentleman that breakfasted with us several days, the Rev. Mr. Spooner, brother-in-law to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. James of Birmingham, and the Rev. Mr. Lowe of Darlaston, with whom I had most interesting conversation on the subject of his parish pauperism.* Lord Calthorpe made an arrangement with me that will take effect in a subsequent part of my journey. After they went off, Mr. Knott and others moved along with me through Birmingham, where I visited the Charity Workhouse, and made a call or two; then came back to an early dinner at Mr. Knott's, along with the two Mr. Hunters, of whom I wrote in my last letter. They are truly extravagant in their kindness. The brother at Leamington has a carriage, and they insisted on conducting me in it to Worcester, which is twenty-six miles. Thither then we drove, and arrived after seven. We all then called on Mr. Davies, clergyman. There was a great posse of friends and neighbour ministers assembled to receive me, and I expatiated among them on pauperism, as well as conducted family worship. I was pressed to my bed that was in readiness for me, but I would not leave my friends, and so insisted on going back to the inn, well pleased with the opportunity of showing off my independence on the journey, an exhibition of which as yet I had had no opportunity. We all took supper together, and I, after writing and extending my notes, went to bed about twelve.

"*Friday.*—Started at seven. Went out to breakfast at Mr. Davies's: a minister from the country there whom I questioned well about pauperism, and two clerical young men. After breakfast held parley with some of the official gentlemen of the place, and had, indeed, a most lucid and satisfying conversation with them. Then had an excursion through the town to the Cathedral, where we ascended the tower, and had a most brilliant panorama all around. The Severn, with its wooded and fertile banks, formed the leading feature of this glorious scene. It was a most brilliant day, and altogether the place and the people are very dear to me. Mr. Davies a most pious and simple-hearted Christian, and his wife of a spirit altogether kindred to his own. I am treated with great kindness, and a distinction that is really too much. We had an early dinner, and I left Worcester at two. I here took leave of the Mr Hunters, who would have come forward to Gloucester with me

* See Works, vol. xv. p. 141.

had I allowed it. The clergyman is now travelling for his health, and both he and his brother came a great deal out of their way for the sake of showing attention. He is to be in Edinburgh next winter, and, I hope, will take a week with us in Glasgow. The coach from Worcester stopped at Cheltenham, where you once were, you may recollect, previous to your reaching Gloucester. There I was detained half an hour, which I employed in looking about through the streets. Then got into the mail, and reached Gloucester at seven, where I am fairly *inned*. Called on Dr. Barron, and drank tea there. A numerous company waiting me: I had been expected to dinner. The conversation won't take place till to-morrow after breakfast. Several kindred spirits here. I went to the inn about ten; supped. Had letters from Jane and Mr. Irving, the former breathing all the warmth of most delighted and affectionate kindness.

"*Saturday*.—Started at seven. Breakfasted with Dr. Barron. Had a satisfying conversation with some city gentlemen about the pauperism of Gloucester. Walked about the city. Visited the cloisters that we had done five years ago, and had a brilliant view from the top of the Cathedral tower. Left Gloucester at two. One lady in the coach, who recognised me to be Scotch, talked much of Scotland and its ministers, and at length fairly discovered who I was. She turned out to be from the neighbourhood of Clapham, and appeared to me a person of great worth and piety, though I did not altogether like her request that ere I left the coach I should give her some 'pretty little exhortation.' However, I promised to let her know when I should reach Clapham. Mr. Morton waited my arrival when the coach stopped. Mrs. Morton came out to the garden, and all was cordiality and pleasure. They are very fine children, and the second one particularly well-looking. I had five letters waiting me; one from Dr. Stock, announcing his expectation of me at Bristol, another from Mr. Hale, inviting me to live with him in the neighbourhood of London, another from Rowland Hill, who is now at Wotton-under-Edge, soliciting a visit and a sermon, another from Mr. Collins, which I purpose to answer soon, other two about preaching, and lastly, a letter from Lord Elgin, urging me to call at London on Secretary Peel, and enclosing a letter from Mr. Peel, expressive of the pleasure that he would have in meeting me. After tea I had conversation with the men of three neighbouring parishes, and

calls from Mr. Edkins and Mr. Burder. The former came from Swansea when he heard of my intention to preach for him, a distance of upwards of a hundred miles; and I have been *published* by newspaper advertisements and handbills in Gloucester, Cheltenham, &c. You may see me along the roadside by sales of fat cattle, and roups of dung, and all the other items of country information. I had to write a good deal after supper, and went to bed at twelve.

"*Sunday.*—Started at seven; had previously the three young Misses at my bedside. They are exceedingly fond and interested about their uncle. Went to church at half-past ten. There was no afternoon sermon. Walked back to the chapel at five, and preached again in the evening to a lamp-light congregation, more numerous, and, on the whole, more plebeian than in the morning.

"*Monday.*—Started before seven; wrote. I had in the children and heard their repetitions, which I promised to hear yesterday, but they had gone to bed before I arrived. Walked a little out with them before breakfast. Mr. Edkins breakfasted. Sat too for information all forenoon and writing. The plan was, that I should write between calls down stairs, and thus do a deal of business in the presence of the family. This I have completely succeeded in doing. The overseer of Woodchester came in first with his information, and then the overseer of Horsley. I also brought up two days of my conversational notes. Mr. Morton and I made an excursion on horseback connected with the business of my inquiries; he and I went first to K., where we called, by invitation, on Mrs. K., an eminently pious and excellent person I do think, who for several years has been confined to her bed or to the sofa. I had much of kindest conversation with her. Her brother-in-law, Colonel K., is the master of the property, and has a large landed income. On our return we spent an hour or two in the vestry at Horsley, when I felt deeply interested by the business of their monthly meeting, and had the opportunity of witnessing the altercations and ungainly features of English pauperism. People who earn thirty shillings a week coming with applications—some for rent, others because the wife had taken sick, &c. It was to me a novel but richly edifying scene.

"*Tuesday.*—Got up before six. I took an early breakfast. I prayed with Jane in her bed; she was a little agitated, but she is borne up by the assurance of my speedy return, and this

consideration had its effect also on the dear children. Mr. Morton came down to the road with me, and the coach for Bristol took me up a little before seven. We went to Wotton-under-Edge by the same road that we took, you may remember, on our returning from it to Pudhill. The country is in all its glory. Young Mr. Ryland I found in the coach, and he and I were the only inside passengers. I inquired for Mr. Thomson, but he has left Wotton-under-Edge for two years. I left my compliments with his father, who is still here. The coach stopped nearly half an hour, and I spent it with the interesting veteran Rowland Hill, who, it seems, spends his summer months here, and has a chapel of his own for preaching in. Mrs. Hill asked kindly for you. I took a second breakfast, and the old gentleman convoyed me to the coach. We got on to Bristol between eleven and twelve. Mr. Ryland has furnished me with a room, where I have the expectation of writing for two hours ere I sally out to my operations in this place. His father and mother are from home, and I, after finishing this letter, have the prospect of passing a good deal more of writing through my hands.

"Seek God earnestly. Be very sure that Christ's righteousness is unto all who believe. Oh that we had the life and the peace of those who are spiritually-minded! Pray for me, and let both of us pray for our dear children. Oh what a fleeting and precarious world! I hope that I have been providentially led into my present inquiries. I am full of hope and encouragement as to the result of them; yet let me not forget the inestimable worth of human souls;* and oh, that God would, by His Spirit, bear down the perpetual ungodliness of my nature. Compliments to aunt, Helen, and the dear, dear bairns.—Yours very affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"WELLS, *September* 18, 1822.

"MY DEAREST GRACE,—I yesterday had a most convenient retreat for writing in Dr. Ryland's house. Dr. Stock and Mr. Crisp at length called. The former urged me to live with him

* "I am greatly engrossed by my arrangements in a new parish to which I have been lately appointed, one collateral effect of which, I am quite confident, will be the overthrow of its pauperism. The public are looking upon this as my only aim, and that I am intent on the prosecution of a mere civic experiment. I can assure you that I look upon pauperism as a disease fostered by artificial stimulants which will disappear of itself on their mere removal. It may be made to vanish at a touch, but though the restoration of the parochial system to our great cities would effect this reformation, as well as many others, yet such is my humble estimate of its importance that I should count the salvation of a single soul of more value than the deliverance of a whole empire from pauperism."—From letter addressed to Dr. James Brown, St. Andrews, dated Glasgow, January 30, 1819.

in such a kind and agreeable way, that I neither could nor did I feel inclined to refuse him. Walked to his house with Mr. Crisp from Dr. Ryland's, a distance of about a mile and a half, leaving my luggage with Mr. Ryland, that he should take care to see it in time for the coach next morning. Dr. Stock lives at Clifton. At dinner we had Lady Despencer, her daughter the Countess, *Mr. Foster*, and one or two others. Mr. Foster walked six miles to meet me, and returned on foot in the evening. I had previously seen a letter from him to Mr. Knott that was almost as good as apologetical. We gradually got into a habit of cordiality with each other. I like his society and conversation extremely. At tea there came in my informers, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Sanders. None of the others whom Mr. Collins recommended were to be had. I got all the facts and details, however, from the gentlemen present; and after a pleasant general talk in the drawing-room, they and Mr. Foster went away, leaving among others the ladies above specified, with Mrs. Pringle, sister to Farquhar Gordon of Edinburgh, and Mr. Grinfield, a most delightful clergyman of Bristol. We had much genial talk upon the best subjects; and after they took leave, we went to bed about twelve o'clock. Dr. Stock is the pleasantest and most interesting man I know.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at half-past six; breakfasted. Dr. Stock took me down in his chaise to the coach, and we were there in time; but the luggage was not forward in sufficient time, and after a painful anxious looking for the porter, whom Mr. Ryland did not bring with him, he having come previously himself, the coach at length went off without me. In five minutes the dawdling creature came, and I had nothing for it but to hire a post-chaise and drive in pursuit of the coach. Poor Mr. Ryland was very sorry, and I did what I could to soothe him. Overtook the coach at the distance of six miles from Bristol, and had to pay thirteen shillings and sixpence additional for this mistake. Reached Wells between eleven and twelve. The Bishop had previously written that his house was so full that he could not receive me as a lodger. I put up, therefore, at the Star Inn, where, after two or three hours in writing, I sent him a note of my arrival. He soon after came from his deanery, with Lord Calthorpe and another gentleman. They took me into their carriage on an excursion to the Abbey of Glastonbury, whither the whole of the party at his house had previously gone. There I was oppressed by a number of introductions to strangers,

and certainly was not very comfortable. Did not get into terms of ease with the Bishop, and on the whole this part of the operations went off heavily. Returned from Glastonbury in the carriage along with two gentlemen distinct from the Bishop and Lord Calthorpe, who preferred returning on horseback. Visited with them the Cathedral of Wells, which is one of the finest I ever saw. The Bishop of Wells has a magnificent palace. The Bishop of Gloucester, as Dean of Wells, lives in the Deanery, and there I went along with him about six. He had previously joined us in the Cathedral, and been so good as obtain an interview for me with the overseer for the poor. After conversing with him about half an hour, was summoned to dinner, where they had all previously sat down to the number perhaps of twenty. There was a place left for me at the head of the table, next to Lord Calthorpe, and he was most particularly attentive. I had a good deal of talk at tea, and thought I could overhear the suppressed exclamation of—'O shocking!' as I went on with some of my required explanations on the subject of the poor. I took leave of them at ten o'clock, and went to bed in the inn.

"*Thursday.*—Started between five and six. Went to the Deanery by appointment; took an early breakfast there. Went along with the Bishop and Lord Calthorpe in a carriage to breakfast with a clerical friend at the distance of about seventeen miles, who was nearly on the road to Sherbourne. When I got to Bruton, which was two miles distant from the place, I found, by investigating the distance onward, and the impossibility of finding a ready conveyance in any other way, that it was expedient for me to take leave of the Lord spiritual and the Lord temporal without proceeding to breakfast, and to take a chaise to myself from Bruton to Sherbourne, which was twelve miles off. The Bishop was I thought coldly polite, but Lord Calthorpe remarkably otherwise, and made an appointment to meet me at Salisbury, and to go on with me thence to Southampton, where he had led Mr. Sturges Bourne, M.P., to expect me. I fell into the hands of a Bristol clergyman named Dr. Bridges at this place, with whom and his lady I breakfasted ere I set off for Sherbourne, which I did in a post-chaise by myself, and reached Patrick between one and two. He had previously engaged people to come and be my informers about the pauperism of the neighbourhood, and a few from Sherbourne and the other parishes were in attendance upon me. Mr. James, their parish

curate, I particularly liked, and he went off in sufficient time; but Mr. ——, an Aberdeen agriculturist, who was very intelligent and sagacious certainly, but talkative and noisy withal, though he saw me overborne with drowsiness, and knew that I had to start next morning at four, chose to remain till nearly twelve o'clock, at which time I threw myself into bed.

"*Friday.*—Started between four and five. I had an appointment to meet Lord Calthorpe at one in Salisbury, which was thirty-six miles off, and took a post-chaise all the way in defect of a public conveyance. I got a convoy from Patrick and his wife, first to Shaftesbury, where we breakfasted, and then to the Glove, in all a distance of twenty-one miles. I was a good deal affected in taking leave of them, and going on in my solitary journey. I felt a real revival of affection towards Patrick, and a cordial sympathy with all the circumstances of their condition. They went back in the chaise that brought me, and I went onwards to Salisbury, where I met Lord Calthorpe according to promise, and got on with him in his carriage to Southampton. We took the road by the New Forest; and it was indeed most beautiful. On our way we called at Sturges Bourne's, who had gone previously forward to Southampton to dine with us at Mr. Henry Ryder's, formerly one of the under Secretaries of State, and brother to the Bishop of Gloucester. His Lordship was most kind and pleasant during the whole road, and among other things said that it would be a want of frankness in him not to state a circumstance which, after that he revealed, explained to my satisfaction the whole frigidity of my reception at Wells. The Bishop, it seems, was annoyed by my reference to him in my chapter of the 'Civic Economy' upon patronage;* and I can see as much now of the way in which it might implicate him with the other bishops as to make me regret that I have done it. It is only in so far satisfactory to myself that I have not, on the present occasion, obtruded upon his company. Mr. Hunter of Gloucester wrote him of my progress southwards, and then he wrote me an invitation to Wells, and I was totally unconscious of having done anything which could have offended either him or his lady, though I now see it might have been abundantly vexatious to them both. It is so far well, however, that his brother, Mr. Ryder, was most kind, and spoke most complimentarily of my publications, and instanced particularly

* See Works, vol. xiv. pp. 229, 230.

my 'Commercial Discourses,' as having done great good both to himself and some of his acquaintances. I liked Sturges Bourne, too, very well; but I fear that he was not prepared to coalesce with me to the full extent of my views upon pauperism, and that perhaps I may have discomposed him a little by the tenacity wherewith I stood up not for the regulation of a compulsory fund, but for the total annihilation of it. However, all was kind and civil and easy, it being a very small and select party. I had to move away from Southampton next morning at four by the mail; and though invited to take my bed with Mr. Ryder, yet I resolved not to disturb the family by so early a movement, and therefore I motioned to go to the inn, whence the coach was to depart. It was half a mile from Mr. Ryder's house, and therefore the more kind in him and Lord Calthorpe actually to walk with me and show me the house. I took leave of them about ten, and threw myself into bed.

"*Saturday.*—Started at four. Got on to Portsmouth a little after seven. Landed at the George Hotel, where I breakfasted. I should have mentioned that I had previously written to Sir George Grey the intimation of my visit, and had obtained a most gracious reply from him at Wells. After breakfasting in the inn, I called on Mr. Griffin, who was from home, but his son was most attentive to me. I then called on Sir George and found Lady Grey from home, being wind-bound at Plymouth. There was a daughter there, and one or two lady visitors besides. I then went forward on my investigations of pauperism at Portsmouth, Portsea, and Gosport. I spent a very busy forenoon, during which I conversed with the Mayor of Portsmouth, Dr. Bogue, and many others. Mrs. Boag was most kind. I returned to Sir George's at five, and there I received a letter of invitation from Mr. Butterworth, now at Portsmouth, and a call from Mr. Legh Richmond, also there along with the former gentleman. Mrs. Gordon, sister of Lady Grey, was also there. She is in profound affliction, yet took a most intelligent and feeling interest in my expedition, and presented me with a book, and gave me a good deal of information. I was surprised to meet Mr. M'Lintock on the street, who was so attentive to us in the King's yacht. He, too, dined with us in the Dockyard. I was strongly solicited to stay and preach; but I had previously written to London, and had no other way of fulfilling the expectations I had created there than by going forward in a night coach, which left Portsmouth at eight, and carried me to London

at seven in the morning. There was no other passenger but a lady. I was not able to sleep, and never could in travelling; so that with the fatigue and sleeplessness of former days, I was pretty well prepared for repose during the first day of my arrival in the metropolis.

"*Sunday.*—Mr. Hale was waiting my arrival at the inn, and took me out in his carriage to his house at Homerton. He is a most sagacious and excellent man, and admirably well enlightened on the subject of pauperism. I got my breakfast, and by his advice threw myself into bed immediately after it. There I slept for about three hours, and though far from being rested thereby, I was much refreshed by it. Got up towards one; dined with the family. Preached for Dr. Pye Smith of Homerton at three; a very small house, that holds about 600, and this was favourable. Again preached in the evening at half-past six for Mr. Burder of Hackney. Mr. Bunting relieved me of all the prayers. I have really not been overdone by all this work. Supped at nine; Mr. Fletcher was of the party; and went to bed towards eleven.

"*Monday.*—Gave all this morning in Mr. Hale's to the work of taking down his most important depositions on the pauperism of London. Found that I could scarcely enter upon the heavy arrears of my correspondence, and therefore must spend another day here in busy solitude. Wrote both Mr. Irving and James, from the latter of whom I received an answer; and I shall spend a night in his house, either on Wednesday or Thursday, or both. Dr. Pye Smith dined with us, and his wife and daughter drank tea. I felt this to be a considerable interruption to my work. I have many letters to answer, not having been able to do anything in this way since I left Wells. I have also more than a whole week's conversations on pauperism to extend. I am very much refreshed from my fatigues; but find that the multiplicity of work in London will prevent me from many of those short excursions that I had conceived to be possible. I am more and more convinced of this world's tastelessness and treachery—that it is with God alone that any satisfying converse is to be had; but, oh how the blindness and carnality of nature stand in the way both of clear discernment and of lively feeling! Give a kiss to each of the children in my behalf. I received your few short but precious lines at Bristol appended to Mrs. Hutcheson's letter.—Yours, most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"HOMERTON, NEAR LONDON, *September* 24. 1822.

"*Tuesday.*—Rose this morning at seven. Had a very busy day till dinner-time with my writings. After breakfast went out for an hour with Dr. Pye Smith, and heard him lecture. Mr. Irving dined with us. He brought out his three elders, who entreated me to do a thing I had no time for, relative to the inducting of Mr. Irving. They went off before dinner. Mr. Irving brought a large packet of letters, but none from you, which I feel somewhat surprised at. There is one from Lord Elgin, urging me to go to Lord Grenville. My business at present is with men of parochial management, and not with grandees of any sort; and it will positively cut up my designs if they are to be thus interrupted. Mr. Irving stopped all night; and he is in good taking with his charge. Went to bed about twelve.

"*Wednesday.*—Started after seven. Mr. Hale and son, Mr. Irving and myself, went to town in Mr. Hale's carriage to Lord Calthorpe's, where I breakfasted. I came in upon the family worship. Mr. Babington and Mr. Zachary Macaulay were there. I had much conversation with them; and we were afterwards joined by Mr. Cunningham of Harrow. The latter gentleman walked with me first to Marylebone Workhouse, the particulars of which I jotted down; then to Mr. Higgison; then, after taking leave of him, to Cheapside, where I was introduced to Mr. M., connected with four London parishes, and from whom I got most satisfying information; then to the counting-house of Mr. Hamilton, which is at all times open to receive me for writing letters, and where at this moment I have carried forward my business to the point at which I am now writing you. Mr. Hamilton then took me to a coach for Clapham. On our way we called on James, when I got a few minutes of hurried conversation with him. It seems that he has been a good deal pestered since my arrival with inquiries about me. Among the rest my friend Mr. Davidson of Charlotte Street made several calls; and James replied to his written interrogations about me in a note of which he kept a copy, that is perfectly characteristic of him. I got on the top of a coach for Clapham, whither I had been invited by Mr. Dealtry, the minister thereof. He had a large party of parishioners to dinner, whom he wanted to impregnate with my views. The most distinguished of them all was Mr. Robert Grant, the brother of Charles, whom we saw; a most distinguished literary character, and who I think will

undertake the cause of anti-pauperism in the 'Edinburgh Review.' Miss Wallace, it seems, lives near Clapham, but though she wrote me a very urgent letter for a call, I could not make it out. The lady I met in the coach between Gloucester and Pudhill also wrote, reminding me of my purpose to call, but I could not make it out. I stopped with Mr. Dealtry all night, and felt happy in the elegant and lettered hospitalities of an English rector. Mrs. Dealtry is a fine creature, and Dealtry himself a most active, sensible, and enlightened man, and withal very friendly. There were additional ladies at tea, among whom Miss H., daughter of the deceased Henry, was the most remarkable. It was an assemblage of pious and highly cultivated individuals who have established the local system of schools in Clapham. Mr. Dealtry is to attempt the imitation of my pauperistic processes even in the face of the existing laws. Went to bed between eleven and twelve.

"*Thursday.*—Started after six. Mr. Dealtry walked with me to Vauxhall Bridge, and set me on the way to Grosvenor Square. I took the first hackney I could get hold of after leaving him, and went then to breakfast with Lord Calthorpe. He had ascertained that Mr. Peel was out of town; but assured me, from conversation he had had with the under Secretary of State, that he felt very kindly towards me; and he arranged it that I should write him, and present him with some of my Numbers on 'Civic Economy,' which I have done. I then, after breakfast, took a hackney coach at his house, and drove to Mr. Hale's place of business at Spitalfields, in the other end of London. He had there arranged meetings for me with the clerks and assessors of Christ Church, Shoreditch, and Whitechapel. I spent about three hours in taking down their information. While thus employed, Mr. Buxton, M.P., the author of the book on 'Prison Discipline,' called, and I was introduced to him. This I regard as a very fortunate interview. He is a plain, intelligent, and very friendly person. You have heard me often admire his book; and he has done me important service in the way of introductions. I walked from Spitalfields to Mr. Hamilton of Cheapside, and thence took a coach for Mr. Irving's. On stepping in, I met Lord Calthorpe, who asked me to breakfast with him a third time, with a view to call afterwards on Mr. Vansittart. Drove to Mr. Irving's. He speculates as much as before on the modes of preaching, is quite independent with his own people, and has most favourably impressed such men as Zachary

Macaulay and Mr. Cunningham, with the conception of his talents. He is happy and free, and withal making way to good acceptance and a very good congregation. I stopped with him two hours; and was delighted to find that he had been asked to dine with me at Mr. Butterworth's, M.P., in Bedford Square, whither we both went at five o'clock, and remained till nearly nine. Mr. Hale was there, and Mr. Richmond of Turvey, with one of his unmarried daughters. I settled an arrangement for visiting him in Bedfordshire. Mr. Irving and I went off together, and walked to his lodgings, where I found Mr. ——, the singularity of whose manner you wont to remark, and who is his guest from Glasgow at present. This is one fruit of Mr. Irving's free and universal invitation; but I am glad to find that he is quite determined as to visits, and apparently not much annoyed with the intrusion of callers. I took a coach from Irving's to my brother's at Walworth; arrived there before ten; supped and had family worship; found Mrs. Chalmers and Mary quite well, and very happy to see me. James was very jocular, and we spent a very happy and friendly evening together. Went to bed about twelve.

"*Friday.*—Started before seven. Took part of a breakfast with James: he and Mary accompanied me towards Grosvenor Square. James parted with me before Mary, who crossed the Wellington Bridge with me, took me to the end of Piccadilly, and returned by Westminster Bridge. I breakfasted with Lord Calthorpe; after which we sallied out to Mr. Vansittart's in a coach. We missed him, and I left my card. Thence he took me to Lord Teignmouth's, where I met my old friend Mr. Charles Shore. His Lordship is a very mild and patriarchal-looking nobleman; and I felt softened and solemnized by his presence. I could only afford a very short call; and on coming out I parted with Lord Calthorpe at the door, and walked onwards to call on Mr. Butterworth. I took a coach the latter part of the way. With Mr. Butterworth I visited a few families in St. Giles', where I witnessed both the extremes of human wretchedness and human wickedness;* yet a welcome on the part of the people that convinced me how susceptible they might be under the local system of a wholesome impression. I then visited the St Giles' workhouse, and saw the out-pensioners and overseers in contact, or rather in conflict, with each other. It was big with interest to see hundreds of them penned together in a small yard, and waiting their

* For an interesting allusion to this incident, see Works, vol. xxi p. 18.

turn to be called in. Mr. Butterworth's carriage then took me to Mr. Bunting's, where I met with interesting people, and was conducted by them to St. Luke's Hospital, where I witnessed a similar concourse. I took down also the states of the two parishes of St. Giles' and St. Luke's. From the latter place I took a coach to Zachary Macaulay's, where I met a very distinguished party, and had much of pleasing and profitable talk upon pauperism — Lord Calthorpe, William Smith, M.P. for Norwich, Mr. Buxton, M.P., Mr. Cunningham of Harrow, Mr. Babington, and a son of the late Mr. Percival's. We joined the ladies at tea, after which I had to conduct family worship; and Mr. Cunningham with myself staid all night. Mr. Dealtry was also of the party; and things do look very hopeful as to the introduction of the matter into Parliament.

"*Saturday.*—Mr. Cunningham and I left Mr. Macaulay's after an early breakfast, in a gig. He first called with me on Mr. Murray, M.P. His family are all very religious. We then went to Mr. Vivian, rector of a parish about eleven miles from London. I wished to see him from the very striking and peculiar testimony that he gave before a Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor-laws. He is gruff and outspoken and very decisive in his opinions; and one of his earliest salutations to me was, that he rejoiced to see a man from Scotland on the subject, for so much nonsense had come in upon them from that country through the Edinburgh Review. Poor Mr. Cunningham knew not how to look. We sat about two hours in conversation with him, and I was much interested by his views. When Mr. C. went off for the gig, I told Mr. Vivian that it would be a want of frankness and fairness in me not to disclose myself as the unfortunate author of the articles in question. This, on the other hand, confused him not a little, but we really got upon better terms after this *éclaircissement;* and having agreed to exchange publications, we parted very good friends. Mr. Cunningham then took me to Stanmore, whence I was to post it by myself to Upton, where Mr. Gurney, a brother of Mrs Fry's, resides, and where I was to get the interesting particulars of the parish of Westham. I had been led to believe that it was only eight miles of posting, but, lo and behold! by its being on a different side of London, we found it twenty-two. I had to be there at half-past two, but could not get till half-past four. I resolved, however, to go; took leave of Mr. Cunningham; arrived at Upton, where I was most kindly and welcomely

received. They had despaired of me, and sent away the overseer, and were half through their dinner. But all was delightfully made up for. The venerable Mrs. Fry and her husband were there, with Mr. and Mrs. Gurney, both of whom are most charming people. They are all Quakers, and much congeniality both of feeling and of sentiment I enjoyed with them. I am delighted with the ready acquiescence of people so benevolent and at the same time so practised as they are in the habits and circumstances of the poor, in my speculation. They sent for the overseer again before tea, and I took down the state of the parish, with some very interesting facts confirmatory of my views. I left them after eight. Mr. Gurney drove me in his gig along the outskirts of London to Mr. Hale's, at the distance of five miles off. It was a fine moonlight night. Mr. Hale had asked certain people to sup; and I found myself getting fast behind in my writings. I fear that I must defer a good deal of work till my return to Glasgow. Got to bed between eleven and twelve.

"*Sunday.*—Rose at seven. Breakfasted between eight and nine. Rode to Mr. Irving's chapel with Mr. and Mrs. Hale and William their son in their carriage. A great crowd at the door, and among the rest my niece Mary. We drove through the crowd to a back-door, and with much ado got into the vestry. Mr. Irving made the first prayer. There was a very crowded congregation, though the chapel is small, not being seated for more than 600. After service I received friends in the vestry, among whom were Mr. Gow, Mr. Charles Vertue and lady, Miss Wallace, a lady from Dundee, and David Wilkie, the artist, who introduced to me Sir Thomas Lawrence and another painter. Went thence to Mr. Dinwiddie, Mr. Irving's elder, and dined with Mr. Wilkie, Mr. and Mrs. Hale, and many others. Before dinner I had time to call on Charles Vertue. Then after dinner drove to the Methodist Chapel, where Mr. Bunting received me. He did all the devotional part of the service, and I preached to an immense assemblage of three thousand people. Mr. Butterworth and many others were in the vestry before I left it. My friend Mr. Hale took me home in the carriage, and had some people to sup with me. Mr. Irving joined us, and spent the night at Homerton. He has sermon to his people in the evening, and not in the afternoon. I was certainly a good deal fatigued, and, after the supper company broke up, was glad to go to bed between eleven and twelve.

"I am now with Lord Calthorpe at his house in Suffolk,

where Mr. and Mrs. Wilberforce and three of their family, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Shore, and many others, are. This is Wednesday, and I am three days behind my narrative. I hope to resume it to-morrow. May God take you into His most holy keeping.—Yours, most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"BURY ST. EDMUNDS, *October* 3, 1822.

"*Monday.*—Started between six and seven. Breakfasted at seven, and before eight left the kind family of Hale in Homerton. Mr. Hale, to crown all his goodness to me, insisted on accompanying me in a post-chaise at his expense to the interior of Essex, about forty miles off, and I soon saw that I could not resist this without hurting and offending him. Mr. Irving I also left at Homerton; and as you are interested in him, I may say, once for all, that he is prospering in his new situation, and seems to feel as if in that very station of command and congeniality whereunto you have long known him to aspire. I hope that he will not hurt his usefulness by any kind of eccentricity or imprudence. Mr. Hale passed on to a beautiful country till we came to Bocking, where the pauperism is in a most diseased state. Here we met with a farmer, who furnished me with all the particulars. Mr. Buxton has two uncles of the name of Hanbury, great landed proprietors in this neighbourhood, and it is to them I am indebted for the excellent arrangements of this day. Mr. Charles Hanbury met us at Bocking, and regrets exceedingly his journey to Cheltenham, whither he is now going; but Mr. Osgood Hanbury, his brother, sent his carriage to us at Bocking, and in it we went to Halstead, about seven miles off, in a very distempered state of pauperism indeed, when another farmer met us by the kindness of our good friends, and gave us all the details. I was here introduced to the vicar. Thence we went, still in Mr. Osgood Hanbury's carriage, to Holfield Grange, his seat, where we were treated in the true primitive style of the hospitality of Old England. The house is one of Queen Anne's days, and I liked the old gentleman exceedingly, as being frank, and friendly, and peculiar withal. He had two daughters with him, and a party to meet us at dinner, among whom were Mr. Harvey, M.P., and Mr. Nolon, M.P., the latter of whom has written upon the Poor-laws, and on which topic we had a great deal of conversation. I was, on the whole, satisfied with the progress that we had made. I got to bed between eleven and twelve.

"*Tuesday.*—Started between six and seven. Mr. Hanbury got the overseer from Coggeshall to meet me in his house at seven, and from him I took down the state of its pauperism. Mr. Hanbury assisted, and, after an hour's work, we took an early breakfast. Mr. Hale and I got into his carriage at half-past eight, and were driven to Bocking, where we had been yesterday, with a view to recover the road from London to Bury. After waiting here for some time, I secured in one of the coaches my place for Bury, and here took leave of my very kind friend Mr. Hale. I got on through an interesting country to Bury at one, and in the Angel Inn found Lord Calthorpe. He wrote, and I wrote along with him, for nearly an hour, after which he left me for a little. In the meantime, Mr. Godfrey, a magistrate and landed proprietor, came to me by Lord Calthorpe's appointment, and from him I got the state as to pauperism of one of the Suffolk parishes. Then came in Mr. Wilberforce, who really looks a great deal better than when I saw him last; but nothing can exceed the singularity of his movements. He positively danced and whisked about like a squirrel. He insisted on taking some packages with his own hand to the carriage that was waiting us at the door, and skipped before us in such a way that I could not refrain from laughing outright. I have the utmost love for him, at the same time, and the utmost reverence. He spoke highly of Mr. Collins, and was friendly and kind to the uttermost. He and I and Mr. Godfrey went together in a carriage of Lord Calthorpe's to his house at Ampton, where Mrs. Wilberforce, three of their family, Mr. Clarkson, and several others, were. Mr. Edward Elliot, whom you may recollect, was among them: he is now the officiating curate of two small parishes here, and is much, I should imagine, with Lord Calthorpe. There were one or two pious clergymen, and we spent a very happy evening in pleasant conversation. Mr. Clarkson and I drew very much together. Went to bed about eleven.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at seven. Took from Mr. Clarkson in the library his most important depositions relative to the poor of his parish and neighbourhood.* I had to conduct family worship and expound at half-past nine in the presence of a very numerous party of guests and domestics. After breakfast retired again to the library with Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Bickersteth for their testimonies about their parishes. The latter is an admirable clergyman of an adjoining parish. I should have said that

* See Works, vol. xv. pp. 281-283.

Mr. Charles Shore joined us yesterday from London. Mr. Clarkson and I at twelve got into a carriage of Lord Calthorpe's, and Mr. Shore and Mr. Godfrey went outside, to Bury, where, by his Lordship's kindness, I had interviews and communication with overseers and official men, who gave me the accounts of no less than five very important parishes. Though this is not a day of great transaction, yet I do feel fatigued by all this work. At four we again left Bury for Ampton, about five miles off, and thence, after stealing about an hour to write, went down to dinner, where we had a very high and enlightened company. Among the rest, were Lord Euston, eldest son to the Duke of Grafton, and Sir William Parker. I got very well on, and at tea had Mr. Wilberforce in a corner, and made good progress with him on the topic of pauperism. I also had my separate conversations with Mrs. and Miss Wilberforce, Mr. Edward Elliot, Mr. Clarkson, and several others, and went to bed between eleven and twelve.

"*Thursday.*—Started at seven. Left Lord Calthorpe's in his carriage with Mr. Clarkson for Bury at half-past seven. His Lordship has been most kind to me, and in the most delicate way gave me the friendliest advice as to the future composition of my work. He takes a great interest in it; and I can perceive that my articles in the Edinburgh Review on pauperism have made a deeper impression throughout England than I was aware of. This I have collected from various parts of the country.. I left Mr. Clarkson at Bury, and thence took my place to Cambridge. On my road I passed through Newmarket, and was interested by the view that I had of the great racing-ground. There was a coach that most opportunely took me up at Cambridge to London. I had not to stop for it above ten minutes, and it passed within half a mile of the East India College, where I arrived about four. I have certainly forgotten a few things; but I do not wonder at it in the very bustling and variegated career which I have run. I had much of kindred and substantial converse with Mr. Malthus. He is a great friend of Dealtry's, and, altogether, it is well that I have made this retrograde movement. I have travelled upwards of one hundred and fifty miles from London, and at the East India College am only nineteen miles from it. I might perhaps have desired a better and a shorter route for my various objects, and seen as much, but I have met with so many unforeseen yet urgent temptations to deviate. The cruelest disappointment I have yet sustained is

at this place. I am engaged to be at Turvey to-morrow (Friday). Mr. Malthus thought that I would have reached him this evening late, and spent to-morrow with him. Sir James Mackintosh, who lives at the distance of six miles, was to have dined with me, and, in obedience to arrangements that are fixed (and it was quite indispensable to fix beforehand), I have to forego the advantage of a conversation on this interesting topic with the leader of Opposition in Parliament. When I come next to England, it must be for the special object of converse with influential men. Dr. B., the Principal of the College, and his lady, a Scotchwoman, together with others belonging to the Institution, joined us in the evening. I took leave of Mr. Malthus about eleven, and went with Dr. and Mrs. B. to their house (Mr. Malthus's beds being altogether occupied), and retired at twelve. I have been very kindly and welcomely entertained.

"*Friday.*—Started at seven. Left Dr. and Mrs. B. in a post-chaise at eight. Came on to Hatfield, where I now am waiting for the stage-coach to Bedford. Here I have written Mr. Malthus, giving vent to my feelings of regret and disappointment at not meeting with Sir James Mackintosh, and here, also, I have brought up my Journal to you. I have lagged behind for a long time, but I rejoice in thus overtaking this object. It was with no small interest that I learned it to be Sir James's invariable practice to write Lady Mackintosh a full journal of all his movements and conversations when away from her. I found that the innkeeper at Hatfield had been overseer of his parish, so that while waiting there for the coach I was not idle altogether, but yoked upon him, and posed him well with questions. Lord Cranbourne, son to the Marquis of Salisbury, I found to be a fellow-overseer of his, and I thought that I could not do less than leave a set of my publications for the joint benefit of my host and his Lordship: the latter I understand to feel a particular interest in the subject. Got into the coach for Bedford before eleven. Found there a lady and a young boy, who afterwards turned out to be the son of Sir Thomas Baring. I had been expected, it seems, at his house, and, somehow or other, the young gentleman recognised me, and we became known to each other. Sir Thomas lives in Hampshire, and this, his youngest son, had just come from home on his way to a boarding-school in the road before reaching Bedford. We had much of pleasing and good conversation ere he parted from us, and

the lady formed a very pleasant addition to our little party. On reaching Bedford, I found Mr. Richmond at the front-door of the inn. He had brought his servant and his gig from Turvey to take me home there; but we dined at the inn ere we set forth, and, in the meantime, Mr. Hillyard, with his wife and daughter, waited on us to pay their respects. I got documents illustrative of the pauperism of the town, and then went on with Mr. Richmond in his gig to Turvey. I was delighted with the salutations that Mr. Richmond experienced in his parish and village. We landed at the rectory about six, and happy I was to repose in the bosom of a kind and interesting family. Mrs. Richmond was very motherly, and the domestic group altogether highly interesting. After tea the two overseers of the parish came in, and I had from them the state of the parish. I have made a real accession to my knowledge of English pauperism by this movement, and the kindness of the family has been quite unbounded. Went to bed before eleven. It is a curious house, consisting of many offsets and intricacies and ramifications, and the style of the rooms is highly picturesque and interesting. I have had real enjoyment in this visit, and Mr. Richmond has risen greatly in my regard in consequence of it.

"*Saturday.*—Started at seven. Was greatly delighted with the strength and refreshment I had gotten from being eight hours in bed. Breakfasted at eight, and left the family after nine. I made Mr. Richmond a firm proselyte to my system. It is really a most amiable family. Mr. Richmond accompanied me in his gig as before to Newport Pagnell, eight miles off, the nearest place to a coach. On our way visited Olney, where I alighted at the vicar's, and was shown the house and garden of our dear poet Cowper. A little farther on called on Mr. Fry of Emberton, a rector, where we also met Mr. Westoby, a curate. Here I got a great deal of light on the subject of pauperism. Hurried on to Newport, and there found the Leicester coach just going off. It was full inside, so that I had nothing for it but to be an outside passenger for fifty miles. It was a glorious day, however, and a country altogether new. I dined at Northampton, and reached Leicester after six. On entering the town, I was stopped at the toll, and there told that a Dr. Chalmers in this coach must be let down at Parson Hall's. There I was let down accordingly, and found him from home, with a very kind letter of regret from him. I also there found Mr. Smyth's letter, and to him I would offer my compliments and best thanks.

Here, also, I met with his nephew, Mr. Hall, from Kettering, who was to have preached, and with him I made the arrangements for the morrow. I then took a post-chaise, and drove on to Mr. Babington's, between five and six miles off. Arrived there at eight o'clock. Found a large dinner party there, and, among others, Mr. Whitmore, M.P., who is one of the most valuable auxiliaries that I have at all met with. I venerate Mr. Babington, but I shall speak more of him afterwards. There was a number of ladies, too, at tea, and altogether the reception I have met with has been of a most kind and encouraging nature. There was much of conversation, and we sat up till nearly twelve. I had to conduct family worship. A kiss to the dear children.—My dearest G., yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"NOTTINGHAM, *October* 9, 1822.

"On Sunday I arose at eight, and at nine Mr. Babington's coach took us all into Leicester. Outside and in there were a good many members of his family, including himself and Mrs. Babington, with Mr. Whitmore. I preached both forenoon and afternoon, spending the interval with the Misses *Something* from Derbyshire, now living at Leicester. We also drank tea there, and returned to Rothely Temple, which is Mr. Babington's place, in the evening.

"*Monday.*—Rose at seven. Mr. Babington, that most perfect and practically right of men, had arranged many interviews with me at his house this day. I in particular had gentlemen from Leicester who gave me a full account of the pauperism there. Among others were Mr. Coote and Mr. Robert Hall, junior. There was a very large party at breakfast; and I did not get quit of my informers till about one o'clock. I was also taken out to meet with neighbours who called, and among others I had great pleasure in Mr. John Babington, a son, who is a clergyman of a neighbouring parish, a Mr. Erskine, also a clergyman of a parish here, and son to Lord Erskine, and Mr. Rose, the parish minister, who is married to a daughter of Mr. Babington. At one I went out with Mrs. and the Misses Babington to visit their village called Rothely, and was much struck with the superior style and manners of these English cottagers. We called at the rectory, where I thought highly of Mrs. Rose. Dined with somewhat of a family party, and had afterwards converse with Mr. John Babington about his parochial pauperism.

Mr. Whitmore left us in the evening, and I do count him a very great Parliamentary acquisition to the good cause: kind and clever and expert in all the forms and business of the House. Went to bed at eleven. . . . Mr. Coke of Norfolk expressed a very kind and urgent desire to see me; and had the geography at all suited I should certainly have felt it my duty to go, it being of mighty importance to gain the countenance of influential people."

* * * * * * *

At Rothely Temple Dr. Chalmers was introduced to the Rev. Edward Morgan, the now venerable vicar of Syston, who invited him to preach in his pulpit. The liberal spirit which prompted this offer was fully felt and responded to by Dr. Chalmers, who told Mr. Morgan that he would rather preach in the Established Church than out of it when in England. On the ground of the existing legal hindrances which stood in the way of compliance, the offer was declined. It induced a friendship, however, which was afterwards followed by a very interesting correspondence.

On Saturday, the 12th October, Dr. Chalmers crossed the Border, and chose for his first resting-place in Scotland the manse at Kelso, in the society of whose highly cultivated minister, the Rev. Mr. Lundie, and in that of his accomplished lady, he experienced a most grateful repose after the efforts and varieties of six weeks' incessant toil. The events of the three days which followed are best told in the words of a letter, addressed at the time by Mrs. Lundie to her friend the Rev. Matthias Bruen of New York:—

"*Kelso, October* 25, 1822.—Dr. Chalmers was so kind as to return this way from his English journey to investigate the state of pauperism. He met with your friend Lord Calthorpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Babington, Cunningham of Harrow, &c., and has gained such a favourable impression of the form piety assumes in the Episcopal Church, that I daresay Andrew Thomson will accuse him of wishing to be a bishop.* Dr. Chalmers arrived on Saturday. The good man rejoiced to be at the fireside of a

* The impression here referred to was not created by this visit to England. Writing to Mr. Wilberforce in March 1822, some months before this visit was paid, Dr. Chalmers says, "We had a visit from Mr. Gray of Sunderland lately, one of the good men of the Church of England. It is truly refreshing to have a visit from such. It always puts me in mind of a saying of Brainerd, that he had heard hundreds speak about religion, but not above one or two speak religion. We Scotch speak about it—look at the matter intellectually—come forth with our didactic speculations about the thing; but the evangelical English clergymen, as far as I can observe, possess the thing, and possessing it they have by far the most effective ingredient of good preaching, which is the personal piety of the preacher himself."

Scotch manse once more, and said he was happy because he might speak Scotch as he could not help doing, and no one would misunderstand him. He preached on 'He who being often reproved hardeneth his neck,' &c. He said we must listen now, for he could make the argument no stronger if we lived these twenty years, and that our hearts are like metal—if they do not break under the hammer of the Word they will harden. There was a climax—'Death will come—the coffin will come—the mourners will come,' &c. It was delivered with such power that from the duchess to the apprentice boy all wept. On Monday we were loath to lose the great and good man, and set out with him to Jedburgh. His mind expanded and rejoiced over the beauties of nature; and no youth in his teens could have recited with more zest quotations from descriptive poems—Thomson's 'Seasons,' &c.—

> 'Sweet Teviot, on thy silver tide
> The blazing bale-fires burn no more,' &c.

The varied treasures of his mind lavished on us by the way were quite delightful. We went on to Edgerstoun; part of the way lay by a dashing stream, part through woods, and part by cottages adorned by roses, and all of it in company with a man of God to whom it was safe to confide our doubts, and even to commit our vagaries. We found Mr. Rutherford was not at home. His amiable wife was by the library fire with her sister-in-law, and Mr. Brown, a remarkably large stout man of seventy-two. He had been a parishioner in Cavers when Dr. Chalmers was assistant there, and the greetings and cordial inquiries between them were quite animated. We fell into devout discourse presently, and conversed till late, the aged gentleman, as was remarked next day, listening keenly and seeming to ponder what was said. He had not read Wilberforce's 'View,' the first book, Dr. Chalmers said, which had cast light into his mind. Next morning I heard a bustle in the room where the aged guest slept,—our rooms were in a turret of the mansion with a thin partition between; I heard a servant call in an alarmed manner down stairs for help, and ran into the room, where I found a man trying to support the giant frame of Mr. Brown. I had just time to throw the pillows below him before he sank on the floor. It were vain to tell of watching the pulses of a dying heart, of unwillingness to believe that he was gone, of chafing dead feet and bleeding dead arms, and attempting to warm a chilling frame. Mrs. R., always gentle, received every advice

with gratitude. Dr. Chalmers, who had never seen death before but once, stood like a statue, holding up both his hands. Then we knelt and he offered up a comprehensive and solemn prayer. Then we stood again and gazed till we fancied we saw the features move, and the huge breast heave, and wiped the dews off the brow that was never to feel again. After a time the family assembled, and Dr. Chalmers addressed us on, 'Be ye also ready,' &c. He made many ineffectual efforts to find the passage, ruffling the leaves of the Bible in obvious agitation, and at last he gave up the attempt, saying, we all were acquainted with the words. The son of Mr. Brown, who was not far off, and arrived some time before, seemed as if he had been alarmed into stone, till, in the progress of the address, the poor youth melted to tears.

"We felt that we could not leave Mrs. R. on that day, which was touching in all its hours. We went to the porter's lodge and assembled all the cottagers, and Dr. Chalmers addressed them. He also addressed the poor son when no one was present but myself, and with a father's tenderness besought him to read Alleine's 'Alarm,' and to pray. He wept over him. We rambled for hours in the woods. One is accustomed to consider great men as to their fame, their talents, their usefulness, but that day I considered a great man as to his own religious experience. It was touching to see him sit down on a bank repeatedly with tears in his eyes, and say, 'Ah! God has rebuked me; I know now what St. Paul means by being instant in season and out of season. Had I addressed that old man last night with urgency it might have seemed out of season to human eyes, but how seasonable it would have been!'

"During our walk he spoke confidingly of his early views. He did not understand gospel truth, and felt an aversion to the *sabbatical* air of his father's house, yet all the time he was a *consistent Theist*—adoring God the Creator, and delighting to *expatiate* on His works, so that when at College if a companion forced himself on his Saturday walk in the country, it was a disappointment; he enjoyed solitary musings and adoration. He then spoke with simplicity and genuine feeling on the difference between the character of the Creating and the Redeeming God, and quoted Cowper—'My Father made them all.'

"We set out next morning, and drove down that road in safety up which Mr. Brown had come in health as good as ours. Breakfasted at Dr. Somerville's; had a large meeting of friends at

Mary Leslie's, where we again enjoyed worship with Dr. Chalmers, and there bade farewell—he taking his way to Cavers and Wilton, I mine to tell my family at home that one was taken and the other left."

Of the visit to Cavers there is no other notice than this brief entry in his Journal,—"*October* 16.—To Cavers.—Splendid charity of Mr. Douglas." On Saturday the 19th Dr. Chalmers arrived in Glasgow, and on Monday, after reviewing the incidents of his seven weeks' absence he wrote thus to his sister Mrs. Morton :—"I have reason to pray and to strive lest the busy routine of operations should altogether secularize me. It is a withering world—a dry and a thirsty land where no water is—a place of exile from the fountain of life and light that is laid up in the Divinity, and in the dust of which it is the constant and downward tendency of our hearts to be ever grovelling. It is good that we feel our nothingness, and that under the impulse of this feeling we seek for our all out of the sufficiency that is in Christ. Never will He reject the feeblest approaches of those who are humbled by an affecting sense of their own worthlessness; and it forms a great peculiarity of the gospel, which is all its own, that under its influence alone it is, that when we are weak then are we strong."

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHURCH IN EDINBURGH OFFERED AND REFUSED—CORRESPONDENCE WITH PRINCIPAL NICOLL AS TO THE VACANT CHAIR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS—ACCEPTANCE OF THAT CHAIR—LETTER OF EXPLANATION TO HIS AGENCY—ERECTION OF A CHAPEL OF EASE IN THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S—APPEARANCES BEFORE THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS—SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1821, ON THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE HOLY MINISTRY—THE TABLE CONTROVERSY—CASE OF PLURALITY OF OFFICES—INDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL MACFARLANE AS ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

"More than twenty years ago, immediately before Dr. Muir came to Edinburgh, Bailie Smith called on me,* at the request of the Lord Provost and Magistrates, to request me to ascertain if Dr. Chalmers would accept of the then vacant charge in Edinburgh. They had resolved to present him if he would accept; but they made it a rule never to offer a presentation without previously ascertaining that it would be accepted.—My neighbour, the late Mr. Wood, who was, I believe, a distant relative of Dr. Chalmers, and in whose house I had frequently met the Doctor, happened to be going to Glasgow next day, and I requested him to call on Dr. Chalmers and state to him what had passed between me and Bailie Smith, adding that it would be very obliging, as the Bailie had suggested, that even if Dr. Chalmers declined to come to Edinburgh on this occasion, he would state his general views on this subject."

In consequence of this communication Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Mr. Wood, which, though not read at the Council table, was known to all the Magistrates and Council, and of course to a considerable portion of the public :—

"Glasgow, *January* 30, 1822.

"My dear Sir,—The subject of our conversation this morning is not new to me, having repeatedly had to deliberate on similar overtures from Edinburgh on the occasion of former vacancies. This has familiarized me the more to the merits of the proposition which you have had the goodness to lay before

* Letter from John Shank More, Esq., dated June 1850.

me, and may account for the readiness and decision of my answer to it.

"You know that all my personal tastes and partialities are on the side of Edinburgh; nor, were it right to indulge an earthly perspective, can I figure any sort of *beau idéal* that more regales my imagination than to retire from the fatigue and distraction of my present habits to the literature and intellectual society of our cultivated metropolis. Any situation of superior Christian usefulness to the one that I now occupy, and which would at the same time afford tranquillity and leisure for the prosecution of theological learning, I should feel, in spite of all the ties which bind me to Glasgow, to be quite irresistible.

"But this is what I cannot look for in the mere exchange of one parish for another; and, besides, though my present arrangements for St. John's are nearly all settled, and in so far I feel myself emancipated from the necessity for remaining, which before had a powerful effect to fix and detain me in my present situation, yet are these arrangements so prosperous and so promising, that I am not aware of any ministerial charge in Scotland more important than the one which I now hold, or which should induce me to abandon the field of my present labours.

"All my gratitude is due to those gentlemen of the Town Council in Edinburgh who have kindly offered to befriend me in this matter. I should regret it extremely if the way in which I have hitherto kept aloof from the offices which they patronize were at all to disoblige or alienate a single individual among them. The truth is, that there is not a body of men in the kingdom to whose patronage I should feel greater satisfaction in being indebted for such a retreat from the manifold activities of a city parish, as would not withdraw me at the same time from the service of Christianity, but only enable me to exchange the personal for the literary labours of my profession.—Yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

But although he negatived the proposal made to him in the beginning of the year 1822, a different treatment awaited another proposal which he received near its close. Soon after his return from England, Dr. Chalmers received the following letter from the Rev. Dr. Nicoll, Principal of the United College, St. Andrews:—

"ST. ANDREWS, *November* 16, 1822.

"You are aware that our Moral Philosophy Chair in St. An-

drews is vacant, and the purpose of this letter is to ask you whether you would accept of this Chair were it offered without any solicitation on your part? If you ask how I come to put this question, my answer is, you have been heard to say, I understand, that the exertions required in your present situation are rather too much for your constitution, and that you believed a more limited and retired sphere of action might be advisable for you. There is an idea, too, that you are attached to the scenes of your early years, and that St. Andrews would be by no means a disagreeable residence for you, whilst your employment as a teacher of Moral Science would embrace the same general object which a clergyman has in view. I beg of you to understand that this letter is written without any authority from my colleagues, and even without their knowledge, and in the first instance for my own private guidance. If your mind be at once decidedly against the plan, you will require no time for deliberation, but if you judge it deserving of consideration, then I think your best way would be to meet me in Edinburgh—where I am to be at a county meeting on Tuesday next—when we can have a conversation on the subject. Be assured, however, that I have no wish to converse with you on anything like jobbing politics.

"If you come among us, you shall come free as the air you breathe. No favour will be considered as done to you, and consequently you will be under no obligation to any individual. My support will be given to your character—to your varied acquirements and splendid talents—to your integrity as a man—to your gentlemanlike and mild manners as a member of society; and if my colleagues give their support, I know that it will be given on the same grounds. The living, I am sorry to say, cannot be reckoned higher than £300 a year, but I think it will increase.

"I ought to have said that your name would never be mentioned unless there were a certainty of success, and that your presence would not be required for nearly twelve months. Believe me to be, my dear Sir, with sincere respect, yours faithfully,

FRANCIS NICOLL."

This frank and generous communication, coming from one whose sentiments on many points of ecclesiastical polity differed widely from his own, was taken into immediate and earnest consideration. The interview in Edinburgh proposed by Dr.

Nicoll took place, and was succeeded by the following interchange of letters :—

"St. Andrews, *January* 11, 1823.

"My dear Sir,—Referring to my former letter, and to the conversation which passed subsequently betwixt us in the month of November, I have now to express my hope that you are ready to answer the question which that letter contained, and which I now repeat with the knowledge and concurrence of my colleagues. They, it is true, as I then stated, did not know of my holding any written or verbal communication with you in November; but it is equally true, on the other hand, that I would not have done what I did if I had not believed that they entertained an equally favourable opinion with myself of your character and talents.

"I can now say that they are ready to receive you most cordially as a colleague whose name will add splendour to the College, and whose dispositions will render him a most valuable acquisition to the private society of its members. By coming amongst us your plans of public usefulness will not be upon the whole impeded, for though you will be completely occupied during session time with your duty as a Moral Philosophy Professor, you will have six months entirely to yourself unfettered by College rules.

"If your answer be favourable, the election may take place immediately or not as agreeable to yourself; but I cannot promise now that the matter has been spoken of that it can be kept out of public view for any length of time. I may add, that though the election takes place now, the admission which constitutes you a professor will be made to suit your own wishes, any time between this and the month of November. You are aware that the family of the late incumbent enjoy the emoluments up to Whitsunday. Expecting to hear from you as soon as you can, I remain, my dear Sir, with sincere respect and esteem, your very faithful servant, Francis Nicoll."

"Glasgow, *January* 13, 1823.

"My dear Sir,—I have received the communication by which you have honoured me, and I am happy that it found me altogether free from the doubts and hesitations which I expressed to you at our interview in Edinburgh.

"I feel myself to be highly flattered by the distinguished mark of approbation which you and your colleagues have con-

ferred upon me, and it shall be my assiduous endeavour to justify your confidence by the faithful performance of those different duties which you have called upon me to discharge.

"If you think it altogether right and formal in me to announce this determination to the official people here previous to my election, it would make it less necessary that it should be immediate. But if the actual election must precede any such announcement, then the sooner it takes place the better, as it would shorten that period of annoyance which would take place between the first report of your movements in Glasgow and the promulgation of my acceptance. I have, besides, an interest in making the earliest possible communication both to the Lord Provost and to my kirk-session, and, on the whole, should prefer that I had it in my power to render the attention to them of making them acquainted with my views ere the topic came in any shape before the public. I have another object in the matter being fully settled and understood—and that is, that it would give an energy and decision to my concluding movements in Glasgow, and so enable me the sooner to perfect my various arrangements.

"You would oblige me much by your reply, that I may know how to act in regard to this matter, which I feel to be of some importance in my present situation.

"I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude for the very handsome manner in which you and your colleagues have acted towards me.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the 18th January 1823, Dr. Chalmers was unanimously elected to the vacant office. A meeting of his elders, deacons, and Sabbath-school teachers was immediately summoned, and the following letter, which was read to them, gave the first public announcement in Glasgow of the contemplated removal :—

"GLASGOW, *January* 20, 1823.

"I have called together the gentlemen of the agency of St. John's, for the purpose of making known my acceptance of the offered Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews; and it is not without much agitation that I contemplate the prospect of leaving such a number of friends, in whose kindness and Christian worth I have found a refuge from many disquietudes. The appointment is altogether unlooked for and

unsolicited on my part, and just happens to be the seventh that has been submitted to my consideration since I have been connected with Glasgow. You will therefore believe, that it is not upon a slight or hasty deliberation that I have resolved to accept of it; and I now hasten to offer the explanation of my reasons to those who are best entitled to know them.

"My first is a reason of necessity, and is founded on the imperative consideration of my health. I should like to unite the labour of preparation for the pulpit with the labour of household ministrations in the parish; this is a union which I have made many attempts to realize, and I now find myself to be altogether unequal to it: this mortifying experience has grown upon me for a good many months, but never did it become so distinct and decisive until the present winter. My very last attempt at exertion out of doors has been followed up by several weeks of utter incapacity for fixed thought. I find it impossible any longer to acquit myself both of the personal and mental fatigues of my present office; and when, under an impressive sense of this, a vacant professorship came to my door, I entertained it as an opening of Providence, and have resolved to follow it.

"My second is a reason of conscience. I am aware that the fatigue of my present office is shortly to be lightened by the erection of a Chapel of Ease, and the subdivision of the parish into two equal parts. I have often taken encouragement to myself from the anticipation of this important relief; and if my successor be possessed of ordinary strength, and have nothing to carry off his mind from the direct work of the ministry, he will now, I am persuaded, feel the comforts of a sphere so reduced within manageable limits, that it may be overtaken. But it so happens of me, that my attention of late has been divided between the cares of my profession and the studies of general philanthropy; and, while sensible of the rebuke to which this might expose me from those whose piety and Christian excellence are entitled to veneration, yet I can affirm of every excursion that I have recently made in the fields of civic and economic speculation, that I have the happiness of him who condemneth not himself in that which he hath allowed. I can truly say, that when I entered on this field it was not because I knowingly turned me away from the object of Christian usefulness, but because I apprehended that I there saw the object before me; but the field has widened as I have advanced upon it, insomuch that I cannot longer retain the office which I now hold without in-

justice to my parish and congregation—without, in fact, becoming substantially, and to all intents and purposes, a pluralist.

"In these circumstances, Gentlemen, I have been met, and most unexpectedly, with the unanimous invitation of a college within whose walls I can enjoy the retirement that I love, and again unbosom myself among the fondest remembrances of my boyhood. It was there that I passed through the course of my own academical studies, and that I am now called upon to direct the studies of another generation. Some of you have long known what I think of the great worth and importance of a professorship, and that I have even held a literary office in a university, through which the future ministers of our parishes pass in numerous succession every year, to be a higher station in the vineyard, even of Christian usefulness, than the office of a single minister of a single congregation.*

"Moral philosophy is not theology, but it stands at the entrance of it, and so, of all human sciences, is the most capable

* In the explanatory remarks appended to the first number of the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," published in September 1819, there occurs the following passage:—"You know that a machine, in the hand of a single individual, can often do a hundred-fold more work than an individual can do by the direct application of his own hands. He who makes the machine, then, is more productively employed than he who, without it, engages immediately in the work. To produce a steam-engine, which sets one hundred looms agoing, is a far larger contribution to the goods of the country than to work at a single loom. This principle, obvious enough in manufactures, is sadly overlooked in the business of human society. The man who spends so much time in the services of a philanthropic institution, is not so productively employed as he who excites the principle which prompts those services in the breasts of a hundred men. He who does the work is not so productively employed as he who multiplies the doers. He who is a mere agent in the business of charity is not so efficient a contributor to the cause as he who rears a charitable agency. 'Put them,' says the apostle to one preacher, 'put them in mind to be ready unto all good works.' To another preacher he says, 'Meditate on thine own peculiar work, give thyself to it wholly.'

"But, further—the elevated office of a Christian minister is to catch men, There is, however, another still more elevated, and that, too, in regard of Christian productiveness—which is to be employed in teaching and in training the fishers of men. A professorship is a higher condition of usefulness than an ordinary parish. Some of you may think that this holds true only of a theological professorship; but this is your mistake. There are many university subjects which, without being hurtfully transformed, admit of the very strongest impregnation of Christianity. This holds eminently and characteristically true of Natural Philosophy, where science and sacredness may be made to stand together in perpetual conjunction—where the demonstrations of the one may be employed to kindle and sustain the devotions of the other—where every new step in the march of investigation leads to a new evolution of the glories of the Divinity—and where the unequivocal testimonies which must ever fall from the abundance of a heart filled with the light of the gospel, would not descend with less emphasis upon the hearers that it came associated with that light of philosophy which they now hold in too exclusive veneration.

"Were there, at this moment, fifty vacancies in the Church, and the same number of vacancies in our Colleges, and fifty men to start into view, equally rich in their qualifications for the one department and the other, some of you would be for sending them to the pulpits—I would be for sending them to the Chairs. A Christianized university, in respect of its professorships, would be to me a mightier accession than a Christianized county, in respect of its parishes. And should there be a fountain out of which there emanated a thousand rills, it would be to the source that I should carry the salt of purification, and not to any of the streams which flow from it."

of being turned into an instrument either for guiding aright, or for most grievously perverting the minds of those who are to be the religious instructors of the succeeding age.

"It is my anxious wish that these reasons, which have satisfied myself, should satisfy you. In the calm retreat of an ancient and much loved University—in the employment which it offers, so akin to the themes that I hold in the highest estimation—in the post of superior usefulness which is there assigned to me—in the unbounded leisure and liberty of its summer vacation, during which I may prosecute my other favourite pursuits, and more particularly, may renew, for months together, my converse with Glasgow, and so perpetuate my intimacy with yourselves;—in these there are charms and inducements which I have not been able to resist, and which I have not seen it my duty to put away from me.

"I feel the highest gratitude for your affectionate services, nor shall I ever cease to remember your toleration for my errors, and the kind indulgent friendship wherewith you have ever regarded me. My prayer for you all is, that you may be enabled, by the grace of God, to live the lives and to die the deaths of the righteous—that you hold fast the doctrine which is unto salvation, and grow daily in the faith of the gospel, which both pacifies the conscience and purifies the heart. Quit not, I beseech you, those stations of usefulness to which you were guided, not, I trust, by any human attachment, but by a principle of allegiance to Him who is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever. Do with all your might that which your hand findeth to do; and more particularly do I crave, that throughout the remaining months of my abode in the midst of you, you will afford me the aid of all your light and experience in the maturing of those final arrangements by which the parish may be transmitted in the best possible condition to my successor.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The resolution thus announced fell upon his agency with all the shock of a surprise. They could scarcely believe that from a position of so much greater publicity, and, as it seemed to the eye of ordinary observation, of so much greater usefulness, Dr. Chalmers would retire to a sphere comparatively limited and obscure. Some wondered upon what principle such a resolution could have been adopted; many felt a disappointment, tinged slightly with chagrin, that from all his own schemes of useful-

ness, now fairly set in motion, the chief operator should so suddenly withdraw his hand; a few distinctly and heavily condemned. In the acceptance of the Professorship, however, there had been a promptitude which argued previous and mature deliberation; and there was the tone and spirit of such a settled purpose in the letter, that all felt the step to be irrevocably taken. Among the general public of Glasgow the ferment created was as great as among his own devoted flock, but it was not subject to the same restraints. Through different channels, and under the cloak of many flattering words, imputations unjust and ungenerous were cast upon Dr. Chalmers.* Unmoved from his purpose, however pained at heart by the commotion thus excited, he devoted himself with increased assiduity to all the duties of his parish. It had served in no slight degree to recommend the proposal of Dr. Nicoll, that by allowing him to remain for nearly a whole year in Glasgow, it would afford ample time for bringing all his parochial operations into a condition of completeness. Among them there was one which had only recently been commenced, to which a supreme importance was attached. The enormous magnitude of the parish had hitherto proved the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his favourite design of reaching and reclaiming that portion of the population which had sunk into absolute indifference to religion, and into utter neglect of all its outward ordinances. A few stray visits, made by different persons, scattered over the surface of a year, were altogether insufficient to effect this purpose. To make the enterprise a hopeful one, the visits must be frequent, the operation must be intense; it must be practicable for the clergyman, by frequent and reiterated attentions, to deepen and render permanent the first impressions of his ministry. In order to realize this, Dr. Chalmers proposed to disjoin from his bulky parish a population of three thousand, to build a new church, and to plant another minister among its families. It was a scheme which, embracing as it did all his other methods of parochial administration, and bringing them into action within manageable limits, was regarded by him as the chief and crowning effort of his ministerial life. Having in vain endeavoured to induce the Magistrates and Council of the city to erect another parish

* Besides many paragraphs in the newspapers, two pamphlets were published at this time, entitled "Reflections on the Address of Dr. Chalmers to the Agency of St John's, Glasgow, containing his Reasons for Relinquishing the Pastoral Charge of that Parish: Glasgow, 1823;"—and "Defence of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers; addressed to the thinking and unprejudiced part of the Inhabitants of Glasgow: Glasgow, 1823."

church, he issued a proposal that the funds necessary for the erection of a chapel of ease within the bounds of St. John's parish should be raised by shares of £100 each, on which the ordinary rate of interest should be paid. "Dr. Chalmers," it was stated in the circular sent to a few friends, "begs to assure all the gentlemen whose names are subjoined, that however promising or productive of good the intended chapel may be, he does not ask them to subscribe to it as a scheme of benevolence, but simply lays before them a scheme which bids fair for an adequate remuneration, and to which, if any shall subscribe, he becomes a sharer in a property. He is the more anxious to impress this, as he feels he has drawn very largely on the kindness of his friends already in his former parochial undertakings, and he can truly say that he should be sorry if any were to take a part in this measure unless it agreed with their perfect convenience as well as with their perfect convictions." Having himself taken five shares in the undertaking, and eleven other individuals having each consented to take one share, with the full consent and approbation of the Magistrates and Council, an application was made to the Presbytery of Glasgow to grant a constitution to the intended chapel of ease. By one of the articles of this constitution, it was provided, that the Sabbath collections in the new chapel should be at the disposal of the Session of St. John's, to be applied to the relief of the poor within the chapel district. This article was objected to, and the church-door collections claimed for the general funds of the city. The Presbytery remitted the matter *simpliciter* to the General Assembly of 1822, before which Court Dr. Chalmers made that exposition and defence of his general system of pauper management to which I have already alluded. The Assembly granted, without discussion, all that Dr. Chalmers required. The pecuniary obstacle which arose from the limited amount of the subscription was the only one which now remained, and the "splendid charity" of Mr. Douglas of Cavers, which placed £500 at Dr. Chalmers's disposal for the object, did much to remove this obstacle. The building was commenced, speedily completed, and opened for public worship in May 1823. At a general meeting of his agents, summoned upon the occasion, whilst unfolding all his plans for the future management of the affairs of the chapel, Dr. Chalmers said, "Give me a pious and laborious and unwearied clergyman then, and surround him with coadjutors of like zeal and principle and Christian philanthropy with

himself, and let their devoted and unremitting object be to devise and do everything by which this chapel might be the organ of a religious blessing to the families who reside within their portion of the vineyard, and I affirm of such an economy, set up and prosecuted with ardour, that it is indeed the likeliest instrument I know, under the countenance of God's Holy Spirit, for clearing out a well-watered garden in the midst of this vast moral wilderness. Nor would I despair, with the territorial rule of seat-letting, which I have always deemed of so much importance, of witnessing in future years the fabric that is just finished filled to an overflow with a local, and at the same time, it is to be hoped, with a pious and spiritual congregation. I should deem it one of the main distinctions of my life, were I in any way instrumental to an achievement so glorious; nor do I know of a transformation more fitted to affect the heart of a Christian philanthropist than when, under a judicious and persevering, and withal religious management of such a district, a portion of the city mass, where Sabbath profaneness and week-day profligacy reigned almost without mitigation, should come at length to be the theatre of ministerial visitations and fellowship meetings and well-educated children and church-going families." The expense of the erection having exceeded the original calculation, Mr. Douglas again came forward and appropriated to this object an additional sum of £500. In June 1823, a minister was ordained, and all looked fair and promising for the future. Dr. Chalmers's removal from Glasgow scarcely lessened the interest with which he watched over the progress of this enterprise. For several years afterwards he made an annual visit to the city of his former labours, preaching in the chapel on five or six Sabbaths consecutively, and visiting the parishioners. Nevertheless this first great step in Church Extension, taken under his own eye and care, signally failed. Many secondary circumstances contributed to this failure. A separate kirk-session was not allowed to the chapel minister, so that he stood to the kirk-session of St. John's very much in the same disadvantageous position in which Dr. Chalmers himself had stood in relation to the General Session of Glasgow. The church-door collections having been appropriated to the poor, the salary of the minister as well as the interest of all the sums which had been advanced, was to be provided for out of the seat-rents. To make this fund sufficient for such a purpose, these seat-rents were originally fixed according to a scale so high as to operate prejudicially—to

the entire defeat, in fact, of the object aimed at, for not only did the interest remain unpaid, but the current income of the chapel became inadequate to meet its current expenditure, so that it was necessary to assess the original proprietors. His own subsequent experience convinced Dr. Chalmers that with such a population as that committed to this clergyman's care no proprietary chapel could succeed, and that instead of yielding a return for sums originally advanced, two or three hundred pounds per annum would need to be gratuitously devoted to such an undertaking during the first four or five years of its existence.

It was but rarely during the period of his residence in Glasgow that Dr. Chalmers took part in the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts. In the ordinary routine business of these Courts he felt comparatively little interest; and of the general tenor of their decisions in matters strictly ecclesiastical, he did not approve. Occasionally, however, when large interests were involved, or favourite designs were likely to be thwarted, with all his accustomed ardour he threw himself into the ecclesiastical encounter; and as he came with his heavy armour all fitted on and furbished well beforehand, he cleared a wide space around him, and dealt forth many a heavy stroke.

In the General Assemblies of 1821 and 1822, he rendered most effective aid to the movement which was then making with a view to modify and extend the theological education of candidates for the holy ministry. As the matter stood, there were many different ways in which, after his four years' attendance on the literary and philosophical classes, a student might qualify himself for being taken on trial for licence by a Presbytery of the Church. He might give regular attendance during three, and partial attendance during one session, at any of the Divinity Halls; or, without hearing a single course of lectures on theology, by his mere presence for a few days at one of the University seats in the course of six successive sessions, and by performing a few prescribed exercises, he might qualify himself for the ministry. Between these two, which may be regarded as the extreme methods, there were various ways adopted by students, and allowed by the Church, of compounding together sessions of regular and irregular attendance upon the theological classes. The object of those with whom Dr. Chalmers now co-operated was to abolish altogether the six years' occasional attendance, to make a regular attendance for three full sessions to be in every case imperative, and to enjoin that at least two

years' attendance should be given on the classes of Hebrew and Church History. The speech of Dr. Chalmers in the General Assembly of 1821 in favour of the proposed reformation was one of the most brilliant which he ever delivered before the Supreme Court of the Church. Its most powerful passages were afterwards embodied in the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," and in his work on the "Use and Abuse of Literary Endowments." One passage, however, not hitherto published, we cannot resist inserting here, because of its bearing upon a question of present interest in England.

"Were I to define, Moderator, what is meant by turning a man into a Christian, I would say that it consists in stamping on the fleshly tablet of his heart the doctrines and the morality which are already graven on the tablet of Scripture, so that the Christianity which is impressed on the living subject shall be a precise transcript of the Christianity that is written on the unalterable Record. The Bible is the seal which gives the impression; the human mind is the recipient which takes it; and the faculty by which a man judges of the accordancy that there is between the one and the other, is altogether different from the faculty of putting forth that efficacious touch through which the impression is actually made good, and the man becomes, in the language of the New Testament, a living epistle of Christ Jesus. But it is better that he have both these faculties than only one of them. It is surely better if, in addition to the operative faculty by which Christianity is wrought, he should also have the discerning faculty by which Christianity is estimated. Suppose him to have the power of so bearing with urgency and effect upon the seal, as that a deep impression shall be left by him on the heart to which it is applied, he is surely not the worse, but the better, if, after he has done so, he can look with a judging eye on the character that has been formed, and mark the authentic lineaments by which it accords, or the spurious lineaments by which it deviates from the great and unalterable pattern of the word of God. For this purpose he is the better of being able to look with a learned eye upon his Bible, and by aid of the Grammar and Lexicon, and all the instruments of philology and criticism, to manifest the doctrine which is graven thereupon. And for this purpose he is also the better of being able to look with a metaphysical eye upon the arcana of our nature, or at least with an eye of sagacious observation on all the phenomena of human conduct, that he may be able to drag

forth to light that moral and intellectual picture which the Bible is said to have left upon the soul. A rough and home-spun operative in the work of Christianity may do the work, but it is well that an accomplished clergyman be near him to decide upon the work and to discriminate between the genuine and the counterfeit in Christianity, so as that he both may rectify and restrain the excesses of fanaticism, and also recall the departure that heresy is making from the law and from the testimony.

"If I saw a young aspirant after Christian usefulness casting perhaps an ambitious eye toward the ministerial office, but utterly unable for the cost of a ministerial education, I would not force and foster this ambition by any artificial processes whatever. I would not lure him to the hazardous adventure of swelling by the accession of one man the already overdone competition that there is for vacancies. I would not thus conduct him to the margin of a field on which if he enters he may miss the usefulness that his heart is set upon, and reap nothing to himself but a harvest of disappointed hopes, and fruitless endeavours, and unavailing regrets and sympathies. Least of all would I, for the purpose of admitting him amongst us, let down the incumbent literature of our clergy, and smooth for him an avenue of admission to our Establishment. The very last thing I would concede should be to level that hill of difficulty, by whose steep and rugged and arduous ascent it is that we attain a lofty and laborious scholarship. I would persist in making it most firmly indispensable that the only gate of entrance for every minister of our Church should be on the very summit of that hill. And then, should it be said, that for the sake of heightening and refining the one ingredient of the Church's literature I am lessening the other ingredient, of the Church's piety, and for the sake of an accomplishment by which she is adorned, stripping her of a grace by which she is blest and rendered effective for the conversion of multitudes, I would answer, that it is still a possible thing to make this piety available for the best of purposes. The Christianity of this man is not lost to the cause: he may still be a leaven for good in the sphere he occupies, unlettered though he be in all that proceeds from halls or colleges. Still in him may the word of God have made its sound and wholesome and sufficient impression, and from him the impression may be reflected back again on the minds of many others as unlettered as himself. And thus all in the book of God's testimony, which mainly goes so to enlighten a man as to turn him into a Chris-

tian, may be made to pass from an humble convert to his acquaintances and neighbours, and without the learning which serves to acquire for Christianity the dignified, though vague and general, homage of the upper classes, he may at least be a fit agent for transmitting essential Christianity throughout the plebeianism that is around him.

"Let us have as learned a clergy as possible—for without having such for judges and overseers, the faith of the Christian world might be occasionally disfigured by the excesses of fanaticism; but let us also have as zealous and operative a laity as possible; for, be assured, that without the activities of a zealous spirit faith might cease to be found, and the abuses be got rid of only by getting rid of the whole stock upon which such abuses are occasionally grafted. It is here that churches under the domination of a worldly and unsanctified priesthood are apt to go astray. They confide the cause wherewith they are intrusted to the merely intellectual class of labourers, and they have overlooked, or rather have violently and impetuously resisted, the operative class of labourers. They conceive that all is done by regulation, and that nothing but what is mischievous is to be done by impulse. Their measures are generally all of a sedative, and few or none of them of a stimulating tendency. Their chief concern is to repress the pruriences of religious zeal, and not to excite or foster the zeal itself. By this process they may deliver their Establishment of all extravagances, so as that we shall no longer behold within its limits any laughable or offensive caricature of Christianity. But who does not see that by this process they may also deliver the Establishment of Christianity altogether, and that all our exhibitions of genuine godliness may be made to disappear under the same withering influence which deadens the excrescences that occasionally spring from it. It is quite a possible thing for the same Church to have a proud complacency in the lore and argument and professional science of its ministers, and along with this to have a proud contempt for the pious ardour and the pious activity of its lay members. In other words, it may applaud the talent by which Christianity is estimated, but discourage the talent by which Christianity is made. And thus, while it continues to be graced by the literature and accomplishment of its clergy, may it come to be reduced to a kind of barren and useless inefficiency as to the great practical purposes for which it was ordained.

"All the piety which is shut out by this overture from the

Church for the sake of its literature, will roll back among the people, and there, in this land of toleration, will it find scope and liberty to expatiate, and the same ambition which has been checked in its primary impulse, will find vent in some other walk and some other way of Christian usefulness; and the likelihood is, that catching the irrepressible spirit of the times, it will go to augment those religious activities which are now so busily afloat among unofficial and unordained laymen; and thus, the final upshot of such a process may be a more intense operation of Sabbath teaching, and of lay itineracy, and of unlettered Methodism, and, in a word, of all those gratuitous and self-originating movements which have hitherto been more exhibited on the outfield of sectarianism than in the enclosed and well-kept garden of an Establishment.

"Now, Moderator, the fact is undeniable, that to certain individuals this were a most cheering spectacle, and to certain others, this were a spectacle utterly to be loathed and nauseated. The former have such an impression of nature's lethargy and deadness and unconcern, that they are glad to bring from any quarter whatever the various and ever-plying activities of Christian zeal to bear upon it; the latter, again, in their treatment of humanity, proceed on such an excessive fertility of weeds and ranknesses in the human heart, that all the toil and strenuousness of ecclesiastics must be given to the great object of keeping them down, and so of confining Christianity within the limits of moderation. The former are pleased to behold any symptom of spiritual life or vegetation at all; the latter think, if positive strength should be put forth on the side of spiritual vegetation, positive strength should also be put forth on the side of repressing its hated overgrowth. The former, so far from being alarmed by the rumours of a stir, and a sensation, and an enthusiasm, and the revival of an old Kilsyth or Cambuslang awakening, whether in a Western isle or a Highland glen, are ready to hail it as they would the promise of some coming regeneration; the latter are apt to look upon all this as a most vile efflorescence of everything that is vulgar and vicious and degrading, and it is impossible adequately to express the utter disdain with which the promoters of such a work are regarded by them, and they look down upon them as empirics who invade the province of the regular faculty, and do the same mischief in theology that is done by quacks in medicine; that, altogether, it is the product of a fanaticism which ought to be extirpated, and an offence that, if possible,

should be instantly and conclusively swept away. The former, again, are not wanting in some hard thoughts of the latter, and they have even been heard to say of them, that in their desire to rid the Church of such offence, they are on the highway to the deadliest offence of all, even that of a vineyard so cleared and purified in all its vegetative tendencies, as to offer from one end to the other of it an unvaried expanse of earthliness—that, in their eagerness to check the excrescences of spiritual growth, they would do it so effectually as to reduce to a naked trunk what else might have sent forth its clustering branches, and yielded in goodly abundance, the fruits of piety and righteousness—that under this blasting operation spurious and genuine Christianity are alike obliterated, and the work of pulling up the tares is carried on so furiously that the wheat is pulled up along with it—the vineyard under such a management is rifled of its goodliest blossoms as well as of its noxious and pestilential weeds; and thus, the upshot of the process for extirpating fanaticism may be to turn the fruitful field into a wilderness, and to spread desolation and apathy over all its borders." It was not till after many defeats that the object which Dr. Chalmers and his friends had in view was attained, and the standard of theological qualification for the ministry in the Church of Scotland permanently raised.

In the last year of his Glasgow ministry two questions arose, one of which perplexed Dr. Chalmers almost as much by its triviality as the other excited him by its magnitude, while both obliged him to run the gauntlet in all the Courts of the Church, and to appear personally before Presbytery and Synod and Assembly. The large number of communicants, and the small number of those who could be accommodated at tables of communion, running as they then usually did in single lines along the aisles, prolonged the services of a sacramental Sabbath in St. John's to a wearisome and unprofitable length. By turning, however, a certain number of pews in the lower part of the church into communion tables, and reducing the number of ministerial addresses to communicants, the services were materially and most beneficially abbreviated. This plan was followed to the great comfort of the worshippers in St. John's, and with a very general concurrence of public feeling in its favour. As intelligence, however, of the innovation spread abroad, it reached the ears of more than one reverend stickler for the good old way of sitting in the aisles, upon whose ecclesiastical con-

sciences such grievous injury was inflicted, that they could not rest till they had dragged the daring innovator before the tribunals of the Church for judgment. It was in vain that they were remonstrated with as to the awkwardness of turning such a topic into a subject of grave ecclesiastical debate. Rather than that such a scandal should be endured, and the ancient practice of the Church be set aside, they would carry the question from the Presbytery and Synod to the General Assembly, and their sturdy purpose was achieved.

"I do exceedingly regret," said Dr. Chalmers, as he stood before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, "that this matter was ever brought before the Synod at all. It is quite obvious from the speeches of some of the members, that there must have been a world of misconception on a topic which, I think, so far at least as the proceedings in my own church are concerned, I could have removed. There is no exclusion of the poor—there is no indiscriminate admittance of the qualified and unqualified—there is no disappearance of the table on which our sacramental elements are placed in full view of the communicants, and, above all, there is nothing to confound our sacramental Sabbath with an ordinary Sabbath; and the whole effect of the change, or rather of the very great improvement that has been made upon our administration, is, that while all the essential requisites of this great Christian feast are more scrupulously adhered to, there has been established a comfort and an order and a solemnity that under the old style of management was utterly unattainable.

"I think that I could satisfy every spectator of the truth of these assertions, and was not without hopes of having had an opportunity of doing so to the original mover in this business ere he had stirred so ostensibly therein. Ere that very innocent practice was established, which I was not the first to introduce into the churches of our Establishment, the day of a sacrament in St. John's was a day of discomfort and almost intolerable suffering from the pressure and the stifling almost to suffocation, and the way in which every inch of progress to the tables was fought for by the crowd of competitors who, during the time of seven table services, stood wedged in the long but narrow access that led to them. And it is erroneous to think that under the present arrangement there is nothing left to signalize a day of communion from an ordinary Sabbath. There is the same table for the accommodation of the elements, and at which the minister presides in the view of all the congregation, as there is in the

other churches of the city. There is the same decent covering of white extended before all the communicants. It is true that the partakers are not so placed as to look one to another, but what is of more importance, and carries in it a greater propriety, they are all so placed as to look to the minister who addresses them. It is also true that they do not sit *about* a table, but they sit *at* a table, and about it or at it, is the express utterance that is left to us by the words of our Directory. We could in this way press all the middle seats in the body of the church into the peculiar service of the day; but anxious only for as much relief as would make it a day of tolerable ease and comfort to all parties, we only required about one-half of these seats. There is not a sitter present, and I believe not a minister who ever witnessed the ceremonial, that will not vouch for it as being far more impressive and far more characteristic of a day of sacredness than were the crush, and the bustle, and the irritation, and the whole tribe both of moral and physical discomforts that were attendant on the old style of ministration. It is a service now to which many delicate and infirm can repair, who never could have ventured themselves into a squeeze that, without the powers of a robust constitution, was almost overwhelming.

"Such, Moderator, is my aversion to controversy, that I would infinitely rather if no hearing were necessary. The element of debate is one in which I breathe with the utmost discomfort: and to be surrounded with uncongenial minds and uncongenial feelings, is a thing of as great dread and desolation to me as to be placed in the midst of a vast howling wilderness. And surely, my brethren, it is not for us to be ever standing in battle array, as if no game were dearer and more delightful to us than that of combats. There is enough to vex and to agitate the Church without making a trifle to light up a torch of discord in the midst of us; and, therefore, while I cannot give up without a struggle the substantial advantage of my present arrangement, while I cannot willingly recur to the bustle and the pressure and the fatigue, and the oppressive length and weariness of our old services, yet sure I am, that if we can be protected from these, and all that is required be some meaner sacrifice, about which it were utterly childish either to have or to prolong a controversy, then should I most honestly rejoice in some accommodation that might restore us to the peace which I love and to the cordiality of this brotherhood, which I feel indeed most anxious to maintain.

"I shall only say, that my general dislike to controversy is aggravated and made far more intense when I bethink myself of this controversy. I declare, that on the question whether the communicants should look at each other, or should all look in one way to the minister, I would be positively ashamed to appear as a combatant even on the right side of it. I can conceive nothing more fitted to make our Church the laughing-stock of the public, and the business of our Church the jeer and the scorn of infidelity, than the exhibition of so many grave and grown-up ecclesiastics letting themselves down to the arena of a discussion in every way so paltry and so puerile. This is not a matter for which the peace and unanimity of our Church ought to have been hazarded, and can scarcely be obtruded upon the public notice without reminding observers of the fierce and frequent agitations of a former age, when tippets and surplices, and priestly garments, and sacramental postures formed the materials of many a sore and disquieting argument. I cannot find it in my heart to feel a greater homage for the table controversy than I have for the tippet controversy of a generation that has now gone by; and sorry should I be if our Church, by descending to entertain it, shall let itself down to the taunt and the scorn of a public whose literature, and whose cultivated intellect, and whose powers of searching or satirical discernment have so wofully outrun its Christianity. Yes, my brethren, there are fitter and nobler topics for our ecclesiastical judicatories. The country has higher demands upon us than to waste our strength or our time upon such puny altercations. It were more befitting the dignity of this Court if, instead of lavishing its wisdom on a thing so trivial as what may be called the etiquette of ordinances, it were to look abroad on those melancholy wastes where both the spirit and the form of our ordinances are alike disregarded; if instead of exhausting our own forces on a paltry and vexatious warfare within, we were to turn them in one mighty combination against the power of the common enemy; if instead of turning upon us the eye of a jeering world, we should compel its reverence by the character of importance and of worth which sat upon all our deliberations; in a word, if we should match and master the spirit of this infidel age by a lofty sense upon our part of the lofty interests that are confided to us, and instead of stooping to the imbecility of points, if we came forth in the whole business of our courts and of our parishes armed with the reason and authority of unquestionable principle."

How this great controversy of the tables was disposed of by the supreme judicatory of the Church was thus pleasingly related by Dr. Chalmers, many years afterwards, when lecturing to his students in Edinburgh about zeal for circumstantials and the magnifying of small matters in religion :—"If," said he, "there be any geographical distinction between one part of Scotland and another in this respect, I would say that the interesting relics of the olden pertinaciousness and the olden zeal for little things, are to be found most abundantly in the West. I am sure I affirm this without the slightest feeling of reproach or even of disrespect. Were there no other principle, indeed, than my love of antiquities, I should feel inclined to regard this peculiarity with the utmost toleration; for, agreeably to the general law which I have just announced to you, I have found it associated in that part of our Establishment with so much of upright and pure and resolute assertion in behalf of great principles, that I, with all my heart, forgive the obstinacy of this adherence to small points, and retain in their favour a very large surplus of high and positive esteem to the bargain. For example, they have been all along the sturdy champions of non-pluralism in the Church, of ministerial residence in the parishes, of sacredness in Sabbath observation, of the cause of Christianity at home by their incessant efforts to enlarge the Church accommodation, and of the cause of Christianity abroad by the support which they have ever rendered both to Bible and Missionary and Colonial societies. After this goodly enumeration of great and noble services, the occasional littleness wherewith they at times may be associated are like spots on the sun, and I am sure ought to be viewed in no other light than with the most good-natured indulgence, just as one views the feebleness or peculiarities of some aged friend for whose substantial worth at the same time we have a just veneration. Accordingly, it is not within the limits of the Bothwell region—that land of sturdy principle, signalized by the exploits and the martyrdoms of our covenanting forefathers—where I would attempt the slightest innovation on their ancient forms, however harmless, or even to a certain extent beneficial; seeing there are many there who, on the proposition of any change, however insignificant, will resist you by saying they will never consent to let down even the smallest pin of the tabernacle. There was an attempt some time ago to introduce the organ into the Scottish Kirk—it was the most unwise of all enterprises to attempt it in the west. Since that

the abomination of a painted window in one of the churches was obtruded on the public gaze; but it could not be permitted to stand another Sabbath in the west. To read the line in psalm-singing is one of the venerable and antique peculiarities of our land; and the abolition of it met with far the sturdiest resistance in the west. The antipathy to paper in the pulpit, which used to be in force all over Scotland, is still in greatest force and inveteracy in the west. I state not this for the purposes of levity or ridicule, but of presenting to your notice the very peculiar conjunction which I have just now remarked upon between a zeal for great principles, mixed up, as it often is, in the history of the Church, with a zeal and tenaciousness about the merest bagatelles. The west is the very quarter to which I look most hopefully for the revival of our Church and the maintenance of our highest moral and religious interests; and however amused therefore with the innocent peculiarities to which I have just now adverted, it cannot dispossess the veneration and serious regard wherewith I look at that portion of our Church —very much, in fact, as our General Assembly looked at the question which broke out about the tables, and finally disposed of it—when our venerable mother, sitting in her collective wisdom, was called on to decide the quarrel that had broken out among her children, she allowed me, the one party, to continue the table-service in the way I had found to be most convenient; but, instead of laying aught like severity or rebuke upon the other, she, while disappointing them of their plea, dismissed them at the same time with a look of the most benignant complacency." *

In March 1823 a presentation to the Inner High Church of Glasgow was issued by the Crown in favour of the Rev. Dr. Duncan Macfarlane, Principal of the University of Glasgow. On the 11th June this presentation was laid before the Presbytery, when after some discussion it was agreed that it should lie on their table till next meeting, for the purpose of mature deliberation on the peculiar circumstances of the case. It was not doubted that the Church had full liberty to receive or to reject such a presentation. There was a general concurrence in the judgment delivered by Dr. Hill—"that the Church Courts have sufficient power to prevent any union of offices when the duties of the two are found incompatible." In favour of that

* See Posthumous Works, vol. ix. pp. 394-396.

particular union of offices which the Presbytery of Glasgow was now required to sanction, not one redeeming or extenuating circumstance could be urged. The duties of each office were sufficiently onerous, if discharged aright, to fill up all the time, and exhaust all the energies of the ablest occupant; and both were amply endowed. If such a plurality were permitted, it would be difficult to discover upon what principle any plurality could be condemned. With Dr. Chalmers special circumstances conspired to awaken the most determined resistance to this contemplated conjunction. He had been struggling for years to convince the Church and the public that in our large cities a population of eight or ten thousand, many of whose families had sunk into the lowest condition of ignorance and irreligion, was much too large for any minister to undertake. He had got his friends to supply the funds, and the Church to give her sanction to the disjoining a portion of his own parish, and to the erection of an additional church within its bounds. Other three clergymen of Glasgow having imbibed his principles, and being animated by his example, had originated measures for the erection of chapels of ease in their respective parishes. The grand process, on which he believed so much to hang, of breaking down the overgrown parishes into districts small enough to be thoroughly pervaded, had most hopefully commenced. But it would traverse all the principles which he had so strenuously advocated; it would falsify all that he had said about overwrought ministers and overpeopled parishes; it would tie up his hands from ever soliciting again from the civil or ecclesiastical authorities that clerical labourers should be multiplied and clerical labour be subdivided; it would do much to check the career so auspiciously commenced, and to darken the hopes which now brightened its earliest stages, if the Church herself were to take a parish which was as large and as difficult to manage as St. John's, and commit it to the care of one who was already burdened with the duties of a Principal. Most willingly and heartily, therefore, did Dr. Chalmers co-operate with Dr. Macgill and the other opponents of pluralities in resisting the settlement of Dr. Macfarlane as minister of the High Church. Their first efforts were successful. By a considerable majority the Presbytery of Glasgow "judged it to be both inexpedient and incompetent to proceed in the presentation laid on their table to Dr. Macfarlane, in respect that he appears to them to be, *in hoc statu*, an unqualified presentee." Against this judgment Dr. Macfarlane protested, and

appealed to the ensuing Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. On the 16th October the Synod proceeded to consider this appeal from the judgment of the Presbytery. The legal and constitutional grounds on which the Presbytery had acted were ably stated by Dr. Macgill and others. It was reserved for Dr. Chalmers to allude to the allegation which had been industriously circulated, and which had found a place even in the papers submitted to the Court, that those who resisted the settlement of Dr. Macfarlane were resisting the supreme power in the State, were acting the part of disloyal subjects of the Crown. After some general observations he proceeded to deal with this allegation.—"I would have said no more, but for one affirmation in the reasons of the appellant, even that this proceeding of ours is 'disrespectful to the Crown.' That is indeed a noble anecdote of British jurisprudence in the preface to De Lolme's 'Essay on the British Constitution.' On his first arrival in London, he attended a court of law, when the cause happened to be a question between a subject and a prince of the blood. It was decided for the subject, and against the prince—a circumstance which in itself was quite enough to surprise the foreigner. But there was an accompaniment to the thing which surprised him infinitely more than the thing itself; and that is, that no surprise whatever was either felt or expressed by the spectators—not even one movement of popular satisfaction, and no mobbish or tumultuary delight because of the poor man's triumph, and the great man's overthrow. And why? because the thing just happened in the even and ordinary course of English justice; it was but an everyday incident in the administration of law; and of the whole assembled public who were present, and had looked calmly and intelligently on throughout the whole of the process, not one discovered the slightest astonishment, not one betrayed any indecent exultation at the verdict, because it was precisely the verdict which, from the abstract merits of the case, they had been led to anticipate. It was this which gave to this enlightened stranger his profoundest sense of the excellence of our constitution; and this is the origin of far the soundest treatise which has appeared on the government and constitution of our highly privileged land.

"Now this is a noble anecdote. It has the moral sublime in it; and were I called to fix upon the thing that should be placed over against it in most direct and humiliating contrast, it should just be this reason of the appellant. It is a reason I could not

have dared to utter in your hearing, lest you had rebuked me into silence for so presuming on the paltry and pusillanimous stuff which this venerable Court was made of. It is a bugbear to frighten children; and foreign as it is to all the habitudes of English justice, it would indeed sound most strangely in English ears. It smells of feudalism all over; and in politics, it is as unlike to the true spirit of British loyalty as in religion a drivelling superstition is unlike to the homage of a rational and enlightened piety. Take my word for it, sir, that no feeling of the sort exists at head quarters; nay, were the whole truth known, the feeling there would be exactly the reverse. In the hurry and hard-driving of the public offices, things are often done before the evil tendency is understood, and then a loop-hole of retreat is deemed of all things to be the most desirable. And were it only known with what fond, yet painful interest, the whole of Scotland was now looking on; were it known that our Kirk, with all its errors, was still the dearest object of our people's veneration; were it known how much it is that the righteousness of her measures is fitted to gladden all the land, and to pour the sunshine of an honest triumph into the very humblest of our cottages; were it known that, by this appointment, the most loyal magistracy in our empire have been thwarted, and the purest and most patriotic designs for the public weal are now placed on a brink of fearful uncertainty;—were all this known, I feel sure, as of my existence, that the royal complacency would smile upon our calumniated labours, and not upon the men who could degrade their sovereign into a scarecrow, and prostitute his venerated name to the service of a hurtful and unhallowed usurpation.

"I am far from alleging anything personal against the presentee, whom I know to be a most accomplished gentleman, and whose talent and energy and literature fit him so well for gracing the high office wherewith he is invested, and shedding an illustration on the distinguished University over which he presides. I would be far from making him an offender for a word, and am most willing to believe that this obnoxious clause hath crept inadvertently into his paper; at least, I am quite sure that he could have no unworthy or dishonourable purpose by its insertion, and perhaps was not even aware, at the time, of its undoubted tendency to fasten a political odium on our side of the question, and to implicate in the charge of disaffection a set of men whom he knows to be as orthodox in their politics, and in

every way as leal-hearted as himself. If I have been betrayed into any warmth, it is not the warmth of personal antipathy, but of public principle; for it is indeed mine honest conviction, that if this decision of our Presbytery be finally carried, there is not a single blow by which, on the one hand, a deadlier infliction can be laid on Radicalism, and, on the other, the cause of royalty be more surely riveted in the hearts of my countrymen. There will be a tumult of delight throughout all our borders, but a moral reverence for the throne will mingle loud and high with our nation's ecstasy. The king—God bless him!—will gather in every Scottish eye a fresh lustre upon his diadem; and with such an intermedium between him and his subjects as a pure and disinterested Church, nothing, from one end of the land to the other of it, nothing will pass upwardly to the royal ear but the plaudits of a grateful and rejoicing population."

After a lengthened hearing of the case, the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr affirmed the sentence of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and the matter was carried by appeal before the General Assembly of 1824. In the debate which took place upon the question before the Supreme Court, Dr. Chalmers made another effort to avert from the Church the dreaded evil; but the spirit which had been evoked in the west of Scotland had not yet spread widely enough over the country, and when the vote was taken in the General Assembly, it was decided, by a large majority, that the sentence of the Presbytery of Glasgow should be reversed, and that Dr. Macfarlane should be admitted as minister of the High Church.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DR. CHALMERS IN THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY—IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS RELATIVES—IN GENERAL SOCIETY—IN SECRET BEFORE GOD.

"Mr. Irving remained for two years in Glasgow as Dr. Chalmers's assistant, after which he was called to the metropolis, where a speedy and unbounded popularity raised him to an elevation such as no Presbyterian minister before or since has ever reached in London. Even in Glasgow there were not a few who became enthusiastically attached both to his person and his ministry. It could not well be otherwise. Mr. Carlyle has said of him—and assuming his point of view, we doubt not the perfect truthfulness of the picture—"What the Scottish uncelebrated Irving was, they that have only seen the London celebrated (and distorted) one can never know. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came into contact with. I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever (after trial enough) found in the world, or now hope to find." Such a man was never without devoted friends. In his preaching, although breaking through all common trammels, he was, while in Glasgow, still under a species of restraint. His conscious power had not yet full freedom, and was working (perhaps it would have been better had it continued to do so) under checks. Many, however, saw and felt that power, and admired its products. "His preaching," said Dr. Chalmers to his successor, "is like Italian music, appreciated only by connoisseurs." On leaving Glasgow Mr. Irving delivered a farewell oration, in which the whole wealth of his magniloquent phraseology was lavished upon an eulogy of Dr. Chalmers, to which, in the presence of the St. John's congregation, Dr. Chalmers was forced to listen. The manuscript was left for publication. The proof-sheets having been sent to Dr. Chalmers for revision, in his absence fell happily into hands discreet enough to reduce the high-flown panegyric within the bounds of reasonable praise. Returning some months afterwards to Glasgow, his printed sermon was handed to Mr. Irving, who, on looking over it, broke out into expressions

of astonishment and indignation at the liberties which had been taken with his production—expressions which had been more measured had he known who the culprit was.* Though himself innocent of the mutilation, Dr. Chalmers rejoiced at the result. "My dear sir," he said, speaking of it to a friend, "if that sermon of Mr. Irving's had been published as he delivered it, what would the world have said both of us and of St. John's congregation, but that we were all members of a joint-stock puff manufactory." The friend to whom this was said was the Rev. Mr. Smyth, Mr. Irving's successor in the assistantship of St. John's, to whom, as having lived for some time in the family—his own most kindly nature laying him open to all its genial influences—we are indebted for the following picture of Dr. Chalmers's domestic life, as well as for the tribute to the memory of her who, while the pages of the first volume† of these Memoirs were informing thousands of her priceless worth, was withdrawn, in the peace and hope of the gospel, from all the approval and fellowships of earth to the more kindred communion of the heavens. "It was on Saturday, June 8, 1822," says Dr. Smyth, "that I joined Dr. Chalmers at Limekilns for Glasgow. I shall never forget the kindness which he showed me that day. Although a native of the west of Scotland, I had not been in the city of Glasgow since my childhood, and that merely for a few minutes. All was new and strange. My heart was full, and my anxiety was intense. Well do I recollect how thoroughly Dr. Chalmers made me acquainted with the localities through which we passed along the Canal. 'Come now, my dear sir,' (I seem at this moment to hear the very words,) 'and I will initiate you into the mystery of the locks,' a mystery which I had never seen before. At intervals he was busily occupied with the perusal of Sibb's 'Soul's Conflict,' a book which he greatly valued on account of its deep experimental character. We reached Glasgow on Saturday evening, and had a most affectionate welcome from the Doctor's family, including his aunt Jean, as she was lovingly called, an old lady with whom I afterwards spent many happy hours. When we entered the dining-room for tea, my eye lighted on a table literally covered with letters, the accumulation of a few days. It appeared to me a most Herculean task for any man to address himself to the reading, how much more to the answering, of some fifty or sixty epistles

* The abridgments had been effected by Mrs. Chalmers, to whom Mr. Irving was particularly attached, and whom he used to call his second mother.

† Original edition.

on all varieties of subjects, public and private. It was Dr. Chalmers's practice at this time to reply to his correspondents, whenever it was practicable for him to do so, in course of post. In his answers he generally confined himself to the matter immediately on hand, waving prefaces, and getting at once *in medias res*. In this way, although, perhaps, no man in Britain had a more extensive and multifarious correspondence, he succeeded in never falling behind with his answers. I have repeatedly seen him reply to ten or twelve letters in the course of an hour. In this respect, as in others, our venerated friend was a striking example of the power of methodical adherence to a fixed system in accomplishing what to most men would have been an insuperable labour.—Sabbath, June 9th, was the commencement of my public work in Glasgow. I preached in the school-house in the morning, and in the parish church in the afternoon, and heard Dr. Chalmers in the evening. The Lord was very gracious and helpful: I got through with calmness, and felt, I trust, thankful for better strength than my own. Arrangements were made for my continuance in Glasgow several weeks, and during that period I had ample opportunities of becoming well acquainted with Dr. Chalmers's 'manner of life,' as well as of his mighty enterprises for the temporal and spiritual welfare of men. Many have been under the impression that Dr. Chalmers was more a man of powerful impulses, who achieved wonderful things by fits and starts of burning zeal, than of systematic persevering application of mind. There never was a greater mistake. With all his transcendent genius and talent and philanthropy, I am satisfied that the main secret of his strength lay in his indomitable resolution to master whatever he undertook. What has been considered by some as a defect was indeed an excellence of no common order. When convinced that it was his duty to address himself to some course of study or of action, he concentrated on that his energies of mind and body, and with indefatigable assiduity completed his work, unless some urgent call of duty, which did not admit of postponement, interfered. Dr. Chalmers devoted at least five hours each day to study;—I use the word in its proper sense;—he was thus studiously occupied partly before breakfast, and thereafter till one or two o'clock in reading and composition. These were his hours, and it was understood that they were, except in the event of some special emergency, not to be invaded by friend or stranger. It being midsummer when I first resided under his roof, he gener-

ally relaxed for two hours, taking some favourite walk, and kindly inviting me to accompany him. The Botanic Garden was a much-loved resort. He luxuriated among the plants and flowers of the season, and delighted to examine minutely the structure and the beauties of some humble production that would have escaped the notice of a less practised eye. He said to me one day, after he had been rapt in admiration of Nature and Nature's God—'I love to dwell on the properties of one flower at a time; to fix my mind on it exclusively until I feel that it has taken complete hold of my mind. This is a peculiarity of my constitution. I must have concentration of thought on any given thing, and not be diverted from it.' My attention was arrested in the garden by a sun-flower of large dimensions and exquisite colouring. He said, with deep emotion, 'O that we could so open our hearts to the beams of the Sun of righteousness!' It was in such scenes that one not only saw but felt that the train of thought was heavenward—that his heart and his treasure were in heaven.

"He dined generally at half-past four o'clock; and it was Dr. Chalmers's practice to sally forth, as he playfully expressed it, after dinner, from his house in Windsor Place to St. John's parish, spending at least two hours several nights in the week among his parishioners. In these visits it was repeatedly my high privilege to accompany him. They were generally short but most instructive—*multum in parvo*. He possessed a singular power of stating the sum and substance of the Gospel in a few comprehensive and most weighty sentences, and closed each visit with a most appropriate prayer. . . . The more advanced hours of the evening were spent in a less onerous way—letter-writing, or the literature of the day, or the society of friends who partook of his large-hearted hospitality and that of his beloved household. In no respect did Dr. Chalmers present a more attractive example of all that is kind and lovely than in the bosom of his own family. His children were young, but they were to him objects of daily and most affectionate interest; he was playful amongst them even to occasional romping. His smile of fatherly love was ever ready to encourage their approaches; and when absent for a few weeks he printed little letters for their acceptance. I can hardly trust myself, even at the distance of so many years, with detailed references to that once happy and precious home in which it was my lot to spend several months. The united heads of it have been removed

from that household of which they were at once the ornament and the glory—revered, beloved—shedding down on children and domestics sweet and hallowed influences binding all in one home-circle of warm and steadfast attachment. I may be permitted here to record my tribute of affectionate reverence for the memory of Mrs. Chalmers. To have been the wife of such a man afforded a strong presumption of qualities which *he* thoroughly estimated; and none who knew his lamented wife well could fail to be satisfied that she was in all respects a help-meet for her distinguished husband. Possessed of talents decidedly superior, of large and varied information, of warm-hearted affections, and of what is infinitely better, enlightened and decided piety, Mrs. Chalmers commanded the esteem and the confidence of her family and her friends. Her judgment was calm, sound, and comprehensive. She possessed a tact and a delicacy of perception which fitted her for being a wise and faithful counsellor. Dr. Chalmers had *unlimited confidence in her discretion*. He felt that her coincidence with him in opinion or in plans was of great value. She strengthened his hands and encouraged his heart in every labour of love. Nor did she ever forget the limits of a woman's sphere: exquisite feminine delicacy was united with great vigour and promptitude of mind. Habitually cheerful and happy, there was a sunshine of the soul which even the clouds of affliction did not obscure. Her health frequently suffered, but this trial served to bring out more fully the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Thoroughly conversant with Dr. Chalmers's views in regard to many exciting questions, she entered into his enthusiastic defences and expositions of them with her whole heart. And with what gentle affection she poured a healing balm into the waters when ruffled, or in danger of being so, tendering some word in season that bound up the wound which ignorance or envy had inflicted. Her kindness to myself during my repeated sojournings I trust that I shall never forget. I experienced in her society much that was calculated to guide my inexperience, and to strengthen me for private and public duty. Her discernment of character was remarkable. It seemed as if by intuition she could at once discriminate between the true and the false-hearted, and yet there was the charity which hopeth all things. As a wife, a mother, a mistress, a friend, a disciple of Him who was meek and lowly in spirit, few are better entitled to affection's warmest tribute. It was my mournful privilege to be with her on that day which covered Scotland's

Church and people in sackcloth; and after the mortal remains of the husband who had been so many years the dearest object of love were deposited in the grave, not one murmuring or impatient word escaped her lips; all was lowly submission to her Father's good and righteous will—a widow indeed, but firmly trusting in the widow's God, and raising her agonized yet confiding heart to Him who was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. The conflict of nature was severe, but the victory of faith was not denied. Her sainted spirit had communion in its sorrows with the unsuffering inhabitants of heaven, and after a brief season of earthly tribulation, she too has entered the rest that remaineth for the people of God. May we be indeed followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises."

It was one of Dr. Chalmers's earliest prayers for her who was afterwards to be his wife—"O my God, pour Thy best blessings on G. Give her ardent and decided Christianity. May she be the blessing and the joy of all around her. May her light shine while she lives; and when she dies, may it prove to be a mere step—a transition in her march to a joyful eternity."* It was while so many were reading this prayer for the first time that the last of its petitions was fulfilled.

At the time of his removal to St. Andrews, which was now approaching, Dr. Chalmers's family consisted of four daughters. "You know," he said, in announcing the birth of one of them, "my preference for daughters. I honestly believe they are the better article of the two." The eldest of his family was six years old when the following letters were printed for her:—

"Dunblane, *Saturday Evening.*

"My dear Anne,—I rode all the way from Glasgow to this place on the top of a coach. When I came here I found Mr. Buchanan standing at the place where the coach stopped, and he was very glad to see me, and shook hands with me, and took me to Mrs. Buchanan and Miss Taylor. I dined with them, and then went to another house, where I pay money to the person who lives in it for allowing me to have a room of the house to myself. In this room I sleep, and eat, and study, and see all the people that call upon me.

"There is a number of people from Glasgow and other places in this town, living in rooms of different houses like myself. The thing which brings them here is a well of water about two

* See p. 219.

miles off, of a very bad taste, but it is good for the health to drink it. That is the reason why I have come here, and I drink the water every day. I went one morning to the well, and there was a great number of ladies and gentlemen all drinking the water out of tumblers. But instead of going so far as the well before breakfast, I get the water brought to my room, and I drink six tumblers full of it every morning.

"I began this letter on Saturday, but I find it very slow work, and cannot do much at a time, so that it is now Wednesday. I preached on Sunday at Lecropt. The church is so small, and the number of people was so great, that I had to preach out of doors. You know that in the Sauchope Hall road the watchmen go into a kind of wooden presses; well, Papa got into one of these presses and preached to the people, who were standing or sitting on the grass.

"I do not see Anne, or Eliza, or Mamma, yet I am often thinking of them, and love them much, and pray that we may all please God and meet in heaven. I am your earthly father, God is your heavenly Father, and He is always thinking of you, and loves you, and wants you to be fit for seeing Him in that happy and glorious place where Christ sitteth at His right hand. Papa has written you this letter to let you know how much he wishes you to be good and obedient to your parents, and sorry for your faults, and desirous of becoming better, being kind and respectful to all who are older than yourself. And so likewise has your Father in heaven written you a letter, a very large letter, that has been printed and made into a book, the name of which you very well know. And what I want you to do with that book is to read it, and to do what it bids you, and to mind what it tells you, and to pray that God would enable you more and more to understand and to love it; for be assured, my dear Anne, that it is only by taking our lesson from God, and doing the will of God, that we can either please Him in time, or be happy with Him in eternity.

"I am now to write the rest of this letter to Mamma, but when she is done with reading it she will give it back to you, and you will keep it as your own.

"Be a good girl yourself, and tell Eliza that Papa bids her be a good girl also."

"KIRKCALDY, *Tuesday, November* 16, 1819.

"MY DEAR ANNE,—I mean to write a very long letter to Mamma, but have not yet time to finish it; I will therefore

write a few things to you just now. It was yesterday when I left Glasgow, but I had not time to call in at the nursery to see you and Eliza, for I was afraid I would be too late for the boat. So I went up to the Canal, and got on to the steamboat, where you remember that you once were. Now there are two steamboats at that place, and each of them likes to get in a great number of people, because the more people go into the boat, the more money comes to the owners. Well, after the two boats left the land there was a great strive betwixt them who should sail fastest, and the people in the different boats got very angry at one another, and the boat that I was in struck the other boat, and it shook in such a way that one of the men in this other boat fell into the water, and he would have sunk down to the bottom of the sea and been drowned, but he was able to swim, and he kept himself a long time upon the water, and he cried out to the people in the boats to help him, for both the boats were sailing fast away from him, and if we had left the poor man in the sea he would have sunk down to the bottom of it and died.

"Papa saw the poor man in the water, and he heard him cry, and he was very much afraid that the man would not be taken out again, and that so, if he has any little children like you, or Eliza, or Grace, they would have lost their papa. Well then, the other boat put out a little boat with men in it to go after him, and our boat turned round and went up to him, and we threw out a rope, and he got hold of the end of it, and we drew him out of the water and into the boat, and the poor man was so wet and so cold that he trembled very much. But he was very glad, and we were all very glad that we had saved his life.

"I came to Kirkcaldy yesternight, and slept in uncle Sandy's new house; and this day before dinner I married Sandy to aunt Helen, and her name is no longer Miss Pratt but Mistress Chalmers. We had nobody at the marriage but grandpapa Pratt, and grandmamma Pratt, and Miss Willis, and the servant. Grandpapa Pratt was dressed in a red coat and gold buttons like a soldier. There is a very curious custom here, that when people are married the boys get money for buying a foot-ball to play with. After dinner there came one set of boys and got three shillings, then there came other boys rapping at the door, and they got three shillings, then after that there came more boys still, and they also got three shillings, however when other boys came, making a great noise and calling out through the key-hole,

'Oh, doctor, if you please, give us a foot-ball,' we thought that we had given away enough of money, and would give no more, so they ran off, and huzza'd upon the street; and I will write mamma afterwards how we got home from grandmamma Pratt's house to the new house of uncle Sandy.

"Be a good girl. Papa loves you. God loves you. Papa sends you a letter, and tells you a number of things, but the great use of a letter from Papa is to tell you to be good. God has also sent you a letter, and that letter is the Bible, and the Bible tells you many things about kings and prophets, and wars, and families, but the great use of the Bible is to make you good. If you do all that the Bible bids you, and believe all that the Bible tells you, you will be taken up to heaven, and be for ever happy with God.

"Learn about Jesus Christ, and love Him because He is your Saviour, and keep His commandments. Be very kind and good to Eliza, and tell her that Papa loves her very much.—Yours truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

His father's family was now widely scattered, and in the tumult of such a life as he lived in Glasgow, it was not easy for Dr. Chalmers to sustain a very regular correspondence with any of them. At Anstruther, the bustle of a large and stirring household had been exchanged for the stillness of an almost deserted dwelling. Of her fourteen children, one daughter only was left with Mrs. Chalmers to cheer her solitary widowhood. For upwards of forty years her life had been one of incessant domestic activity; her gentler husband too much engaged in business during the day, and too fond of cheerful relaxation in the evening, to share much of that burden which the continued watching over so many romping restless children imposed. Her singular firmness both of principle and purpose fitted her to control a household where there were elements at times impatient enough of restraint. "Thomas," she once said, in a slow deliberate tone, as her manner was, even when most excited, "Thomas, remember that I am your mother." It tells both for the power of the one and the impressibility of the other, that when he was at an age much above that of boyhood, this single sentence was sufficient to check the impetuous youth. Both parents shared equally the spirit of an inflexible moral integrity; both were scrupulously methodical in their general habits, and strictly punctual in the keeping of all en-

gagements.* But yet the diversity was great: it showed itself even in look and manner—Mr. Chalmers tall and commanding in presence, but bland and affable and easy of access, with a smile for every one, and a jest for those who liked it; Mrs. Chalmers stout and short, as kind in heart, but more measured in courtesy—of a peculiarly firm and steady gait, and almost undeviatingly rectilineal in all her motions. Mr. Chalmers was social in his feelings and habits, a lover of gentle glee, a humorist himself, and a hearty relisher of all mirthful tales. This love of humour was shared by many of his children, but it was altogether wanting in their mother. The family at Anstruther was often in a roar of merriment, but Mrs. Chalmers remained unmoved. If, however, she had less wit than her husband, she had more practical wisdom—if less fitted to win love and reverence, she was more fitted to command obedience and respect—if her temper was less mild and amiable, her sense of the true and the right was so strong, and carried into action with such unwavering resolution, that she often stood firm where he would certainly have given way. One of the most submissive and affectionate and dutiful of wives, she was one of the most energetic of mothers, confirming her right to enforce their duties upon her children by the faithfulness with which her own were discharged. She had not lived many years with a husband of such simple and devoted piety till she was led to the same fountain of peace and holiness out of which he drew so largely, and having become one with him in the good hope of the gospel of Jesus Christ, she became one with him in heart and purpose as to all earthly things. To her his death was a most desolating stroke, nor can one well conceive a greater contrast than that between those years of her married life, when so many children were growing up about her, and the ten years of her widowhood, when she was left almost alone; yet she never wearied, nor did a

* The punctuality which reigned over all the domestic regulations was sometimes not a little inconvenient to Mr. Chalmers's guests. His aunt, while living in the house, appearing one morning too late at breakfast, and well knowing what awaited her if she exposed herself defenceless to the storm, thus arranged to divert it. "Oh! Mr. Chalmers," she exclaimed, as she entered the room, "I had such a strange dream last night. I dreamt that you were dead." "Indeed," said Mr. Chalmers, quite arrested by an announcement which bore so directly upon his own future history. "And I dreamt," she continued, "that the funeral day was named, and the funeral hour was fixed, and the funeral cards were written, and the day came, and the folk came, and the hour came, but what do you think happened? why, the clock had scarce done chapping striking twelve, which had been the hour named in the cards, when a loud knocking was heard within the coffin, and a voice, very peremptory and ill pleased like, came out of it, saying, 'Twelve's chappit, and we're no latten.'" Mr. Chalmers was himself too great a humorist not to relish a joke so quickly and cleverly contrived, and in the hearty laugh which followed, the ingenious culprit felt that she had accomplished more than an escape.

single hour hang heavy on her hands. She read, she wrote, she worked, she went on errands of kindness among the poor, and not even in the days when her strength was greatest and her hands were full of many cares, did her steady indomitable spirit of perseverance more remarkably exhibit itself. Her family was much scattered, but she sustained a correspondence with them to an extent quite unusual with those of her rank and years. Births and marriages were happening almost yearly in the family, and scarcely an event of this kind occurred at which some piece of handiwork from Anstruther did not tell of her kind remembrance. She had so laid out her time for weeks beforehand, that the day never came without bringing its set work along with it. She had a number of pensioners whom she assisted in different ways, and among whom her visits and services were distributed with the most precise regularity. There were few left in Anstruther of the associates of her early days, and her extreme dislike to all petty gossip, conspired with the weeding hand of time, to narrow her circle. It was her rule, as she herself announced it (and she never had a rule which she did not execute), that whenever told of anything that a neighbour had said or done amiss, she instantly put on her bonnet, and went at once to the person, and told what had been said, and told who said it, and asked if it was true. It is not likely that to the ears of one known to practise such a habit many tales of scandal would be conveyed. Of her higher life —her hidden walk with God—there are some memorials which we shall hereafter present; meanwhile, the following extracts from letters written to her by Dr. Chalmers will convey an idea of the affectionate interest which he continued to take in her welfare :—

"Dumbarnie, *August* 13, 1818.

"My dear Mother,—I hope you will at all times apply by letter in every case of duty or of difficulty where my presence is required. This is my own wish and feeling; and I am sure it is Sandy's also. We hope that you will enjoy great comfort and peace, and should like to do all in our power to make up for the heavy loss that we all have sustained. It were well if we could turn with all our hearts to God when earthly props and earthly comforts are so fast departing away from us—that we were living as strangers in this land of sin and suffering—that we were labouring after that holiness without which there is no meetness for heaven, and that in the prayers and preparations of a life of

faith we found our time to pass away and to leave the lasting fruits of improvement in grace and righteousness behind it.

"It is my earnest prayer that Christ may be all your desire and all your salvation. He casts out none who come unto Him. God casts out none that come unto Him through Christ. There is abundance of good-will in heaven if there was only faith upon earth: but the straitening lies here. The assurances of God's kindness in Christ Jesus are heard by us with the hearing of the ear, but the inner man does not take hold of them. When I wish for you that God would work faith with power, I wish that which would sanctify us wholly here and secure us an inheritance of blessedness hereafter.—Believe me, my dear Mother, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Grangemouth, Sept.* 25, 1818.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—I am thus far on my way back to Glasgow. I left Mrs. Chalmers yesterday at Kilmany. I can truly say, that however kindly I was treated by my old acquaintances I did regret the necessity which kept me from Anster. I never felt a stronger inclination to visit it than I did during this excursion; but circumstances made it quite impossible. I can only say for myself, that I shall ever, I trust, feel it to be my inclination, as I know it to be my duty, to come as frequently as I can well get away; and I beg you will be quite free in letting me know whenever there is any special necessity for my presence. I do indeed feel a more tender relationship to Anster than ever; and though my father's death has broken one tie with the place, yet your solitude has bound the other tie more closely than before.

"It is my earnest prayer that our late melancholy visitation may be blessed and sanctified to us all. It is indeed woful to think of the carnality of our hearts—of our strong natural aversion to God and to godliness—of the total want of affection for the things which are above—of our listlessness and carelessness under the most affecting bereavements and the sorest dispensations of a kind Providence. All this is indeed very sinful, and it is well to know that it is a sinfulness which must not merely be forgiven, but which must also be overcome ere we can reach heaven. Without holiness no man can see God. This is just as much God's truth as that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin—a very alarming consideration truly to those who are not seeking after holiness, or who know not where alone it is to

be found, even in the fulness of Jesus, through whom it is that we are washed and sanctified as well as justified.

"Give my kind compliments to Isabel and my Aunt. It is my prayer for you all that you may be saved. This was Paul's prayer for Israel, who were his kinsmen according to the flesh; and it were well for us that our natural affection were more strongly and more habitually turned towards the great object of the everlasting salvation of our relatives.

"Let me know if you can read my present letter; for if you can, it will give me satisfaction to know that I can make myself legible. I have made a particular effort, and I hope I have succeeded in it. I think pretty well of it myself, but I am not the best judge of that matter.*—I am, my dear Mother, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Glasgow, Jan.* 14, 1819.—I read your letter with great satisfaction and gratitude. It delights me to perceive that you have so much comfort after the desolating stroke that has been inflicted on you, and that God has been pleased to mingle so much enjoyment with a lot darkened by one of the heaviest of all temporal calamities. . . .

"I am rather disposed to think that the trouble you are put to on account of the Radernie money being heritable is all as it should be; but I hope that you will get it all accommodated and to your mind by and bye.

"Let us cherish the spirit of strangers and pilgrims on the earth. Our business here is to perfect holiness in the fear of God. It is not enough that we make use of Christ as our propitiation: we should use Him as our strength and follow Him as our example. It is a striking passage where He says, that unless we forgive we shall not be forgiven. All those who have redemption through His blood are endowed with the same grace towards their fellow-men that they have received from His hands. What need is there for prayer and watchfulness, to be a Christian indeed. Let us lay hold of the covenant of peace with God, and He by putting His love into our hearts, and writing it in our minds, will sanctify us wholly.—Believe me, my dear Mother, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*April* 24, 1819.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—I am just now in the

* "I had a letter last night from Thomas. They are all well. It is a vast labour the reading his letters.—I sometimes take a week to make them out."—Letter from Mrs. Chalmers, dated 14th November 1821.

Canal-boat on my passage to Glasgow. I left home on Monday, and have spent the week with Lord and Lady Elgin at Broomhall, and am now on my return to it. . . . I gladly avail myself of such an opportunity as I can obtain for writing to you as the present. The truth is, that in Glasgow I have a great deal of work both without and within doors, and often feel no inclination to write after the fatigues of a laborious day. I also find that a press and redundancy of business are greatly against the progress of one's personal Christianity, and may well understand how it is that in the parable of the sower the cares of life are enumerated among the thorns which choke the good seed of the word of God. I think that an excursion to the country ought to be good for one's spiritual interest as well as for the mere object of repose. It is observable that both Christ and His apostles are most strenuous in warning their disciples against carefulness. There is no commandment in the keeping of which there is a more immediate reward than that by which we are charged against indulging oppressive or disquieting thoughts about the things of a present evil world. Our Saviour, indeed, gives us no warrant for extending our anxieties on this point beyond the present day; He counts these anxieties to be enough for us: 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' When to-morrow comes, it will bring its cares and its necessities along with it. And what a mighty relief would it yield to one's spirit, could we cast all our care about futurity on Him who careth for us—could we 'be careful for nothing, but in everything, by prayer and supplication, make our requests known unto God,' and thus be enabled to give our entire mind to the one thing needful, an undistracted strength to the seeking of the kingdom of God and its righteousness.

"But though every day brings its cares, and we are called upon not to care for to-morrow, yet every day brings also its duties; and there can be no doubt that what the hand findeth then to do, we should do then with all our might; and, indeed, it is by the strenuous performance of this day's duties that futurity is often provided for.

"I did not anticipate this vein of reflection when I sat down: I have been led to it by my own experience and my own case. And there is often such a resemblance in human hearts and human circumstances that it may not be altogether unacceptable to you.—I am, my dear Mother, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Glasgow, Dec.* 29, 1819.—My dear Mother,—We received your letter, along with a parcel from Miss Leslie. I have indeed been very throng, but I am getting into a state of greater quietness and regularity. We are all in good health here; and though times are very hard for our labouring classes, yet we confidently look forward to days of greater peace and more abundant employment for them than we have had for a good many months back. . . . It is of truly deep and awful concern that we choose the better part. But, on the other hand, it is most encouraging to know that life is the season of free offers and free invitations from heaven. There is a righteousness already provided, which is unto all and upon all who believe. There is an obedience already rendered, the whole merit of which is imputed to the faithful; and none are prohibited, but all are entreated to put in for their share of the fulness that is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We never will come to rest till we come to this. There is a natural legality about us in virtue of which we seek to establish a righteousness of our own. This is an attempt which the longer we prosecute the wider will be our distance from true peace of heart; and not till we come to a simple reliance on the blood and mediation of the Saviour, will we know what it is either to have trust in God, or know what it is to walk before Him without fear, in righteousness and in true holiness.

"The apostle says, 'We love Him because He first loved us.' Let us only be once convinced that He bears a good will to us, and we will not be long, through the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, of bearing a gratitude towards Him back again. It is the want of faith which gives rise to want of love; and therefore it is that our prayer should be for larger and larger measures of that faith whereby we are saved, and that faith whereby we are sanctified.

"It is my earnest desire to see you soon; but I cannot well leave Glasgow.—Believe me, my dear Mother, yours very truly,

Thomas Chalmers."

"*Edinburgh, Feb.* 4, 1820.—My dear Mother,—I sincerely hope and pray that this illness of Sandy's may be blessed to his spiritual and everlasting good. It is truly lamentable to think of the delicacy and difficulty which obtain among human beings, and in particular if they are nearly related to each other, and which restrains them from speaking freely and closely and

earnestly about one another's souls. I wish I could be more at ease and more urgent upon this subject than I find myself to be, so as to discharge the apostolic injunction of being instant in season and out of season. May God grant us all a more affecting and practical sense of eternity, and lead us to cleave more habitually to Him whose blood hath atoned for the guilt of all who believe in Him. . . . It gives me the sincerest pleasure to observe that Mr. Murray has been so attentive to you, and has offered an opinion upon your business which both you and James are inclined to follow. I trust that your anxieties on this matter are now drawing to a close, and there is nothing of which I feel more truly and earnestly desirous than that the evening of your days should be spent in piety and in peace.

"There is certainly much to comfort us amid the trials of a wise Providence in this world, and did we look with a believer's eye beyond the world, we would there behold a region where all was light and tranquillity and joy—a God in heaven proffering His love to us—a High Priest at His right hand through whom the chief of sinners may draw nigh—a Holy Spirit through whom it is that we are made to feel the word of promise in its power and in its preciousness, and who, if He dwell in our hearts, will be to us the token and the earnest of our heavenly inheritance. The crosses of human life serve to try whether we have faith to keep these things fast, whether we count it all joy when we fall into tribulation, whether we are more glad because of the hopes of a coming heaven, or more sorrowful because of the hardships of a present world. They furnish a test, in fact, how it is that our affections lie, nor do we know how a Christian can give a more satisfactory evidence of the reality of his faith than in looking onward to the things which are unseen and eternal, to feel the present affliction to be light, and even bear it with patience and with thankfulness.

"I preached yesternight to all the Sabbath-scholars in my parish, amounting to 1200. There was a very full attendance, and the children filled the whole body of the church.—Believe me to be, my dear Mother, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Dr. Chalmers's correspondence with his eldest brother, while modified by James's peculiarities, partook of that racy vigour with which both writers could wield the pen. Adopted by his grandfather while yet an infant, James had been early separated

from his own family, and almost as soon as his education was finished he forsook his native land. Chagrined by losses and disappointments, he resolved never to enter business again on his own account, and left Liverpool to settle in London as clerk in an extensive mercantile firm. His situation was lucrative enough to enable him to leave a handsome independence to his family; but imagining that it was not all they might have desired, he became unwilling to see much of his Scottish relatives and friends. This unwillingness soon found ways and means of justifying itself, and fostered by a sensitive temperament grew into a passion. In a family remarkable for hospitality he stood alone, both in his ideas and in his practice, as to social intercourse; but so much spare energy did he possess, that, unsatisfied with a sturdy defence of his own position, he delighted in assaulting that of others. Behind all his assumed unsocialism there lay a true warm heart; nor could anything be kindlier than the welcome which, whenever they did come to him, any of his Scotch relatives received. Let us hope, too, that behind all the apparent dislike to religionism there may have been hidden, or may finally have been formed, the simple spirit of a comforting and sanctifying Christianity. Soon after Dr. Chalmers's settlement in Glasgow, James lost his only son, and the following correspondence opens with the letter written to him at that time:—

"Glasgow, *October* 25, 1815.

"My dear James,—It is with much concern that we hear of the afflicting dispensation which has come over your family, and that by the death of your only son your domestic circle has suffered so sore and so melancholy a bereavement. It is little that friends can offer upon such a melancholy occasion but the expression of their sympathy and their prayers; but it were well that as so little help can be looked for from man, we were to lay the whole burden of our sorrow upon Him who does not afflict willingly any of the children of men.

"A beautiful sentiment I have met with in some author is, that when friends die away from us we should draw nearer together, and yield a more affectionate support and assistance to each other during what remains to us of our earthly pilgrimage. But a still higher and more enduring effect of such a chastisement is, when it carries our wandering hearts to Him who alone has the words of everlasting life—when it rebukes our neglect of that message which contains in it the will of God for our sal-

vation—when it gives us a more earnest direction of heart than we have ever before experienced to Him who came to destroy death—to redeem us from the curse of the law which gives death its sting—to secure pardon and everlasting life to those who believe and obey Him—and of whom it is said, that he who hath the Son hath life, and he who hath not the Son hath not life.

"Give my warmest and kindest condolence to poor Mrs. Chalmers. May God strengthen her under the heaviness of her present affliction; and Mary, who I am sure has had her heart sadly moved and agitated by this melancholy event. It is my earnest prayer that it may yield the peaceable fruit of righteousness to one and all of you. Mrs. Chalmers joins in kind remembrance of you.—Yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Glasgow, April* 18, 1818.—MY DEAR JAMES,—I should have written you sooner, but I have been very much occupied. There are many doings in this place that a minister has to occupy himself with, and which give him an infinitely less command of time than I had in my country parish. However, I suffer much less from the encroachments of society than you seemed at one time to apprehend; and a letter of yours upon this very subject contributed not a little to my adoption of a defensive system, which has done much to secure my time and my independence.

"I am sorry to understand, by a letter from Jane, that you do not feel yourself altogether comfortable in your present situation. I trust you may get another that may accommodate you better; and in the meantime it is my earnest wish that you feel as comfortably and bear as calmly and determinedly as circumstances will admit. I remember the day well when any external and uncontrollable necessity would have led me to abandon myself to impatience and vexation. In this respect, though I am often visited with the remainder of the old spirit, I think that I can say my temper has undergone some improvement. The cause may not be so easy to assign; but of one thing at least I am sure, that while it is the duty of every man on higher grounds to search the Scriptures, even because in them there is everlasting life—yet he will also find there lessons of a peaceful and philosophic tendency, by obedience to which all that is calculated to annoy and discompose other men, is made to feel light unto him.

"I would have you to be without carefulness. 'Be careful for nothing, but in everything, by prayer and supplication, make your requests known unto God;'—'Godliness is profitable unto all things, and has the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come;'—'Cast all your care upon Him, for He careth for you;'—'God is my helper, and I will not fear what man can do unto me;'—these are a few out of many dissuasives against such thoughts and feelings as tend to corrode the very root of enjoyment in this world, gathered out of a book which if we neglect, we do it at the peril of all our expectations in another world, and will indeed most assuredly incur the doom of 'How shall ye escape if ye neglect so great a salvation?' . . . All here are well. Helen is still with us. A letter from Jane refreshes and delights us occasionally. I do hope to hear from you soon. Give my kindest compliments to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary; and believe me ever, my dear James, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"LONDON, *May* 4, 1818.

"DEAR THOMAS,—I observe Jane has been writing to you about my situation not being a very pleasant one. It is indeed far from being comfortable;—indeed, I have been on the outlook for some time, but can hear of nothing as yet that is likely to suit. You do not say whether you are likely to publish any thing soon. I lately got your sermon before the Hibernian Society; and I believe our countrymen here feel rather sore that you should have favoured the Irish so much and denied the like favour to the Scotch, who fully expected that you should also have published your sermon for their benefit. They think you have made fish of the one and flesh of the other. . . . I believe I mentioned to you some time since that some of the printsellers had executed a figure intended to represent you, which they had in fact bound up with some of your works, which is a most disgraceful thing; and I would really beg of you to get a correct and rather flattering miniature taken of yourself, so as to give the lie to these catch-penny things who have so completely bungled you in this kind of way; for by binding up and selling with your works this ugly thing, you are handed down to posterity as one of the most frightful-looking figures that ever existed."

"*November* 20, 1818.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—My mother you know to have very great

resources in herself; she is fond of what, in Scottish phrase, is called *trocking*, and the garden with the outhouses, and the work of various little charities which she practises in Anster, will afford complete scope for the indulgence of this favourite propensity. I have received some letters from her lately, and am much pleased with the Christian spirit manifested in them. I trust that her affliction will be improved to her by the power of Him who alone can sanctify and bless all His visitations.

"It grieves me to perceive that you are not comfortably situated. I like not to obtrude upon you what you may feel to be my offensive peculiarities, and yet I would be keeping back what I hold to be a most important testimony, did I not advert to the power of Christianity in smoothing and softening all the annoyances of life. I doubt not that your feelings are perfectly natural in respect of discomfort and provocation; but sure I am that nothing will give solid peace, even in this world, but the gospel of Jesus Christ; that without this there is no situation but will minister vexation and bitterness to the occupier, and with it there is no situation that can altogether rid a man of his tranquillity."

"London, *January* 4, 1819.

"Dear Thomas,—I am at all times obliged to you for your good advice, and shall very thankfully receive it upon religious subjects as well as on any other. I mention this because you like not, you say, to obtrude upon me what I may feel to be your offensive peculiarities. Now, they are the very reverse of being offensive, and you are much mistaken if you think that I am at all indifferent to this subject. I may not perhaps go to what you may consider a sufficient length in outward appearances, being rather a closet religionist than otherwise, and a former careless habit may still lead me at times to express my indignation by a hearty ——, but I am by no means insensible of the power of Christianity in smoothing and softening the annoyances of life. My great want is the opportunity of exercising it in peace and with an undisturbed mind. . . .

"You seem to have misunderstood my hit as you term it at the sainthood. I do assure you I mean no disrespect whatever to that most useful and respectable set of men; on the contrary, I am fully sensible of their value and importance to society, though at the same time I do confess there may be some of their opinions and ways that I do not approve. You seem also to have a notion that I do not hold with the sentiments and pre-

cepts of the Bible; but in this you are also much mistaken. It is my wish to make the Bible the rule of my faith and conduct. I know no other religion than that of believing in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and endeavouring to frame my life according to their precepts. I do not hold with what is called religious intercourse; it is a matter entirely between God and my own heart. I hold no communication whatever with man upon the subject, except that of hearing the word preached; for I have often found that religion has been made a cloak for the worst of crimes, and I firmly believe that there is more wickedness practised under its mask than in any other way; and I do confess, that when I observe a man take any out of the way pains to convince the world that he is a religionist, I view him with a most suspicious eye. Their notions of sin I cannot say I altogether hold with. It appears to be a great sin for a man to pull a weed or two out of his garden on a Sunday, but it is not a sin to break in upon a family on the Sabbath evening, and then sit two or three hours scandalizing the whole neighbourhood. It is a heinous and crying sin for a man to express his indignation at wickedness or injustice by an oath. I do not mean to justify the crime of profane swearing, but I mean to say that swearing is an open, and, if I may use the expression, an honest sin. It tells at once for itself. It exposes fully to the world its own deformity by its own act. But a man may be guilty and in the daily practice of all the other sins to the very latest hour of his existence, and not be found out, and he retains to his last breath the character of an upright religious and honest man. Now, we often find it to be men of this very description who are the strictest religionists, whose very light is darkness, who are the tithe-payers of mint, &c., and neglect the weightier matters, and who go about hawking it from house to house, leading astray silly women, &c. You never will hear me speak disrespectfully of religion, but you may of those who profess and practise it, though I am far from entertaining opinions of this kind of the generality of professors. I am a member of no sect: I am only an occasional hearer. I commune with none but God and my own heart. JAMES CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *February* 18, 1819.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—I received yours of the 4th of January, and should not like to defer answering you for a long time. I have been much occupied of late by the publication of a volume

of 'Congregational Sermons,' which have been five months in the press, and which I expect to be out next week. I expect to be able then to send you two copies, one for yourself, and another which I beg you may forward to Mr. Morton in Gloucestershire.

"In reply to an observation of your letter, you will forgive me for saying, that whenever Christianity is real it confers a peace which carries it over all the disadvantages of external situation, and that where the peace does not exist, there is reason to fear that it is due not to what is adverse outwardly, but to what is adverse inwardly. It is not to judge but to warn you that I take the liberty of remarking, that that man's pretensions to heaven would be utterly discredited could it be said that under a strong inducement he uttered an occasional lie; and I fear that as little can be said for that man's religion who, under some strong provocation, utters an occasional oath. It is a bad external symptom of the state of the heart, and of the way in which it really stands affected to this matter of supreme and vital importance. And perhaps a cool and direct examination of the heart itself might throw light upon this subject, might lead one to ascertain whether there be any honest or practical earnestness about it, whether God be the Being with whom we have really at any time to do, whether His message be habitually listened to, or habitually neglected, whether the great peculiarities of that doctrine on the reception of which He makes all human salvation to turn, be our familiar food, or be strange to our minds as a piece of dark and unknown mysticism. All this may perhaps be got at by an act of deliberate self-inquiry; it is a question of most fearful importance, and it were well for us not to shrink from it now, while return is possible, and pardon is within the reach of our offer, and God stands in readiness to receive even those who, by the alienation of a whole life, have done all that in them lay to provoke and to estrange Him.

"Do take all this in good part; you know that I have no ill will. Give my kindest compliments to Mrs. and Miss Chalmers, and believe me, dear James, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"LONDON, *April* 21, 1819.

"DEAR THOMAS,—I received yours of the 18th February, and am afraid from a letter since received from Anstruther that my mother appears likely to experience considerable difficulty in getting her money from the Radernie bond. I have been most

cruelly hampered and annoyed by Scotch borements, and it really begins to assume the appearance of a sort of systematic persecution. . . . It is the tremendous train that is always at their rear, and the set they are sure either to bring with them or send after them that frightens me at Scotch visits. What for instance could be more pleasant to us than to have either Charles or Alexander up for a week or so during the summer to look about them, were it not for that vile system of introductions, that incurable Scotch disease of making you acquainted with all their acquaintances. It is really carried to such an unreasonable pitch that I am afraid to approach even so near as to write a letter; and I daresay Sandy has thought it strange that I never answered the letter he wrote me when Jane was married. It would give me great pleasure to see some little reform in the manners, customs, and propensities of my countrymen. You take a deal of pains with the savages abroad, but you never think of those at home: the one I do assure you want civilizing as much as the other. JAMES CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *May* 14, 1819.

"DEAR JAMES,—I shall have it in my power, I trust, to spend some time in Anstruther in the months of June and July, when I shall pay every attention to my mother's affairs, and do all I can to place matters on a secure and comfortable footing for her.

"In your complaints about Scottish obtrusiveness, you go completely beyond the sympathy and understanding of all your friends in this quarter. I am convinced, that if you subjected the matter to a calculation of the real time that it has taken away from you, you would be astonished to find how perfect a bagatelle you had made a bugbear of and allowed to disturb you. At all events, it is easy, I apprehend, to protect yourself from people whose society you do not like, without such a tremendous expense of discomfort and uneasiness to yourself. The brooding over it, I am thoroughly convinced, creates ten times more of real suffering than the whole matter of the annoyance itself would, and that without practically helping on your deliverance. It really appears to me that you have a morbid excess of feeling about the whole of this matter—insomuch, that the very appearance of a Scotchman in your street is enough to light up a war of apprehension within you. I am sure there is nothing I would like better to see in you than a more tranquil temperament of mind, founded on such conceptions of the truth as would lead

you to have peace and joy in believing, and would enable you to feel lightly all the cares and vexations of a deceitful pilgrimage.—With best compliments to Mrs. Chalmers, I am, dear James, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"LONDON, *June* 1, 1819.

"DEAR THOMAS,—My mother seems to think that as next heir-male I can lay some claim to the estate of Radernie, but they may make a kirk and a mill of it before I give myself any trouble about it. My riches do not consist in the possession of money, but in the possession of the domestic quietness and peace which I am permitted to enjoy. I have no wish to extend my means so as to meet the demands of connexions. My great object is to curtail my connexions so as to make my means answer, and consequently an introduction to a new acquaintance has not the effect of getting me a new acquaintance, but a contrary effect, that of losing an old one; for let the introductionist be who he will, I cut him.

"My situation continues daily to become worse and worse. I suppose I am now in a state of punishment for the concern I was led into at Liverpool in the slave-trade, and that I must look forward to nothing but a continued state of bondage while I live:—

'Slave merchant once,
But now himself a slave.'"

"GLASGOW, *April* 18, 1820.

"DEAR JAMES,—I am sensible that it is long since I wrote, but I am sadly overdone with employment, and must be held a privileged man in respect of correspondence. I have sometimes to throw off twenty communications in the day about my home business, and then the letters from a distance get leave to accumulate for a time, when the load becomes at length oppressive to my feelings.

"You will have read much of Glasgow of late in the newspapers. There was great alarm, and a very general feeling of insecurity for some time, and nothing but the presence of an overawing military force has kept the peace of our city. What explosion may occur on their departure remains to be seen, but there is quietness, and a very general return to their work, in the meantime.

"Sandy was most alarmingly unwell. His physician said, about six weeks ago, that if there was no change, he would not

live above a few hours; in the meantime, he is recovering and gaining strength, though slowly, and there is ground to apprehend that he may be very much of an invalid during the remainder of his days.

"My wife and I were at Kirkcaldy for about a fortnight when Sandy was at his worst. Let us hope that his distress may detach him from the love of a world that is in every way unworthy of the affections of an immortal creature; and we may be very sure that all is not right about us, and that we are not in a state which it will do to die with, till the love of Him who made the world is shed abroad in our hearts, and we are reclaimed from the ungodliness of nature.

"Give my best compliments to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary, and believe me to be, dear James, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *January* 1, 1821.

"DEAR JAMES,—I daresay I may have good-humouredly said, in John Hall's presence, something about not writing you till New-Year, but it is not on that account that I have selected this day for this letter; the truth is, that my mantelpiece is labouring under the weight of unanswered correspondence, and I have turned this into a holiday from my ordinary work for the purpose of clearing it away.

"May the roll of seasons at length awaken us to true wisdom. There is a way of escape from the corrosions of this cheating and distressful world. I am sure, that would we implicitly walk by the Bible, we should at length find ourselves in a way of pleasantness and a path of peace. The injustice of man would not disturb us; the hopes and disappointments of the world would not overwhelm us. We should feel calmness in the midst of perplexity and persecution. And how tempting are the offers of the gospel when even now it invites us to put on a righteousness which will secure our acceptance with God, and promises such a new spirit and a new heart, as would render us alive to the power of godliness.

"Give my very kindest regards to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary, in which my Mrs. Chalmers most cordially joins. May you have many returns of the season, and may a life of repentance and faith be followed by an endless felicity hereafter.—Believe me to be, my dear James, yours very affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

It is pleasing to know, that with the lapse of years his situation not only became quite agreeable to James, but that his feelings towards his countrymen were in some degree mollified. In March 1836, he writes thus to his sister Helen:—"Your letter of the 20th, and your addition to Patrick's about two years since, contain the only Anster news I have had for the last nine years, and very acceptable and amusing they were to me. I am always fond of hearing Anster news, either about the people or the improvements of the place; and I assure you, I set great store by your last letter, for it had not a single particle of the poison in it, though this one was a little tinctured therewith, but nevertheless in moderation, and I am in great hopes that a Scotch reform is now working in the articles of invitation and impressment, and that the tenets of a certain school will ere long be exploded. Though it is evident that the slime of the '*auld serpent's*' crawl has not as yet evaporated, yet it is pleasing to think that great progress has of late been made towards it, and I hope I may live to see the day when the good folks of Scotland will contract the reality and sincerity of good manners, and, as a matter of course, abandon those of the other description, which never yet had any other effect than that of making the tongue falsify the heart. An invitation, according to my notion of the thing, ought only to occur once in a man's whole life, and it should run thus—'Whenever you come my way, I shall always be glad to see you.' What a comfort it would be if they would only confine themselves to that, and if my good sister Jane, for instance, when she first came to live in England, had just told me that, leaving the rest to me, and suffering me to be the judge of my own convenience and time, I really think I should have visited her long before this and often; but the incessant whipping and spurring and driving, and you must, and you shall, and I'll take it very ill of you if you don't, and I insist upon it, and I'll take no denial, and I can see nothing to hinder you—why, it is enough to frighten a poor creature like me almost out of his wits. Invitation, invitation, rattling and reeling and ringing in one's ears everlastingly, as if a man could have no enjoyment beyond that of guzzling and drinking, and the worst of all is, that they won't believe what you say; for surely, if I tell a man that I like a bowl of kirn milk better than a bowl of punch, he ought to believe me—but no; he likes the punch best himself, and I must like it too, and *ne'er a drap* of kirn milk will he give me. It is, indeed, a great failing in the

Scotch, that they cannot, or will not, admit it possible that a person can have likes or dislikes, or feelings different from their own, and they even go so far as to think they have a right to sport with the feelings of another merely because they have not the same themselves, which shows either a great cruelty or a great want of knowledge of the world; but things, I now hope, are in a fair train of amendment, and that nothing now exists to impede the glorious work of reformation in the manners of the people, or to obstruct the impressment and asking-twice system from being rooted out and annihilated; and then, I hope, a good downright and straightforward 'no' to an invitation will cease to be considered an insult or breach of manners, and that I can enjoy the luxury of a visit to Scotland in safety and comfort, and be suffered to look about me in my own way, when and where I please, without being laid hold of and dragged away against my will to the beastly guzzlement. Now, in all this I do not mean to say anything against, or in the smallest degree to find fault with real hospitality—far from it; hospitality is highly commendable and praiseworthy when properly exercised; all I mean to say is, that the Scotch overdo it, and carry it beyond its proper bounds, by their system of impressment; for surely they ought to allow the object of it to have a say in the matter, without cramming it down his throat whether he will or not. Now, you see what a grand sermon I have written to you, and I hope you will seriously consider it, and come in to it, and profit by it, for sure I am that the great Dr. Chalmers never wrote such a sermon in his days; but, after all, I begin to think I am getting too old now to go to any distance from home, and it is many years since I had a journey of any kind, for as people get into years, their tastes and enjoyments undergo great changes.

"I was just thinking the other day of some few curious particulars relating to myself which may not be unamusing to you were I to state them. It is very near forty-seven years since I first left Scotland, and nearly thirty-five since I was in it at all. I have not been in a Mason's Lodge since the present century commenced; it is upwards of thirty-two years since I was on horseback; it is thirty-two years since I heard a minister of the Established Church of Scotland preach; it is twenty-three years since I saw the sea; it is sixteen years since I was at a greater distance from London than eight miles; and I have not now a single relation living upon the face of the earth whose house I

ever was in in my life. Now, I am sure, you cannot complain, for I have written you a long letter of highly important intelligence."*

We have to invite the reader to enter a different region as he takes up the religious portion of that correspondence which, during his residence in Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers maintained with Mrs. Morton. In the course of this period, Mrs. Morton was severely tried by the death of one of her sons, who, though very young, with evidence of superior talent, gave evidence also of a genuine faith in Christ :—

"Glasgow, *June* 24, 1816.

"I wish I had more to communicate to you of what is called experimental religion. It is easy to expatiate with sense and consistency, and scriptural soundness on the truths of Christianity; but these truths are proposed to my mind, and if I embrace them I have faith, and faith, wherever it exists, has its accompanying influences, and I should like that I could feel those influences more; and it is the consciousness of these influences in the shape of love and peace and joy, and actual strength for obedience, which supplies every Christian with all that he knows and all that he can tell of his religious experience. The primitive Christians had this in great perfection. Peace ruled in their hearts, and they rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory; and they had the feeling of a faith which grew exceedingly, and of love to the saints and to all men which made distinct and sensible progress within them. Let us keep by the Saviour, that He may, by His Spirit, work the same things in us, and beautify us by His salvation, and give us to second and to feel His work of grace within us, that we may have the witness and be able to tell of the great things which He has done for our souls.

* Inheriting the parental punctuality and the parental Toryism, James carried both of them to an extreme degree. In balancing his private receipts and disbursements at the close of a year, one penny more than he could account for appeared to have been spent that penny cost him weeks and months of uneasiness, till, crossing one of the London bridges, which he had occasion to cross once a year, and on which there was a penny toll, he suddenly remembered that twelve months before he had paid a penny there which he had not entered in his books. Under the excitement of the moment he adjourned to a neighbouring coffee house, and dedicated a foaming draught of porter to the great discovery. After the passing of the Reform Bill, to which he was greatly opposed, he addressed the following note to the collector of the assessed taxes: "I hereby give you notice, that I refuse to pay all farther rates and taxes until after the 21st of July next, my sole object in so doing being to render myself ineligible to be registered as a voter, for I happen to be one of those who do not consider the privilege if it may so be called to be worth the shilling you charge for it, neither do I feel myself competent to judge of the fitness of a person to serve in Parliament, and therefore leave my share of it to *the more enlightened*. All other payments except those due in April you can have punctually to a day."

"On the religious education of children I shall only say at present in the general, that you cannot begin too early, that God should be spoken of to the very youngest, and the name of Jesus Christ familiarized to them, and every association of reverence and love that the tone and style of the parents can attach to the business of religion should be established in them. Their consciences are wonderfully soon at work. They know what a fault is in reference to their parents, and they can soon feel and understand the same thing in reference to God; and there is much about God being the giver and the maker and the upholder of all things, about which their minds can take in the information, and their hearts can be made to feel a solemn and a touching impression."

"*Glasgow, Feb.* 23, 1818.—My dearest Jane,—I know that Helen wrote you very recently, but I find that I have not answered my last received letter from Pudhill, and I am too fond of the correspondence from that quarter not to recur to it whenever time and other engagements permit me to do so. Be assured then I speak out of the abundance of my heart when I say, that I hold it one of the purest and most delightful of all my feelings in this world of many distractions, that feeling of tenderness which I ever associate with you and all your concerns; and perhaps there is a slight mixture of poetical delusion in the thought, but it is certainly a pleasant one, that the neighbourhood on which Providence hath ordained your habitation, rich as it is in the beauties of nature, and richer still in the pieties and charities of the excellent people who live in it, would be my best occasional retreat from the fatigues and anxieties of my ordinary existence.

"I had written thus far down a week ago, and have since had a letter from Patrick, announcing his settlement with Mr. Gordon, a circumstance which gives me very great pleasure. We had also a letter from Mary Chalmers, who I trust is in earnest about her soul. She mentions that her father is not getting so fond of his present situation, and that this affects his health and spirits. I fear we are too delicate and forbearing in our remarks upon the great topic of immortality, and of that gospel which points the way to it. I meditate a letter to him soon, and I have to request that you will not overlook this subject in your future communications with him. Helen is anxious about Robert, since Patrick writes that he is poorly. Let us

know particularly of him. May God prosper you in your children, and enable you both to suffer and to do the whole of His will respecting them.

"We are greatly taken up with plans and speculations respecting the poor, and churches, and matters of active and Christian economy in our town. I am getting an occasional hit, too, I perceive, from controversialists, but I do not dip at all into their performances till I am enabled to resume a formal and deliberate attention to the subject, so as not to put my mind under the control of such a random and fluctuating element as that of criticism. Thus in the meanwhile I am as much at my ease as the man who is profoundly asleep in a storm.

"The man who really exercises faith in the truths of the gospel will be saved. And there is a style of universality in these truths which warrant the believer to make a personal application of them to himself. If the blood of Christ cleanseth from *all* sin, why may not the believer say from *my* sin? If *whosoever* cometh unto Christ will not be cast out, why should I look upon *myself* as an outcast? If the word of salvation has reached you, the offer of salvation has been made unto you.

"And yet it is as true if any man forsake not all he cannot be Christ's disciple, and therefore unless I forsake all that Christ wants me to forsake I cannot be His disciple. I may try to realize the comfort of the former assertions in my heart without realizing the direction of the latter upon my conduct. But it will not do. The body is in this case full of darkness, because the eye is not single. And every attempt to divide Christ, or to draw the veil from one part of His testimony while we keep it wrapt on another part of it, will always terminate in fruitless and ineffectual attempts to have Him for our friend and comforter.

"The cry however of 'turn us and we shall be turned,' raised even from the very depths of impenitency and rebellion, will not be turned away from; and if it be the cry of one who is in good earnest seeking after God, it is a cry that will not be lifted in vain. It is altogether as much a gift from Christ when we obtain the grace of repentance, as when we obtain the grace of forgiveness; and I am sure that in proportion as I draw from my own energies, for the purpose of making good my repentance, in that very proportion must I fall short. O that we could live a life of faith on the Son of God, and find to our joyful experience that it is a life of holy and affectionate obedience.

"All our family are well. Anne can now read her Bible, and Eliza has all the prattle of an incipient talker."

"*Glasgow, July* 3, 1818.—My very dear Jane,—In the meantime do you maintain your diligence in the use of means, and God will meet you while thus employed with such manifestations of His truth as He knows to be good for you. I have been preaching lately on faith and a *good conscience*, and been endeavouring to explain what it was that an evangelical good conscience consisted of. The conscience of every Christian attests that in himself there dwelleth no good thing. It charges him with the evil that resides naturally and constitutionally in his heart, and therefore speaks to him in the terms of an evil conscience. But he who gives way to his evil tendencies is altogether an opposite person to him who makes head against them—who desires in truth and in good earnest to resist them to the uttermost, and if possible to extinguish them altogether, and who avails himself of every promised aid which the Gospel reveals, that the flesh may be crucified and that grace may have the ascendency. A man may be the tenant of a vile body and yet be a man of the latter description and not of the former. His conscience may trouble him by representing to him how obstinately and how deeply seated a corruption there is in the nature which he brought with him into the world, and from which he will not be finally separated till he leaves the world; but his conscience may at the very same time gladden and cheer him by the testimony that he is plying every expedient of sanctification which the Gospel puts into the hand of a believer for keeping the body under subjection; and this is the very good conscience which Paul had when he said, 'This is my rejoicing, the testimony of my conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom but by the grace of God I have my conversation in the world.'

"I feel the same love to Mr. and Mrs. Hoskins and Miss Bliss that you have. I feel the remembrance of the Psalmody in Shortwood Chapel to be sweet; and many are my associations of delight and tenderness with you and your neighbourhood. I still hold by the wish of making out Gloucestershire next summer; but I must be almost entirely with you, and never preach any more than I find to be good for me—for I go to rest and not to work."

"*Glasgow, Sept.* 3, 1818.—My dearest Jane,—I should have written you long ago, and have condoled with you much sooner in your present condition of sorrow upon sorrow. Let me entreat of you not to be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow; and though it be easier for me to bid your resignation than for you to practise it, yet that does not prevent its being a real and an acquirable state of mind, that one should sorrow not even as others that have no hope—that one should count it joy when they fall into tribulation—that one should walk by faith, not by sight—that one should look beyond the changes and the sufferings of time to the glories and the blessedness of eternity. All this we are bidden do in the Bible—all this we shall be strengthened to do in waiting upon God—all this we shall obtain in answer to the believing prayer that He would strengthen us with all might, according to the working of His glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness.

"I can conceive the bitterness of your bereavement, though I have not yet felt it in my own personal experience. It seems by far the strongest tie of relationship in nature that which binds a parent's affection to his offspring. I have tried to figure the loss of my own children; and should I ever be called upon to bear it, I even now think it the severest infliction next to the loss of my wife, that Providence has in reserve for me.

"I trust that in your case religion will anticipate the work of time—that Christianity will moderate your grief long before the period at which without Christianity the grief would in the course of nature, and by the mere operation of variety, die away. There is one peculiar alleviation in which you ought to take comfort: your son could talk of Christ and take comfort in Him; he could image the Saviour to be his friend; and go not to think that He who said 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' would pass such a feeling unnoticed, or would fail to recognise the faith and the trust and the hope of the young believer as the badges of a relationship, all the privileges of which we have reason to think he is now possessing in glory."

"*Track-boat, October* 13, 1818.—My dearest Jane,—I was lately in the north of Fife, and made a rapid survey of Kilmany and its inhabitants. I could not help being struck with one circumstance, the general change that had taken place among the people in respect of their bodily appearance, proving how surely and how speedily the body draws towards its decay, and

this, combined with the stability of character graven upon their souls, proving how obstinately all the features of worldliness and corruption adhere to us unless a principle more powerful than calculation—more powerful than any that can be excited by the obviousness of advancing frailty and decay be brought to bear upon us. What an argument for immediate repentance, for betaking ourselves to the great movement of conversion immediately—for not merely seeking, but striving, not merely walking, but in the language of Scripture fleeing. The Bible tells us what we are to flee from—the coming wrath; and, oh! delightful intimation, it points out to us where we are to flee to for refuge—to the hope set before us. There we have a sure refuge from condemnation—a hiding-place from the storm. There also we have a sure refuge from the tyranny of sin as well as the guilt of it. Sin shall not have dominion over you; for you are not under the law but under grace. I know not how you feel in this respect, but I am sure that every day I live I have more reason for self-renunciation and self-annihilation; and let me not think this a strange thing, for Paul renounced all confidence in the flesh: he was dead unto himself. Every day I live I feel more and more that I must carry Christ and the exercise of prayer in His name along with me into the very slightest of my duties. Neither let me count this strange, for Paul rejoiced in the Lord Jesus, and was thus made to serve God in the Spirit. Though dead yet nevertheless he lived, and Christ lived in him. He made Christ his sanctification as well as his righteousness, and reached a habit of holy obedience by doing what we in order to attain holiness must do after him, live a life of faith on the Son of God.

"Let me recommend two small treatises which I think would delight you. The first is Serle's 'Christian Remembrancer,' a small duodecimo volume; and indeed all Serle's works are excellent. The second is a pamphlet by a daughter of Sir John Sinclair, entitled 'Principles of the Christian Faith.'* It is well calculated to recommend evangelical principles to the people of higher walks in society.

"There is a good old phrase in the older writers, that of 'acting faith.' As we read the Bible, let us act faith on each clause and verse of it—in other words, let us press upon our minds the consideration of the business of all that we are read-

* "Letter on the Principles of the Christian Faith." By Hannah Sinclair. Edinburgh, 1818.

ing. This may be combined with another good practical direction: Read the Bible with as particular an application to yourself as if you were the only person in the world, and as if, therefore, that redemption which was set up for the world was set up for your special and individual behoof. I advised a person lately to do that, and in homely phrase, as she is a homely person, she *yoked* to the reading of the Bible upon that principle, and by taking home to herself its invitations and its promises and its assurances, she has attained, I trust, peace and joy in believing. Extend this principle to the duties and the threatenings and all the other declarations of the Bible, and then will the believer be also the doer of the word, applying himself to the performance of all its precepts, and in so doing making the appointed use of all its privileges."

"Glasgow, *November* 30, 1818.

"My ever dearest Jane,—I received yours two days ago. I am sorry to perceive that you are still in heaviness, though I trust that you will at length reach a far more speedy and effectual deliverance from it than ever can be gotten by worldly intercourse. You have resources in Christian society, and I do think that Mr. Hoskins's family being so near is a great privilege. Other society than Christian I would not recommend; and I cannot tell you what an improvement has taken place of late in the peace and enjoyment of our family here, since we have adopted the resolution of *going out nowhere* excepting for a business or for a Christian object. This we have rigidly acted on since our last return to Glasgow, and are quite determined from our experience of its advantage never to recur again to society for the mere sake of general fellowship. The thing is endless, vexatious, and in every way unproductive. At the same time it does not hinder us from taking tea in such families as understand our plan, and are willing to turn the tea into a fellowship meeting, being at full liberty to introduce Christian conversation, being carried forward by the congenialities of those around us, and at the same time concluding by family worship. This I have only done twice, however, since we came back, which is upwards of six weeks ago, Mrs. Chalmers's cold preventing her from going out at all. I am happy to say, however, that she is getting better, and I trust that God will unable us to act inviolably upon this system. The spirit of the world is at antipodes with the spirit of the New Testament, withering, blasting, secularizing. The comfort we draw from this quarter is

hollow, deceitful, and ruinous. Keep alive by prayer and the exercise of faith a spiritual mindedness, and you will reach tranquillity in this way if there be any truth in the Bible, for to be spiritually-minded is life and peace.

"At the same time I would come forward with a direction which I think you will derive much comfort from the regular observance of. It is suggested both by my own experience, and by a remark of Brainerd, one of the most devotional and experimental Christians whom the world ever saw. He says, that even to the comfort of a religious life a regular distribution and filling up of time is very subservient, and I know nothing that would conduce more to your perfect restoration at present than such an arrangement and such a determination. One part of our family system we derive much pleasure and improvement from. From dinner to tea I read aloud to Mrs. Chalmers, and I never wish for a single creature to be with us whose call would interrupt this process. We are getting triumphantly on with Milner's 'Church History,' and in the same way it is possible that all the other home arrangements, regularly following each other and making progress towards a salutary object, may be powerfully instrumental in the hand of God to the purpose of sustaining the quietness of our spirits.

"It is a mighty interest we have at stake. Eternity is coming on. There is a contest to be maintained for it, for the crown of life is only given to him that overcometh. Though the warfare be not at our own charges—still there is a warfare. Though God worketh in us, still we have to will and to do, for it is just by making us will and do that He worketh. We should not be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow; we should not sink under the visitations of Providence. There may be a need for being in heaviness for a season, and you have had this season of heaviness. But the weight I trust will at length be cast aside, vigorous expedients resorted to for escaping from its pressure, the prevailing cry to God not cease to be lifted up, till the trial of your faith is completed, and it be found to praise and honour and glory.

"Perhaps you have anticipated me in that part of the plan which relates to family reading. I would recommend above all things religious lives to you. I think you will be pleased with the very progress of this operation, and long, as I do, for the coming round of this agreeable family exercise.

"Be assured that I know of nothing which more binds the

members of a household into a common sympathy than some such joint exercise, from which all derive a common gratification."

"*Glasgow, Feb.* 19, 1819.—My dearest Jane,—I expect to be out with a volume of Sermons next week, and propose sending your copy to London, that it might be forwarded to you by James. . . . Let this thought, that God cannot lie, keep in conscious safety the heart of every one who looketh to Jesus. They who look shall be saved. The sun in the firmament is often faintly seen through a cloud, but the spectator may be no less looking to him than when he is seen in full and undiminished effulgence. It is not to him who sees Christ brightly that the promises are made, but to him who looks to Christ. A bright view may minister comfort, but it is the looking which ministers safety. I know not if you have seen Rutherford's 'Letters.' They would delight you by the strong impregnation of spirituality there is in them, and would perhaps derive a subordinate interest from the Scottish dialect and Scottish familiarity of the composition. . . .

"My dear wife is certainly better than she was, though I am not without my anxieties. I desire to sit loose to the world, and would I could attain a habit of reconciliation with its bitterest deprivations, on the ground that God so willed it. I fear that I derive much of my composure from constant and engrossing employment. I should like to know that my labour is in the Lord, and then should I know that it is not in vain.

"Let us cherish the feeling of strangers and sojourners, and nothing shall disturb us. Nothing, says the Psalmist, offends those who love God's law. Great is their peace. What a desirable salvation is that which saves us from our hatred of God's law, which makes us consent to it, and delight in it after the inward man. Could people see that salvation is not so much from the punishment of sin as from the sin itself, they would be less doubtful about the necessity of sanctification, for in this case to be sanctified were something more than the fruit of being saved. It were to be saved itself; and, in truth, heaven has no other happiness to offer than that which springs from righteousness and goodness and truth. Let us cultivate these, and instead of looking upon heaven as the reward of them, look upon them as our heaven. They form the commencement of heaven here, and will be perfected hereafter, where we shall behold him as He is, and so become like unto Him.—Thomas Chalmers."

"*Fairley, near Largs, June* 30, 1819.—My dearest Jane,—I have to apologize for this long delay. I do not in general suffer my letters to lie over a month, and ere this month comes to its end, I wish to acquit myself of an obligation that I have suffered to hang too long upon me.

"We are at present here in Mrs. Hutcheson's, about forty miles from Glasgow, on the sea-side, where I and the children bathe. I think that Mrs. Chalmers will be much the better of it: she is certainly stronger than she was, but I am not without my apprehensions, she has been so delicate all winter. I desire to bow myself before the will and wisdom of God; but I find, that without a hold of Christ, there is no hold of God at all. I fear that I have not adverted enough to the reception of the gospel as the great initiatory step of our return to God. Let us work as we may before this, we may widen our distance, but certainly not shorten it; and not till the tidings of great joy be simply taken in—not till credit is given to the plain word of the testimony—not till we believe the record—not till we are persuaded by the promises, and so embrace them, are we translated into the vantage-ground of reconciliation with God; and this entrance into peace is also the entrance into holiness. Let a man examine himself and tell me if, at the moment of his sinning wilfully, Christ was in his mind, or a faith in His blood was tranquillizing his fears of God's wrath. He says no. I reply, that had this consideration been present with him, the purpose of sinning wilfully would not have been present with him; or, in other words, let us keep a firm hold of Christ as our propitiation—let us dwell habitually on the doctrine of His cross, and we shall find it our best habitual defence against all the licentiousness and wilful sin that have been imputed to it.

"I had a letter from James in his usual characteristic style some time ago, and I thought fit to write him an admonitory letter upon the subject. It was a temperate enough reply; but there is a diseased nervousness about him of which I am partly conscious myself, and against which I know it is my duty to struggle to the uttermost. If the light of God's reconciled countenance were perpetually in the mind, it would surely keep the temper perpetually unruffled—coming to the great conclusion again, that by keeping the truth of salvation in our memory we keep the influence of the Spirit upon our hearts. What a marvellous gospel is that which opens a free portal to friendship with God for every sinner who will, and into which, if any sinner

enter in, he will find purification as well as peace. May the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and grant that, by being kept steadfast in the faith, you may be kept steadfast in the whole discipline and obedience of the gospel."

"*Glasgow, April* 13, 1820.—My ever dearest Jane,—I am exceedingly sorry to observe from your letter that you appear of late to have been looking more to yourself than to your Saviour. You never will reach comfort or maintain comfort in this way of it. God hath laid on His own Son the iniquities of us all. This is a truth, however much you may choose to intercept it from your own soul by shutting your eyes against it, and however much you may persist in forbidding yourself when God has not forbidden you, and however much you may look away from the grace and benignity and good-will which are above you to the dark and fearful and suspicious nature that is within you. You never will fish up peace and joy from the privacies of your own heart, but you and all are invited to fetch down peace and joy from the Sun of righteousness, who stands openly and broadly in the view of all, and emits the widely sounding voice of 'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved.'

"If you think other people so much better than you are yourself as to resign all your pretensions into their hands, will you just resign your judgment, and more particularly your judgment of yourself, into their hands also? Now, I must say that my judgment of you is altogether different from your own. It is not true that all is over; and it is not true that you are beyond the reach of redeeming mercy; and it is not true that you are not welcome to forgiveness and acceptance through Christ; and it is not true, else God is a liar, that if you come unto Christ you will be cast out as having no part or lot in His salvation. I desire no better warrant for drawing nigh to God than that you have. I want no other calls than those which lie at your door as well as my own. I do not look for a larger and a kinder invitation than that which is equally addressed to you as to me. It is not because a more encouraging offer has come to me than to yourself that I feel peace when you feel none. If there be any difference it may lie in this, that I put the right interpretation upon the offer and you are mistaking it. The truth is, that your great error lies in constantly ruminating upon the act of faith, when you should be looking to the object of faith—in making your comfort turn upon the question, Do I believe?

when you should make it turn upon the question, Is God willing to receive me into friendship for Christ's sake? There may hang a great doubtfulness upon the former question when there ought to hang none whatever on the latter question; and if you would just dwell more habitually on the latter it would bring you into a surer and speedier establishment of your peace, and at length make even the former question cease to be doubtful to you."

"*Glasgow, August* 24, 1820.—My ever dearest Jane,—I cannot express the pleasure and satisfaction which your letter gave me, and I can assure you, that, independently altogether of the gratification I obtained from learning that you were personally in greater peace and comfort than you have been heretofore, I also felt instructed by the just description that you gave me of what I count the very attitude in which a Christian should at all times be found, sensible that in himself there is nought but vileness and carnality and rebellion, and that all his supplies both of comfort and of strength should be fetched to him from the fulness that is in Christ Jesus.

"Be assured, that while you have suffered from an excess of sensibility on the topic of your own sinfulness, there are others, and myself among the number, who feel it to be their sore disease that they do not suffer enough—who are sensible of sin in themselves, without being sensible of its exceeding sinfulness, and whose only refuge, in these circumstances, is that Christ's righteousness can alone avail them for meritorious acceptance with God, and that His Spirit can alone revive within them those moral sensibilities which lie dormant and overborne under a sad burden of carnality."

"*Glasgow, Nov.* 18, 1820.—My dear Jane,—Be assured that it is no want of affection which has kept me from writing to you, but bustle and variety and manifold engagements; and your letters are always acceptable, more particularly when they bring such pleasing accounts of your health and spirits. I trust that the sunshine of gospel truth will ever irradiate your mind; and recollect that your safety does not depend upon the state of your impressions within, which is variable, but upon the foundation which God Himself hath laid, even on the work of Jesus Christ, the strength and efficacy of which are invariable. There is a great deal to be made of the phrase, that 'He is a *tried*

foundation.' Let us try Him, and we shall never find Him give way under us. Let us venture our all upon Christ. And O that we felt more and more of peace in believing Him, and of delight in obeying Him.

"I perfectly agree with you in your sentiments about my mother; she is a truly substantial and meritorious personage, and, I believe, very much in earnest about her everlasting peace. I am glad that the thorns of anxiety about the matter of the settlement are well nigh plucked away from her heart; and there is not an earthly object about which we should be more solicitous than that she shall enjoy the evening of her days in comfort and piety and peace.

"My dear wife and children are at present in good health. I have the utmost reason to be thankful on Mrs. Chalmers's account; I think her better than she has been for these two years; and, I am sure, that never could a kinder and a gentler spirit have been provided for the solace of my companionship through life. I wish you much peace in your family; and as this world's prosperity grows and becomes more abundant, may the still higher blessing of thankful hearts, illumined by the hope of the gospel, grow along with it."

"*Glasgow, May* 11, 1821.—My dear Jane,—I am surprised to hear of the prodigious length of time since I last wrote you. I had no idea that it was four months; but, indeed, my dear Jane, I scarcely expect to be able to do justice to any of my friends while I am involved in the bustle of my present undertakings. I lead a life of great fatigue and activity here, and yet am getting fat notwithstanding. But be that as it may, I have been visited of late by my old ambition for a professorship —that is, however, a theological professorship, where, with God's blessing, I think I could do infinitely greater good to the cause than by fagging among the details of one parish and one congregation. All the civic purposes that were to be served by my peculiar management are now as good as accomplished; and to make ministers is a far higher function than to be a minister. Should I ever succeed in this object, then the unbounded leisure of summer would enable me to do many things that I at present cannot do; and I beg more particularly that you will assure Mr. Aitkins that my declining to do for him the services he requires is due altogether to the pressure and urgency of my own immediate engagements.

"I trust that you will go peacefully and prosperously on in the great work of sanctification. Would you inquire for Guthrie's 'Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ?' It is a small duodecimo, and has been long the favourite author of our peasantry in Scotland. He wrote about a hundred and fifty years ago; and one admirable property of his work is, that while it guides it purifies. It makes known all our defects, but ministers the highest comfort in the presence of a feeling of our defects. To find mercy we need only to feel misery. One of the most precious little remarks I have met with lately is in Owen on 'Indwelling Sin,' where he adverts to a believer being far more apt to be burdened with a sense of sin, and to feel the fear of it in his own character, than an unbeliever, 'because,' says he, 'if we are carried along the stream we fear nothing, and it is only when we strive against it that its progress and power are discernible.'"

"*Glasgow, Oct.* 19, 1821.—My ever dearest Jane,—I was exceeding sorry to perceive the tenor of your last communication —not that it gave me the slightest apprehension for your safety, but that I feel for your present heaviness, for which it would appear that there is a *needs be* (1 Pet. i. 6), though, in due time, God will again exalt you. The cross, my dear J., is the way to the crown; and it still holds true, that the way to heaven is through manifold tribulations. Think not that any strange thing hath happened to you. Your case has been exemplified a thousand and a thousand times over by saints who are now in glory, and such examples have not yet ceased. It is not a week ago since I had converse with a young lady exercised just as you are, and that after an interval of fifteen years, all which time she drooped and was in exceeding despondency under a similar visitation. We are poor weak variable creatures; but Christ is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever. I regard your present darkness as arising from a cloud that passeth over the creature, and not from any real change of aspect or regard towards you on the part of the faithful Creator. You believe in the undiminished lustre of the natural sun even though the day should be overcast and lowering; exercise the same faith in the Sun of righteousness. It requires, no doubt, a stronger faith to believe in the dark, as Samuel Rutherford expresses it, than to believe in the full sunshine of clear and gracious manifestations; but does not this very circumstance prove that safety is

one thing and sensible comfort is another? for, in proportion to the want of sensible comfort may the strength of that principle of faith be on which alone depend the acceptance and salvation of a sinner. It is not he that brightly images the Saviour, but he that believes the Saviour, who shall not be confounded or put to shame. Trust, then, in the midst of discouragements: keep a determined hold while the billows of temptation pass over you: say,—Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him; and when like to give way under the imagination that you are ready to perish, bethink yourself of the cross of Christ, and, be assured, it is utterly impossible you can perish while so employed.

"I am more convinced than ever that professing Christians do not lay their account sufficiently with trials in this world. They are not enough impressed with their condition as strangers and pilgrims; their appetite is far too much set on present enjoyments; nor do any of us feel aught as if we were on a journey of hardships and difficulties, and often great painfulness, else we would be more prepared to endure hardness as good soldiers of Christ Jesus.

"I have been reading lately Romaine's 'Life of Faith,' I am now reading his 'Walk of Faith,' and I mean to conclude the series by reading his 'Triumph of Faith.' I do not want to divert you from the Bible, but I think that these treatises are fitted to urged upon you the very comfort and direction which are in the Bible. He is very precious, in particular, upon the cross; and I begin to see how wrong it is to calculate upon much in the way of rest or recreation on this side of time. Oh! we are not enough of travellers—not enough as if setting or set out on our path to eternity—too much bent on present happiness, rather than living by future hope. If you see not now much of the glory of God, rejoice in the hope of that glory."

"*Glasgow, Nov.* 30, 1821.—Your last letter, as was to be expected, gave me great uneasiness, but I can truly say that it had no weight whatever in convincing me of the truth of your imaginations. You and every human creature have your changes and your fluctuations, but Christ is unchangeable. Disease may draw a sort of darkening shroud for a time over your heart, or it may be permitted to the great adversary of souls to do the same, but the Sun of righteousness is, nevertheless, shining all the while; and your state is altogether different from the state

of those who are in darkness because they love the darkness. This is the state of all worldly men. But you, so far from loving the darkness, feel it to be your sore burden, make it the subject of your heavy complaints, reproach yourself for hardness because you do not feel enough; and yet, I am sure, that were the alternative proposed to you, whether would you have the light of Christ in your soul or be made the most prosperous and replete with earthly enjoyments of all who are alive, you never would hesitate one moment. You would instantly show the difference that there was between yourself and him whose portion is on this side of time, who has made the world his resting-place, and who, instead of longing after the beams of Divine truth, finds them to be in every way offensive and uncongenial to him. If you cannot enjoy at present you can at least wait. You may just look as you can to the word of God's prophecy, aye and until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your heart; and it is impossible that one who so waiteth and so longeth will for ever be shut out from the comfort and the accomplishment of such precious sayings as that 'the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin,' and 'God is not willing that any should perish,' and 'He will give His Spirit to them who ask Him,' taking out the heart of stone, and at length dissolving their hardness, and giving them a heart of flesh."

"*Glasgow, May* 24, 1823.—My dearest Jane,—It gave us all very sincere pleasure to hear of the amendment of your health, and we do most sincerely hope that it will make progress to a perfect recovery. I think it very opportune that you come to us at the time you propose, for it is the very time when I domesticate in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, sharing my whole time between the study of my preparations for St. Andrews, and family relaxation. Even though I should have to spend six or eight hours every day in my attic story, this will still leave a far greater remainder for those in my own house than I have ever had since I came to this neighbourhood.

"If God be pleased to spare me I think that I might now look for more repose and more of attention to my own personal Christianity than I have been able to have in this sadly bustling city. I am so thankful at an opening which combines with a relief that was quite indispensable to me, a station of far greater public utility than the one which I now occupy. It is indeed a mighty call upon me to make it so, that the Christi-

anity of the step has been so much doubted and questioned by many; and additionally to the higher calls of duty, I do confess that I should feel a satisfaction in being able by proof and actual exhibition, to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. This however is of no importance, and should be felt so when compared with the glory of God and the good of His Son's Church upon earth."

"*Glasgow, Sept.* 16, 1823.—My dearest Jane,—It were well if we could at all times simply and firmly put our trust in God. I feel the evil heart that departs from the living God. I know that I have been sadly secularized among the manifold engagements and agitations of Glasgow. It will need much prayer and watchfulness, and stirring up of decayed feelings, to strengthen within me the things that remain and are ready to die. Forbid that philosophy should seduce me from the simplicity that is in Christ. I have often been comforted by that passage where the Apostle adverts to the oppositions of science, but adds immediately, 'falsely so called.' It is false science only that he abjures, and this is tantamount to the recognition of true science. I am strongly impressed with the conviction that from science, and more particularly from that branch of it with which I am now more particularly associated, there may be gathered so many trophies to the glory of God, and to the doctrine of His Son's cross. I entreat your prayers, that God may bless my retirement, that He may guide my speculations aright, that He may enable me simply and humbly and faithfully to prosecute the cause of truth, and, renouncing self with all its vanities, to seek the honour of God, and illustrate His ways for the salvation of men.

"It is proposed that my last Sunday here shall be the 9th of November, which is the one immediately succeeding our sacrament. I shall probably give my first lecture in St. Andrews on the 17th of November, and am hopeful that I may be enabled to describe my course in a decent and unexceptionable way."

"I am quite ashamed of myself," said Dr. Chalmers; "I meet so many people daily in the street whom we ought to have invited here long ago." Mrs. Chalmers, to whom these words were addressed, felt that some slight reproach was cast upon her domestic management, as if a larger hospitality should have been exercised. Her quiet but effective method of turning this

reproach aside was to keep an accurate list of those who sat down to table during the week or two which followed. This list has unfortunately been lost. It showed, that at breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper, on almost every day but Sunday, different relays of guests had been received; and when the gross aggregate was exhibited to Dr. Chalmers he was himself astonished, and confessed that he had no idea that so broad and continuous a stream was passing through his dwelling. The door of that dwelling was indeed thrown quite open; and there were so many waiting to seize the opportunity of personal contact with its admired and honoured host as to create a continued pressure at its entrance. His manifold parochial labours brought parishioners and agents in crowds about him; beyond the limits of his own congregation, a wide circle of friends, who could not persuade him to enter so largely as they desired into general society, were delighted to snatch a few moments of him in his own dwelling, while there was scarcely a stranger or foreigner of distinction visiting Glasgow who, bringing an introduction, did not find that it secured immediate and easy access.* Occasionally he complained of this, but in truth he invited and encouraged it to the uttermost. Let his hours for study be secured, and there was scarcely any wearying of him by any succession of visitors, however numerous or varied. There have at times been three different rooms full of people waiting for him, and when he issued from his retirement he had a cordial welcome ready for each one of them. His social retirement or relaxation lay in a visit to Fifeshire, or a day or two in one or other of the suburban villas, which were always ready to receive him, or in a visit to Mount Greenan or Killermont, Glenfinart or Broomhall. It was a wide range of intercourse from the parochial tea-table of some honest citizen to the cultivated society of the wealthy commoner or the polished peer, but Dr. Chalmers relished it almost equally at either extreme. Delighting in his visitations among the poor, he had the highest possible appreciation of the refinement of manners and high culture of intellect and taste generally attendant upon rank.

"I think it was 1818 or 1819," says Mr. Colquhoun, "that Dr. Chalmers first came to Killermont. I have received (for I was not then at home) an account of one incident of his visit from my friend Mr. Dundas, the sheriff of Selkirkshire, which is

* One of these foreigners with whom Dr. Chalmers was particularly interested was Monsieur Biot, the celebrated mathematician.

too characteristic to be omitted. Our family circle was then unbroken, and among them my eldest sister, who to her many accomplishments added the study of botany, attracted Dr. Chalmers's attention. With his usual warm interest in the pursuits of the young he talked with her on that subject and examined the flora which she had collected. One plant in the series was wanting and he inquired why; on her telling him that she had not been able to find it, he said it was surely to be had in the neighbourhood, and the subject dropt for that evening. The next morning, when the family assembled for prayers, Dr. Chalmers did not appear, and his bedroom was deserted. The family sat down to breakfast without him, nor was it till breakfast was half over that he came into the room, his hat in his hand, tired and heated from a long walk, but carrying with him the missing plant, which he presented to my sister. It is needless to say how much this trait affected the young hearts that were present, as it has remained impressed on Mr. Dundas to the present day.

"Dr. Chalmers's next visit to Killermont must have been in the summer or autumn of 1822, and we all recollect the interest which he showed in conversing with myself, then at Oxford, and with my brother, then quite a boy, on the subject of our respective studies. It was not the manner of a man who condescended to minds far his inferiors, but as if he became one of us, and our studies were as keenly relished by him as if he were himself engaged in them. To my brother he talked eagerly of his boyish studies; of me he inquired much of an Oxford course, and seemed to listen with as much delight to my account of Aristotle's Ethics, which he compared with his favourite Butler, as though the Oxford student could give instead of gaining information; and in his walks with us his delights in nature were more keen than those of any of the party; and whilst rowing in the boat on the river Kelvin gathering the water-lilies, of which I remember he had an intense admiration, his glee was as boyish as ours.

"Some years afterwards he passed several days at Killermont; our family circle was then sorely broken, and there remained only two of the sisters whom he had before seen, but I well remember that to one of these, who died the following summer, his conversation on religious subjects was of the utmost benefit. She saw along with the greatness, the simplicity and tenderness of his mind, and was encouraged, in some walks which she took

with him, to confide to him her doubts and difficulties. I wish I had preserved the letter in which, after her death, he alluded to this, and spoke with characteristic force of the preparedness which he had noticed in her heart for the great change which was then before her. But, mixed with all that readiness to converse on religious subjects, was the same buoyant delight in literature, the arts, and the beauties of nature. I recollect his profound admiration for some casts from busts of the great painters and architects in the capitol at Rome, from which, he said, he took in great impressions—the exquisite enjoyment when, riding in the afternoon on a quiet pony, he was taken to see the distant views of Ben Lomond and Loch Lomond. His habit, I remember, was to go to his room after breakfast, and to remain there till one or two o'clock engaged in writing, at times telling us that he had written without intermission, and, at other times, that he had a blank morning, and had not done a quarter of an hour's work with his pen—his practice being, as he told me, after attempting some time unsuccessfully, to lay his pen down, and take up a book upon some subject entirely different from that on which he was writing, until the inspiration of composition returned upon him, and he then resumed his work. His habits in society varied. Generally, when at his ease, and when his mind was not occupied with a train of thought, his conversation was full of interest, and it became so almost always when those who were with him touched upon a congenial subject, when he threw himself into it with all his peculiar strength and eloquence of language combined with the most unaffected simplicity, but at times I have seen him perfectly silent, and wearing that blank look which he could throw into his countenance when the mind was otherwise engaged. I remember the late Lady Colquhoun gave me an instance of this, which, I imagine, must have occurred about the same time. He had gone, for the first time, to pay a visit at Rossdhu, and Lady C. waited his arrival with great anxiety; when, however, he was shown into the drawing-room, after the first salutations were over, he sat perfectly silent, wearing his blank look. She tried a variety of subjects, but in vain, and he soon retired to his room. On coming down to dinner, he apologized, in the most amiable manner, for his silence, confessing, that a train of thought on the subject on which he was writing had occurred to him on his journey to Rossdhu, and that he was terrified lest, if he entered into conversation, he should lose it before it was secured on paper."

Such was Dr. Chalmers in the bosom of his family, in correspondence with his relatives, and as he moved among his fellowmen. Honoured, admired, beloved, wherever he went and in whatever circle he mingled, spiritual danger might have lurked in the universal homage which was rendered to him, had he been numbered with those who, judging themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves with others, are not wise. But since those memorable days at Kilmany, when the Spirit of God had taught him what he truly was, and what the law of God imperatively required, he had been accustomed to judge himself according to a higher than the human standard, and, by its constant application, had been learning the lesson of humility. How he thought and felt when regarding himself in his higher relationships, and placing himself before the supreme tribunal, the reader may form some idea from the following extracts from a Journal kept during a rapid visit paid to Anstruther and St. Andrews during the spring of 1821, and from his ordinary Journal, which, after a cessation of some years, we recover, although in sadly contracted dimensions, in the beginning of 1822 :—

"*Feb.* 22, 1821.—Read a little of Guthrie with much satisfaction. What a blessed assurance, that they who believe in Christ shall not be ashamed. Let us trust in His promises, and we shall not be ashamed by the failure. He hath promised that we shall not be tried beyond our ability for bearing. He hath promised that they who submit themselves to the mighty hand of God shall be exalted in due time. He hath promised that our sins and our iniquities shall be remembered no more. There is a wonderful charm in the righteousness of Christ becoming ours by faith: it throws another moral atmosphere over the soul, and renews at the very time that it pacifies. I desire Christ to be all in all to me.

"*Feb.* 26.—Surely in the keeping of the heart with all diligence, in the maintenance of the life of faith, in the pressing forward from one degree of grace unto another, in the habitual looking up to God in Christ, and forward to eternity—surely in all this there is enough to keep the mind awake, and to raise it above all the dependencies of a vexatious world. I have derived much comfort from the text, 'Be careful *for nothing*, but *in everything*, by prayer and supplication, make your requests known unto God.' I find relief in prayer. May the overruling God cause all things to work together for my good. I desire to be weaned from myself, and wedded to the Saviour—to abide in

Him, and bring forth such fruits as may glorify the Father. I am on the eve of finishing Guthrie, which I think is the best book I ever read.* I shall leave it as a present to the Anster folks, and pass from it to Brook on 'Religious Experience.'

"*St. Andrews, Feb.* 28.—I have here a very full enjoyment of all the pleasures of memory, and, on looking back to the familiar scenes of twenty-five years ago, feel a most interesting glow and revival in my heart; but the men have all disappeared, and, oh! that we felt as we ought what a shifting land it is that we occupy. . . . I called at the room which I occupied in the College for three years, from 1796 to 1799, and which is still occupied by one of the students. I found three of the divines here, and had a little conversation with them. Went into the closet and adverted to the coal-bunker from which I had been in the habit of making my own fire. . . . Dined with a professorial party: much literary facetiousness, and more of the truly academic cast than can be met with in Glasgow from one end of the year to the other of it. I met with much unmerited kindness, and even distinction; but I still perceive what a seducing thing literature is when unaccompanied with the life and earnestness of Christianity."

"*Tuesday, Jan.* 1, 1822.—Miscellaneous. Wrote an address for my agency. In depression and perplexity on the earlier part of the day, but found great relief afterwards from 'Thomas à Kempis.' Should be greatly more passive and unconcerned than I have hitherto been, and above all, less anxious about vindication in the eyes of my fellows, remembering that it is God with whom I have to do. Oh! teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom. Lighten, if it be Thy blessed will, the pressure of this world's cares, and above all, reconcile me to Thy will, and give me a peace which the world cannot take away.

"4*th.*—Dined with Mr. Ewing. I fear that my manner is greatly too intolerant. Let me guard against it. Oh! let not the flesh have dominion over me. I enjoyed an evening of greater tranquillity than I have had for upwards of a twelvemonth. O my God, do Thou perpetuate this, and enable me to consecrate my days to Thy service and glory. Protect me

* "I should like to know how the little book I left was relished among you. I still think it the best human composition I ever read relating to a subject in which we are all deeply interested, and about which, it is my earnest prayer, that we may all be found on the right side of the question."—From a letter dated Glasgow, 29th March 1821.

from mine enemies, and give me courage and conduct and charity in the midst of them.

"14*th.*—Make me at length to transfer all my energies to the pursuit of what is enduring. Lift me above the world, and mortify me alike to its pleasures and its pains. Yet let Christ live in me, and make me to be all awake to the joys and exercises of the coming immortality.

"15*th.*—A forenoon and afternoon of regular composition. Called on Mrs. Hutchison. Had Mr. Allan Buchanan to drink tea: he is friendly to the chapel speculation. I am sadly depressed when my eye is towards my relations with the creature, but have found an escape from this when casting my eyes towards Divine things. Is not this finding tribulation in the world and peace in Christ?

"16*th.*—A forenoon and afternoon of regular composition. Make daily visits to the Missionary reading-room. Find nought but misery in the field of my earthly contemplations. Cause this desolation to be replaced by the things that are above—by the realities of faith—by the hopes of immortality. Yet I find that I must not let go my hold of Christ, or I relapse into all the perplexities, and agonies, and fears of nature.

"23*d.*—I am getting more into a bustled and arduous state, and must shrink back again a little more into retirement. O my God, may I yield myself up unto Thy service, and actually serve Thee.

"25*th.*—Had a parochial address in St. John's Church in the evening. A little colded. I find how fatigue lays me open to the power of evil thoughts. Is not this a proof that my labours are not spiritual? If they were so, would not a holy influence emanate from them? O my God, give me to grieve not Thy Spirit. May I hold a busy transaction with Him all the day long.

"*Sunday*, 27*th.*—Let me humble myself under the mighty hand of God, and He will exalt me. O my God, aid and counsel me; translate me into the life of faith; give me to lie under a constant sense of death and eternity. Keep me close by Christ, and sanctify me wholly.

"*Feb.* 4.—Attended the session, and had a missionary meeting in church after it. O my God, give me to enter more decisively on the business of my sanctification. Do emancipate me wholly, Almighty Father; and seeing that I have so much of Christianity in word, let me try and taste what sort of thing Christianity is in power.

"*Feb.* 6.—An ordinary meeting of Presbytery; dislike its atmosphere though it is my duty to enter it, and if possible to soften and transform it. I desire a habitual sense of my own emptiness, and long for the feeling of a positive grace or influence from on high out of Christ's fulness. O my God, confirm my peace; enable me to rest upon Thyself, and to fear not what man can do. Accept of my gratitude for Thy preservation of my dear wife. Do sanctify her wholly, and may I be enabled to watch over the souls of my dear children. Deliver me from worldliness, and teach me to know Thyself and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.

"18*th.*—Begin to feel again the fatigue and the sore vexation of Glasgow. O my God, may I be still and do Thy work as Thy servant. Admit me into Thy service. Loose my bonds. Give me to strive that I may enter in at the strait gate. Oh! for Christ's sake be merciful to me, and put Thy law in my heart. Bruise Satan under my feet shortly. Give me to be patient in tribulation, and rejoicing in hope. Introduce me into converse with the spiritual realities of my condition.

"23*d.*—Mr. Gladstone breakfasted, Mr. Erskine dined, and stayed. I felt absorbed, and not so open to Mr. Erskine's conversation as usual.

"*Sunday*, 24*th.*—Was greatly impressed with Mr. Erskine's talk about realizing God every quarter of an hour. O heavenly Father, let me do it, and free me from the sense of guilt towards Thyself, and enable me rightly and rejoicingly to lift up my head in the presence of my enemies.

"25*th.*—Disturbed, but feel great alleviation in the habitual realizing which I have had all this day of God. O sustain me in this, Almighty Father! May I hide me in the pavilion of Thy residence.

"27*th.*—Gleams of comfort, all of which to be true must be shed upon me from higher and greater views than any which this world can open.

"28*th.*—O my Saviour, I do nothing for Thee!

"*March* 20.—Had a clerical meeting in Dr. Dewar's. Greatly soothed and relieved by its spiritual atmosphere.

"*April* 7.—May I exercise myself unto godliness. O my God, may the fear of Thee supplant every other fear, and the love of Thee subordinate every other love. It is humiliating amid the busy externals of religion to think how little my soul

is taking up or making progress therein. Cause me to be filled with that peace which passeth all understanding.

"8*th.*—This our day of thanksgiving; Mr. Hamilton preached. Had a small party of deacons and elders along with Dr. Scott. Erred in bringing on the topic of pauperism, and so elbowing out better things.

"9*th.*—O my God, cause me to hold Thee in constant remembrance. Restore energy to me, but let me never lose sight of my creatureship and my worthlessness. May I be pure in heart, and so see God. Loose all my bonds, and may I serve Thee with delight and thankfulness all my days.

"10*th.*—A remark of Mr. Craig's about the recognition of the Spirit both in our private Christianity and in our ministrations impressed me much. I desire to grow in detachedness from this world, and in devotedness to Him who made it.

"*Sunday*, 14*th.*—Was fatigued, but went through a good deal of family exercise in the evening. Regaled myself with the solidity of the objective part of religion, and long to enter a field of enlargement in preaching on the essential truths of the gospel. Let me know nothing among my people but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

"*Sunday, April* 21.—I was greatly fatigued, and feel particularly deficient in such soul exercises as distinguished the history of Boston and many others. But let me at least exercise constant faith.

"*May* 9.—A most tempestuous day in the Presbytery, and the prospect before me now of a complete argumentation on the topic of my chapel before the General Assembly. I must now give myself up to the labour of preparation, and at the same time be calm and humble, and commit myself to God.

"12*th.*—I feel the obligation of domestic Christianity, but am straitened and at a loss how to go about it. Let me not be slothful, but a follower of those who through faith and patience are now inheriting the promises.

"24*th.*—Had my laborious speech in the Assembly.

"*August* 3.—I feel the claim and the power of Christ's imputed righteousness. O my God, enable me to be the faithful and effective herald of this great truth to my people.

"*Sunday, Oct.* 17.—Have a strong tendency to religious contemplation in my bed. I trust that faith both in its peace and purifying influence is making progress. But O how great ought to be my watchfulness and humility."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FAREWELL DISCOURSES IN ST. JOHN'S AND THE CHAPEL OF EASE—SPIRITUAL FRUITS OF THE MINISTRY IN GLASGOW—ESTIMATE OF ITS GENERAL EFFECTS—DEPARTURE FROM GLASGOW—INSTALLATION AND INTRODUCTORY LECTURE AT ST. ANDREWS.

Such painful feelings had been excited by the first announcement of Dr. Chalmers's acceptance of the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, that it was some time before he could bring himself to allude publicly to the subject. At length, however, in addressing a meeting of his agency held in February 1823, he thus ventured upon the delicate topic:—"About three months ago, gentlemen, I had prepared an address to you on the subject of English pauperism, and what I conceived to be its influence on the moral and spiritual state of the population. That preparation was the result of a visit, and of the many examinations which I had made in various parishes of England, and I hoped by it to satisfy your minds on the great Christian importance of a question which I shall ever, I think, regard as one on which the best interests of many millions of beings are suspended. Nor is there wanting, I apprehend, the sanction even of apostolical example for the man who breathes the desire of the evangelical heart to busy and to interest himself in this great undertaking. I have ever been struck with that procedure of the Apostle of the Gentiles, whereby he relinquished for a time ministerial labour, exchanged the work of the pulpit for the work of the common tent-maker—was so impressed with the mischief of dependence on public charity as to put forth his own hands, that he might teach the people how they should strive to the uttermost of themselves rather than be burdensome to others. Nothing but a strong and riveted conviction in his mind of the mighty bearing which such a lesson had on the interests of the gospel could have tempted away from his more peculiar vocation that man who was determined to know nothing among his people save Christ and Him crucified; and, I trust, that even at this hour it is possible to give part of one's strength and attention to this very cause, and yet truly to say with the Psalmist, in refer-

ence to the cause of human souls and their salvation from guilt, 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning: let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chiefest joy.'

"I have still the prospect of one or two addresses to you more, and in one or other of them I may offer to you the result of my various observations on the busy tour which I lately prosecuted through England. At present, I confess to you, I have no heart for it. This theme is for the present dispossessed by one that is greatly nearer and more interesting. The pauperism of England for the time being is not the matter on hand; and you will indulge me if, even in the treatment of that matter, there shall be a want of that vigour or distinctness which ought to characterize every intellectual exposition. There are seasons of turbulence in which, like the vessel in a storm, the mind is driven from all her purposed bearings, and lies at the mercy of a thousand fluctuations; there are moral hurricanes, throughout the violence of which all pilotage is abandoned, and there is nothing for it but to lie in helpless and hopeless endurance till the tempest shall be blown over, till the effervescence shall in some measure be wrought off and subsided, and those powers which stood off in passive abeyance shall again resume their wonted command, and take the same collected survey as before of those signs that are around it, and the prospects which lie before it. I wished to have convened you sooner, gentlemen, but positively I could not. To withstand the heavy and the altered countenances of my best friends was greatly too much for me. Not that I have been led to construe it into any feeling of hostility on your part; I flatter myself with a better interpretation; and I am still confident, if not of your approbation, at least of your regard; and I know experimentally what the general complexion of every such separation is, and I remember well the cold and withered aspect that sat on a much loved parish when all its kind and cherished intimacies I resolved to abandon at the voice of a call from an unknown land. It appeared like a blight on all the subsisting cordialities which up to that moment were in full operation amongst us; but it was not so. Their distaste for the movement, and their distance of manner, and even their disapprobation, all turned out to be temporary. A few months wrought out, not perhaps a reconciliation of feeling, but what was of more importance, a reconciliation of principle. The conscientious of my former neighbourhood now

admit that I was right. From you, on the present occasion, I cannot expect any such admission. I have done nothing which at all entitles me to require it at your hands; I have not yet made out my claim to such an acknowledgment. This is the season of my endurance, under which I must put up with the many adverse judgments of men, and lay my account with the censure and condemnation of many of my fellows. It is only by the history of my future years that I can work out a satisfactory vindication, and, I do confess, that next to the force of that primary obligation under which I lie, to do all and to suffer all in the service of my Master in heaven, there is a human or an earthly force that powerfully urges me on to vindicate the Christianity of my present movement. I am most thoroughly aware that you will not be the indifferent spectators of my future story, and I am aware both of the indulgence and of the moral earnestness wherewith you will regard it; and I know that your imperative demand upon me is, that I shall give myself wholly to the calls of the gospel—to the service and interest of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world. I am too well convinced both of the honesty and independence of your judgment, to think that you will ever cheer me with the sentence of your positive approbation till you have seen of my after labours that they are instrumentally more productive of a blessing to the cause than would have been the continuance of my exertions in the midst of you. You will forgive me, gentlemen, if, additional to the direct impulse of principle, I shall feel the consideration which I am now stating to be indeed a powerful auxiliary stimulus to the labours of the years that are to come, if I shall make it the study of my life to earn at length from your own mouths the verdict of my ample justification, if I shall look onwards to this as the most gratifying triumph which the world could afford me; and after working for, and perhaps winning the meed of your explicit acknowledgment in my favour, I shall exult in it as the proudest and most pleasing recompence for all my agitations."

In the summer months of 1823, Mr. Parker invited Dr. Chalmers to occupy Blochairn, a house in the immediate neighbourhood of Glasgow. Tempted by the opportunities for quiet study which such a residence appeared to offer, Dr. Chalmers accepted this invitation. So strong, however, was the hold which Glasgow continued to retain, and so desirous was he to consecrate to her service the last relics of available time and strength, that

the period for his removal overtook him with scarcely any preparations made for his new duties at St. Andrews. On Wednesday, the 5th November, he laid before the Presbytery of Glasgow his letter of resignation of the church and parish of St. John's, which, after many expressions of affectionate regret from different members, the Presbytery was pleased to accept. As his installation at St. Andrews was to take place on Friday the 14th November, it was understood that his farewell discourse in the church of St. John's would be preached on Sabbath the 9th. Applications for admission had for several weeks been pouring in with distressing profusion upon those who had seats in that church. To many individuals of rank and consideration tickets were issued entitling them to a place on the pulpit stair or in the vacant area around the precentor's desk. As it was resolved that every possible effort should be made to secure admission to the regular seat-holders or their friends, and to those to whom tickets had been thus appropriated, the elders and doorkeepers, assisted by a strong body of police, planted themselves, on Sabbath morning, at the main entrance to the church. At so early an hour as nine o'clock an ominous stream of foot-passengers began to turn into Macfarlane Street, and the roll of carriage wheels was heard sounding along the Gallowgate. Before the doors were opened, Macfarlane Street, and other neighbouring streets, were filled with excited groups waiting eagerly for admission. At last the main entrance was thrown open, the gathered crowd converged upon it, and the conflict commenced. For a brief season the efforts of the doorkeepers and their allies were successful; the assailants, however, multiplied so rapidly, and the mass accumulated behind drove on those before them with such impetuosity, that the well-guarded entrance was forced. When it was seen that success had crowned the efforts of the assailants, the crush through the passage became tremendous—a dense but still struggling mass of human beings compressed for a few moments into extreme compactness, and then expanding as the perilous passage at last was made and the interior of the church was gained—some to draw breath after the stifling squeeze—some to re-arrange their dishevelled habiliments—some to turn an eager eye upon the scene of recent conflict. And now the tide of battle was for a moment turned as a party of the 73d Regiment, summoned hastily from the adjacent barracks, forced their way through all impediments, and took up their position beside the entrance to the church. By their effective

aid, and after much personal exertion, the elders and doorkeepers succeeded in obtaining access for a number of the congregation who otherwise would have been excluded. Still, however, even through the barrier of bayonets, the crowd continued to make way, till not a single spot of sitting or standing ground within was left unoccupied. Into a church seated for about 1700 nearly double that number was packed. "The pew in which I sat" —one who was present has informed us—"contained fourteen sittings, but on that occasion twenty-six persons were crammed into it, some sitting, some standing on the floor, others standing on the seat." The confusion grew within as the pressure somewhat abated from without; and it was no gentle or very Sabbath frame of spirit that prevailed. At length the preacher rose within that pulpit from which he was to address his hearers for the last time. In a moment the bustle ceased, and all the varied expressions of that great crowd of faces was turned into one uniform gaze of fixed and profound attention. After prayer and praise, the text, from Psalm cxxxvii. 5, 6, was twice distinctly read, and its general lessons having been unfolded and impressed, and the preacher coming at the close to speak to those from whom, as their minister, he was now to be finally dissevered,— "I will never forget," he said, "that it is your princely beneficence which has carried me forward in covering this parish with those institutions both of scholarship and piety that have done most to grace and to dignify the people of our beloved land. I will never forget the labours of that devoted band to whose union and perseverance I still look for even greater services than they have yet rendered to the cause of Christian philanthropy. I will never forget the unexcepted welcome and kindness of my parochial families, among whom the cause, that to the superficial eye looks unpopular and austere, hath now found its conclusive establishment. I never will forget the indulgence and the friendly regards of this congregation; and I beg to assure each and all of them, that if a cold and ungenial apathy, whether of look or of manner, was all the return that they ever could obtain for their demonstrations of Christian affection towards myself, it was not because I had not the conviction of that manifold good-will which was on every side of me, but that— moving in a wide and busy sphere, and hurried in the course of a few moments from one act of intercourse to another with more than a thousand of my fellows—my jaded and overborne feelings could not keep pace with it. There are hundreds and hundreds

more whom in person I could not overtake, but whom in the hours of cool and leisurely reflection I shall know how to appreciate. And when I gaze on that quarter—the richest to me of all the wide horizon in the treasures of cordiality and grateful remembrance—then sweeter than to the eye are those tints of loveliness which the western sun stretches in golden clouds above it will be the thought of all the worth and the tenderness and the noble generosity that are there. Oh! I never can forget the city of so many Christian and kind-hearted men. I never will forget the countenance I have gotten from its upright and patriotic citizens. . . . From the deep exhaustion—not incurred in the treatment of my parochial managements, for at all times was there a charm and tranquillity in these—but from the deep exhaustion of hurry and fatigue and manifold distractions from without, have my footsteps been lured into a most congenial resting-place, among whose academic bowers Rutherford and Halyburton spent the evening of their days, and amid whose venerable ruins their bodies now sleep until the resurrection of the just. Should those high and heavenly themes on which they expatiated through life, and which shed a glory over their deathbeds, ever cease to be dear unto my bosom—should the glare of the world's philosophy ever seduce me from the wisdom and simplicity of the faith—should Jesus Christ and Him crucified not be the end of all my labours in expounding the law of righteousness, then let the fearful judgment of heaven blight and overcast the faculties that I thus have prostituted. 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem—if I forget thee, O thou Church and city of my God—let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth: if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.'"*

When Dr. Chalmers descended from the pulpit it was entered by the Rev. Edward Irving, who invited the vast congregation to accompany him, as with solemn pomp and impressive unction he poured out a prayer for that honoured minister of God who

* On the fly-leaf of an old book in his library—entitled "A Sober Enquiry into the Nature, Measure, and Principle of Moral Virtue: its Distinction from Gospel Holiness, with Reflections upon what occurs Disserviceable to Truth and Religion in this matter, in three late Books, &c. By R. F. London, 1673"—the following memorandum was found written: "*Sunday, August* 10, 1823.—This book was given to me this morning by Thomas Lilly, No. 1, Saracen's Lane, off the Gallowgate, Glasgow, when I called on his daughter, with a view to engage her as a teacher to one of my parish Sabbath schools. His object is that I may be guided aright in the labours of my new office; and I hereby testify the desire that I feel to harmonize the spirit of a moral philosophy class with that spirit which actuates a pious and humble family in the commonest walks of society.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

had just retired from among them. The church had been so closely packed that it took forty minutes to empty itself; and before the last of the hearers had left St. John's, Dr. Chalmers, who had barely time to transfer himself from the statelier to the humbler edifice, had commenced the afternoon service in the Chapel of Ease. His text here was from Heb. iii. 13. After dwelling upon the danger of postponing to a deathbed the great and urgent work of preparation for eternity, he continued thus: —"But while I would urge upon every obstinate and stout-hearted sinner the hopelessness of a deathbed repentance, I must not omit to mention how in the Bible there is recorded one instance of repentance even then, that none might despair, though only one, that none may presume. For myself I never met with one decisive evidence of a saving change in a malefactor's cell, and out of many hundreds I can quote exceedingly few in the chamber of a last and a fatal disease. There is, however, one very delightful experience of this sort that is still fresh upon my memory, and which I relate in this place because the scene of it was in the immediate neighbourhood, and within the confines of that territory upon which this chapel stands. Though I should not name the individual I may name his residence, which was in Marlborough Street, and his occupation, which was that of an operative weaver. I think I can at least say of him, that though he had passed the season of youth, and was somewhere between it and middle age, he only a few months before his decease was not serious. There is much in the progress of a wasting and hopeless consumption that is very affecting, when death hath set its irrevocable seal upon the patient, and the trouble within gives the assured token to himself that he is fast hastening to his grave. The visible accompaniments of such a scene are all of them familiar to you. The difficult respiration, the gathering hue of pale and languid sickness, the moistened forehead, the gradual sinking of the voice till the mind and memory of the sufferer can only be drawn from signs and looks, and almost inaudible whispers, the now shrunk and withered arm that one little year ago was braced with all the vigour of manhood, the fitful and broken slumbers, the now capricious appetite that is ever shifting its demands for some object of strong but unnatural craving—these are all familiar to you;—and so are the many other speaking and significant tokens that the room you have entered is the apartment of a dying man. The air of seriousness that sits upon every countenance—the soft and gentle

approach of some inquiring neighbour—the unsuccessful endeavour of the nearest and dearest of the relatives to hide the tears which she cannot suppress—the sad and settled conviction over the group of visitors that all must be soon over—these are the workings of nature, and they are all of them familiar to you. But the secret workings of grace in the soul are not so familiar, for they are indeed far less frequent; the earnest and practical direction of a heart set upon eternity, the deep engagement of a mind now weaned from life, and even regardless of its last sufferings and struggle, while busying itself with the realities of faith; the hesitations, and the inquiries, and the many fruitless efforts of unbelief, till the light of the Spirit's demonstration bears them all away, and the weary soul can now take his secure and steadfast hold upon the sacrifice; the triumph wherewith, when now standing on the confines of the two worlds, he looks onward to the coming immortality, and the noble testimony that he leaves behind him—these are not so familiar, and therefore the more precious and memorable when they are realized. And there did occur one cheering example of it with one of the very humblest children of labour and poverty among yourselves, whose simple story is, that he sickened, and died, and left an only child to the guardianship of a widowed mother, and of homely literature as his was, inscribed to him on the blank leaf of his Bible a few verses, which, as the effusions of a dying father whose spirit had but recently undergone a transformation that meetened it for heaven, has in it more of a true and a touching pathos than the most elaborate poetry:

'To thee, my son, I give this Book,
In hopes that thou wilt from it find
A Father and a Comforter,
When I do leave thee here behind.

'I hope that thou wilt firm believe
That Jesus Christ alone can save—
He bled and suffer'd in our stead,
To save from death Himself He gave.

'A strong desire I now do crave
Of them to whom thy charge is given,
To bring thee up to fear the Lord,
That we may meet at last in Heaven.'*

This, doubtless, is but one example, yet enough to prove how

* These lines, with the date 11th June 1823, and the addition, "I am your very sincere affectionate father, John Hastie," were found after Dr Chalmers's death in one of his repositories where nothing but papers on which he put the utmost value were deposited. The lines were in Dr Chalmers's own handwriting on a small slip of paper, and below them he had added "This from a common weaver in Marlborough Street inscribed on a Bible to his only child. He had been an infidel till within a few months of his death."

worthy of Christian cultivation are those vast and untrodden spaces that teem with families who are altogether beyond the pale of the word and of ordinances—enough to prove that there is not an aggregate of human beings through which a minister of the gospel might not ply his unwearied rounds, and earn the triumphs of a high and heavenly apostleship—enough to set at rest the obstinate incredulity of those who affirm of the cities of our land, that such is their hard-favoured and impracticable resistance to all the endeavours, whether of kindness or of Christianity, as to give the visionary character of a dream to the dear and delightful prospect of their ultimate reformation. I speak to the very poorest of my hearers: to you also belong the high capacities of an immortal spirit; to you belong all the elements of moral worth and moral greatness; to you the path of glory is open, and the exalted High Priest, who once sojourned in this world amid pains, and privations, and indignities more severe than all that any disciple of His is ever doomed to encounter, He from the golden treasury of those gifts and graces wherewith He is invested is ready even now to shower upon you every thing that is needful either to bless you in time or to fit you for eternity. I can vouch for the comfort wherewith a minister of the gospel might move from family to family throughout the vicinities of this immediate population. I can vouch for the perfect graciousness of a kind and honest welcome from you all. I can vouch for the open door of access that there is in every house to the visitations of Christian philanthropy; and that even in towns which are conceived to teem all over with loathsome dissipation and profligate companionship, there is a most warm and willing response to the familiar converse and the domestic services of the minister. May he who labours within these walls be enabled to verify this by his own personal experience. May the countenance of Heaven rest upon all his ministrations, and while engaged in the Sabbath exercises of piety, or in the week-day intercourse with your families, may a blessing from on high attend every footstep of his progress in the midst of you. Meanwhile I will take leave of you. No breaking up of my official relationship will lessen that close and affecting relationship which I shall ever feel towards your families. If God be pleased to spare me there is no house where I would more willingly resume for a season the ministrations of the word of life, no portion of the great vineyard of Christ in which I shall ever feel a more peculiar interest and property than that which is

attached to it. May the blessing of God rest upon you all. May parents have great comfort of their children; and may children brought up in the ways of piety rise around their parents and call them blessed. Above all, may you be found in that way of pleasantness and path of peace which leads to heaven. A few years more and the storms of this changing life shall all have blown over us. Let our prayers often meet in the upper sanctuary; and when the morn of the resurrection cometh may we be found side by side at the right hand of our Judge and Saviour."

While the narrative of the Camlachie weaver's deathbed was given, and as the verses which he had written were read, Dr. Chalmers's hearers were melted into tears. The whole however of the affecting story had not been told. This man had been the only son of a pious mother, who was a widow. In his boyhood he had been apprenticed to a master who was an infidel, and who, with about twenty men under him, had sown so sedulously his own principles among them, that every one of them had been seduced into unbelief. Among the rest this unprotected widow's son fell a victim to his arts, and when his mother saw him married to his master's daughter, who was as bold an unbeliever as her father, and when she heard him blaspheme that holy name in which she trusted, it was too much for her to bear —deprived of reason she died in an asylum for lunatics. In the course of years, and when his own only child was grown up, consumption seized upon him. The near look at eternity, and perhaps the remembrance of his mother's instructions and prayers, threw him into spiritual distress. A minister was sent for, who attempted to reason with him, but he "was too deep," and the wound remained unhealed. It so happened that he was living at this time in the district of St. John's parish assigned to Mr. John Wilson, one of the most valued and beloved of Dr. Chalmers's elders, who soon brought his minister to see the dying man. The simplicity, the earnestness, the sympathy displayed by Dr. Chalmers, won the man's confidence, and it was not long till he related the history of his unbelief. Weekly, during nearly three months, Dr. Chalmers's visits were repeated. The instructions given and the prayers offered at that bedside were blessed: a sinner was turned from the error of his ways, and a soul was saved from death. Very shortly before his death Dr. Chalmers visited this man. Both felt that the interview was to be the last. "Doctor," said he, lifting his Bible off the bed on which it lay, "will you take this book from me as a

token of my inexpressible gratitude?" "No, Sir," said Dr. Chalmers after a moment's hesitation; "No, Sir, that is too precious a legacy to be put past your own son—give it to your boy." The dying man obeyed his instructor's last advice. He gathered up his remaining strength of body and mind; asking for a pen he wrote the lines which Dr. Chalmers quoted, and having written them, laid his head back upon his pillow and expired.

A few months after his settlement in Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers had wept over the grave of his beloved friend Thomas Smith, and a few weeks previous to his departure from Glasgow he stood by the deathbed of this converted weaver. He saw the first and the last fruits of his Glasgow ministry seized by the hand of death, while ripening under the eye of the earthly husbandman, and laid up in the heavenly garner. But who could tell him of the numbers who, during the course of these eight years, and under that ministry, had been savingly impressed by Divine truth? We know of the thoughtless young officer, who flaunting in idle vacancy through the city streets on a Sabbath forenoon, and attracted by the eager crowds which he saw pouring into the Tron Church, turned into that church as he would have done into a theatre, but found it to be indeed the house of God—to him the very gate to heaven. We know of the fashionable lady, full of taste and high refinement, but devoid of all earnest thought or care about her immortal soul, driving from her mansion in a neighbouring county to be regaled by the eloquence of the celebrated orator, but found of Him whom she sought not, and turned effectually unto God. We know of the busy bustling merchant, immersed in all the calculations of this world's traffic, lifted to the sublimer calculations of eternity, and from the very whirl of this world's most powerful engrossments won over to a life of faith and devoted philanthropy. We know of the aspiring student, sent by thoughtless parents to college to prepare for the Christian ministry—inflamed by literary ambition, but dead in heart to the love of Christ, awakened as from a trance, and made to feel the true nature of that office into which he had been heedlessly rushing, ushered into it fired with the fresh fervours of the all-constraining love. Of these we cannot speak more particularly, nor can we offer any estimate of the number of those whose first religious impressions are traceable to the same earthly source, but we may be permitted to express the opinion, that with all the transient and tumultuous

excitement of its mere pulpit oratory, there has rarely been a ministry of equal length as largely blessed of the Divine Spirit to the conversion of individual souls. The more general effects of that ministry in its bearings upon the religious condition of Glasgow and of Scotland, lie open enough to observation. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, by the great body of the upper classes of society evangelical doctrines were nauseated and despised: when he left it, even by those who did not bow to their influence, these doctrines were acknowledged to be indeed the very doctrines of the Bible. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the eye of the multitude evangelism stood confounded with a drivelling sanctimoniousness or a sour-minded asceticism: when he left it, from all such false associations the Christianity of the New Testament stood clearly and nobly redeemed. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, for nearly a century the Magistrates and Town-council had exercised the city patronage in a spirit determinately anti-evangelical: when he left it, so complete was the revolution which had been effected, that from that time forward none but evangelical clergymen were appointed by the city patrons. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, there and elsewhere over Scotland there were many most devoted clergymen of the Establishment who had given themselves up wholly to the ministry of the word and to prayer, but there was not one in whose faith and practice weekday ministrations had the place or power which he assigned to them: when he left it, he had exhibited such a model of fidelity, diligence, and activity, in all departments of ministerial labour, as told finely upon the spirit and practice of the whole ministry of Scotland. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, unnoticed thousands of the city population were sinking into ignorance, infidelity, and vice, and his eye was the first in this country to foresee to what a fearful magnitude that evil, if suffered to grow on unchecked, would rise: when he left it, his ministry in that city remained behind him a permanent warning to a nation which has been but slow to learn that the greatest of all questions, both for statesmen and for churchmen, is the condition of those untaught and degraded thousands who swarm now around the base of the social edifice, and whose brawny arms may yet grasp its pillars to shake or to destroy. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the literary circles of the Scottish metropolis a thinly disguised infidelity sat on the seats of greatest influence, and smiled or scoffed at a vital energetic faith in the great and distinctive

truths of revelation, while widely over his native land the spirit of a frigid indifference to religion prevailed: when he left it, the current of public sentiment had begun to set in in a contrary direction, and although it took many years, and the labour of many other hands to carry that healthful change onward to maturity, yet I believe that it is not over-estimating it to say, that it was mainly by Dr. Chalmers's ministry in Glasgow—by his efforts at this period in the pulpit and through the press—that the tide of national opinion and sentiment was turned.

And if Glasgow was honoured in numbering Dr. Chalmers so long among her citizens, and in having been the sphere in which labours so eminently useful had been prosecuted, she proved herself not unworthy of the privilege. From her official men he always received the most courteous treatment, and to their kindness he was indebted for the facilities afforded him in carrying his plans into execution. Her citizens vied with one another in all kindly recognitions of one of whom all were proud, while among the narrower circle of his own congregation many personal attachments were formed, purer, deeper, and more lasting than any afterwards created during a long lifetime of affectionate intercourse with his fellow-men. Never was Dr. Chalmers surrounded by a band of truer or warmer-hearted friends than were numbered among the three hundred and forty gentlemen who, on the Tuesday after his farewell discourses were delivered, sat down together at the largest dinner-party that had ever assembled in Glasgow in honour of any single individual. Whig and Tory, clergymen and laymen, churchmen and dissenters, joined in friendly concert to bestow upon him this parting memorial of their regard. In the course of that happy and harmonious evening he was not unsuccessful in conveying to those around him how much and how deeply he was gratified. Having at last intimated to the Lord Provost, who was in the chair, his wish to retire, his Lordship suggested that as a final mark of respect to their honoured guest, the company should all stand up as he withdrew. This closing and unexpected token of their good-will quite overcame Dr. Chalmers. Bowing repeatedly to all quarters, he could only say as he withdrew, "I cannot utter a hundredth part of what I feel, but I will do better—I will bear it all away. Gentlemen, farewell."

On the day after this farewell dinner (Wednesday the 12th), Dr. Chalmers left Glasgow for Fifeshire, and in the course of the same day was followed by Charles S. Parker, Esq., James

Ewing, Esq., James Dennistoun, Esq., and Robert Dalgleish, Esq. On Thursday they all met together in Kirkcaldy at the house of Mr. Walter Fergus, and on Friday morning the whole party proceeded together to St. Andrews, where, in the University Hall, and in presence of the Principals, Professors, and students, Dr. Chalmers was formally installed in his new office. It had been announced that the Introductory Lecture of his course would be delivered on Monday the 17th. In accordance however with Dr. Chalmers's desire—a desire grounded on his wish to gratify the friends who had accompanied him from Glasgow—it was delivered on the day which immediately succeeded his induction. Short as was the notice, the Hall of the University Library was crowded to excess, nor were the hopes of any disappointed as the eloquent Professor closed his lecture in these words:—

"Nearly up to the present moment have I been engrossed with other cares, and, as if newly escaped from a hurricane, do I feel myself cast upon the shore of a territory difficult both of penetration and progress, though not altogether unknown. It may be thought, that ere I set forth on so important an expedition, I should have spent an interval both of preparation and repose; and I should have thought so too, had I believed that by this rapid transference of myself from the labours of one profession to those of another, I would do an injury to any of my regular pupils, or at all hurt the great interests of their scholarship. But it has long been my sentiment, that for the objects of practical education, there should be much of the free and the colloquial intermingled with the formally and severely elaborate on the part of a master—that in this way alone the juvenile mind can be grappled with, and even at close quarters, and a ready adaptation be made to such existing difficulties in its way as can only be ascertained at the time by a conversational or questionary process. I have, therefore, in the full purpose of largely intermingling an extemporaneous treatment of my subject to the class with the more formal preparations of my solitude, not been deterred by the magnitude of the undertaking that is before me. Even its novelty has not thrown me into despair; for I honestly believe that it might be for the good of every unpractised hearer, when, instead of following his guide as he makes an easy promenade on the course that he has already smoothed, and over which he has, and perhaps often, conducted successive parties of travellers—when, instead of this, he has to

pioneer his own way through its yet untried difficulties, when he has to share all the hazards, and, at the same time, on the moment of embarking, feels all the life and freshness of an enterprise; and the head adventurer himself looks around on a youthful but devoted band, and can gather from the countenances of all that even now they have resolved to share in his own labours, and been animated to a sympathy with his own daring.

"At present I will expatiate no more, save to deliver one short tribute of grateful acknowledgment to that Alma Mater with whom are linked my tenderest associations, who hath been pleased to call, from a long and fatiguing wander, one of the unworthiest of her sons—to whom, at the moment when he was on the eve of sinking under a pressure by which he was well-nigh overborne, she opened the gate of welcome, and found for him a retreat and a resting-place within her walls. I never thought that on this side of time I should have been permitted to wander in arbours so desirable, and that thus embowered among my most delicious recollections, I should have realized in living and actual history the imagery of other days—that the play-fellows of my youth should thus become the associates of my manhood, or that the light-hearted companions of a season that has long passed away, should, by the movements of a mysterious but, I trust, kind Providence, stand side by side as colleagues in the work of presiding over the studies of another generation."

In the afternoon of the day on which this lecture was delivered, Dr. Chalmers's friends from Glasgow entertained at dinner the two Principals, all the Professors of the University, the ministers of the city, and a number of gentlemen from the neighbourhood.—So gracefully did Glasgow surrender to St. Andrews what St. Andrews had originally bestowed.

END OF VOL. I.

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